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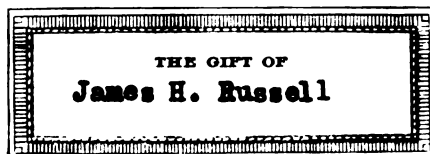
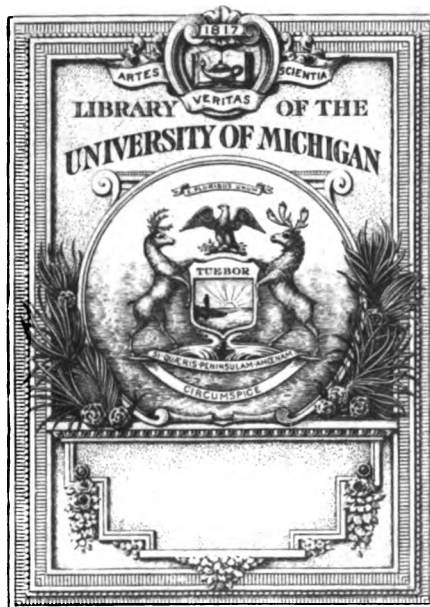
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

The National Cigarette company refuses to surrender to the American Tobacco company, popularly known as the tobacco trust. The chances are against the cigarette people. It is, in fact, two and a half million dollars locking horns with 35 millions, — a simple matter of arithmetic.

When a community puts in a plant for public lighting, it

is of course, from the nationalist point of view, only as an entering wedge for a public system of domestic and commercial lighting. To have public plant for public lighting and a private plant for domestic and commercial lighting is a waste and an absurdity as great as to have a public water-works for the supply only of public fountains and fire engines and a distinct one for the supply of private houses and for business purposes. No nationalist or populist ought to consider the fight for municipal lighting won until it has been extended to include the domestic and commercial lighting service.

We print with much pleasure Mrs. Besant's letter in reply to a recent editorial called forth by an interview in which she was made to express a doubt as to the useful results of socialistic work in the line of collectivist undertakings. It is very gratifying to be assured that the interview quoted by us did injustice to her attitude on the subject. We renew to the distinguished lady the assurance of our heartfelt esteem and respect.

Looking Before and After.

With this number The New Nation enters upon its third year. Reform journalism is not pecuniarily profitable and ought not to be. If it were, its conductors would be quite too richly rewarded, at least nationalist papers would be; for certainly the dividends in growth and progress declared on our cause during the last two years have been such as to make it seem grasping to suggest the desirability of any other form of returns.

The progress of nationalism since 1890, and still more strikingly if we look back to the first organization of the nationalist propaganda in 1888, has exceeded the most sanguine anticipation of the most sanguine of our faith.

Look back four years and the United States was a practically virgin field for any form of the socialistic propaganda. Today, nationalism, the name given to the most

radical form of socialism, nothing less than Jesus Christ's socialism, is a household word from one ocean to another. Four years ago, ridiculed as amiable enthusiasts, people actually fools enough to believe that God's kingdom of fraternal equality ever could come on earth, the nationalists today see their hope become the religion of hundreds of thousands, their practical program adopted as the creed of a national party which, having polled a million votes at its first election, in no spirit of idle boastfulness claims the presidency in 1896.

Public management of the railroads, the telegraphs, the telephones, the express service, the coal mines, the liquor traffic, the deposit and exchange banking system and of the issue of money, state insurance and the municipalization of all the public services of cities and towns, ideas scarcely heard of four years ago, many of them not two years ago, have become burning issues before national state and municipal conventions and at the polls, and nowhere have the nationalists any other opposition to meet than that of mere inertia. The moral sentiment and the business sense are so absolutely and wholly on their side in every proposition they have made, that a hearing is all they have needed to ask for.

Ridicule was the only weapon that greed and ignorance could use against us from the start and that, long since dulled, we are turning against them with newly whetted edge. Our cause is insinatively recognized even by those who have not yet joined us, as that of all against the few, of the masses against the classes, the people against the plutocrats. We have everywhere put the other side on the defensive.

Can there be any question as to the future of such a party, which seeks the ideal of Christ by the most hard-headed sort of economic logic?

Parties of radical social reform in Europe and Great Britain antedated ours, and until recently it has appeared that America would be a laggard in the glorious race. The prospect has changed of late. America, aroused in time to recognize the falsity of its democratic pretensions, will yet be first to touch the goal of true liberty, equality and fraternity.

There are those who sigh for heroic days. There never was an epoch with such opportunities and demands for heroism and self-devotion as are offered by these passing years, when human destiny is turning as on a hinge.

There is no question of the speedy triumph of our cause; the only question, and it is a noble competition, is, who of us shall sacrifice most for it in the short time while it shall yet need self-sacrifice, before all men flock to its banner?

The Morals of it.

Dea. S. V. White of Plymouth church, Brooklyn, N. Y.,

undertook a year ago to buy up corn, and having created an artificial scarcity in the market, to sell out at a speculative figure. He failed in his scheme and found himself nearly \$2,000,000 in debt. He settled for 50 cents on the dollar with time on the remainder. He continued to gamble in Wall street and with such success that he has paid off his obligations, amounting to \$900,000. The Boston Herald calls this "a practical sort of Christianity that the world cannot have too much of." If it is a "practical sort of Christianity" to make vast fortunes in a year by cornering the necessities of life and not lifting a finger to benefit the people, then Christianity is making rapid strides in this country.

The Latest Steal of the Fire Insurance Companies.

The New England Fire Insurance association has furnished a powerful popular argument for state fire insurance by its decision just announced, to compel all new policy holders to insure for 80 per cent of the valuation of their property.

It has always heretofore been a common practice of policy holders, whose property was so placed or of such a nature that a loss in case of fire would probably be but partial, to insure only in part, expecting in case of fire to save the rest. This practice, while lessening the burden of the premiums, has tended obviously to prevent incendiarism and to make property holders careful to avoid the risk of fire.

One would certainly suppose that fire insurance companies desirous of doing a safe business, instead of discouraging partial insurance, would use every endeavor to encourage it, and on the other hand to discourage high insurance as tending to put a premium on incendiarism and to make property holders regardless of precautions against fire. The fact that the New England Fire Insurance association has decided not only to permit but to compel high insurance as a means of increasing immediate receipts is startling evidence of the straits to which the companies are reduced. While declaring that 33 per cent of fires are incendiary and that this is the chief reason why their business is unprofitable, they deliberately adopt a policy which must operate as a strong additional inducement to the practice which is ruining them.

We predict that this action of the companies, taken as it is at a period of general dulness of business, will lead to so great an increase in fires, as will not only swallow up all the extra income extorted from the policy holders, but cause such losses beside as will notably hasten the general bankruptcy of the insurance system.

So much for the shortsightedness of the policy of compelling high insurance; consider now its brazen wickedness. A man has a brick block well situated in a well protected city, a block which under no circumstances would be likely to be more than partially damaged by fire. A policy for 60 per cent of its value gives him more than the protection he wants or needs. The companies do not question this and are bound to admit, too, that the under-insurance of property is sound public policy and discourages fires. But they are short of funds and want to make a raise. They have already put up the rates of insurance by successive turns of the screw to a point that has caused a general out-

cry, and must devise some other way of bleeding the policy holder. They accordingly resolve upon the very simple plan of compelling him to stand and deliver premiums on 20 per cent more insurance than he wishes or needs, or than the company would pay in case of fire.

If there is any difference between this, and holding a man up on the highway and going through his pockets, we would like to have some hair-splitting moralist point it out to us. The worst of it is the policy holder is helpless. He must have insurance, and even if he were ready to take the chances rather than submit to extortion, he is required by law, if there is a mortgage on his property, and there is on the most of property, to insure it for the mortgagee. Thus bound hand and foot by the law the mortgagor is at the mercy of the companies.

The size of the grab is as startling as its brazen immorality. Consider the vast business done all over the country by the New England companies, and make a guess what a tremendous forced contribution this is which they propose to levy upon the people.

Could there be a situation more strongly suggesting the timeliness of a movement in the direction of state fire insurance, on the approved lines of European experience, than the present one? On the one hand incendiarism is increasing at a rate which threatens the very possibility of fire insurance. On the other hand the companies, after vainly trying to save themselves from bankruptcy by a series of advances in rates, are finally resorting to the open robbery of the 80 per cent plan, regardless of the fact that the very means they take to protect themselves from losses through incendiarism, tend to encourage it. Meanwhile the honest policy-holder, between the incendiaries and the companies, is having the life crushed out of him.

State fire insurance, by the abolition of competitive expenses, would make possible a reduction of 25 per cent in all premiums. By uniting under public administration the water, fire extinguishing and insurance functions, it would generally increase the efficiency of fire protection. Most important of all, by directly interesting the state in preventing fires, it would lead to the enactment and enforcement of such building laws as would minimize fire losses and make our cities as safe as those of Europe.

Art and Nationalism.

Kate Field's Washington has the following:

President Low announces a gift of \$10,000 to Columbia college, to be divided between sociology and history. If nobody were rich where would art and letters be? Will Mr. Bellamy please answer?

The phrase "If nobody were rich" as here used, has reference to the state of things desired by nationalists in which all the people are to be economically equal. This would mean that culture, education and refinement, instead of being possessed by a small class would be generally diffused. Does Miss Field mean to imply that under such circumstances there would be less taste for books and reading, less demand for art products than now?

Might we not, on the contrary, naturally expect as a result of this unprecedented diffusion of culture and of leisure, a literary and artistic renaissance which would dwarf that of the 13th century into insignificance?

If Miss Field would really like to know what artists think

about this matter, let her make inquiry. She will find that the great majority of the British and Continental artists worth speaking of are socialists. On this side of the water she will find that three out of four architects, painters, designers, engravers are half or wholly nationalists.

Should she talk over the matter with them, she would doubtless be astonished by the vehemence with which they would declare that the patronage of art by wealth is considered by artists worthy of the name to be debasing and degrading alike to art and men and is submitted to only out of dire necessity. They will tell her that no great or virile work was ever produced as the result of such patronage and that only cheap and meretricious art has been stimulated by it.

Miss Field must surely be aware that the marvellous statuary and architecture of Greece and antiquity in general, so far as their history can be traced, were public works, the city or the state being the patron and not rich individuals, that the same may be generally said of all the great architectural monuments of the world, and that moreover, all the greater picture galleries of Europe are national institutions built and filled by the expenditure of national money.

Let us have Patience with the Conservatives.

In May, 1775, George Washington, on his way to Congress, met the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, in the middle of the Potomac; while their boats paused, the clergyman warned his friend that the path on which he was entering might lead to a separation from England. "If you ever hear of my joining in any such measure," said Washington, "you have my leave to put me down for everything wicked." At the beginning of 1776, Paine published his pamphlet "Common Sense." A copy of it reached Washington soon after tidings that Norfolk, Va., had been burned (January 1st) by Lord Dunmore, as Falmouth (now Portland), Me., had been Oct. 1775, by ships under Admiral Graves. On January 31, the general wrote to Joseph Reed: "A few more such flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense,' will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of separation."

We quote the above from the Literary World. Could there be a more striking illustration of the rapidity with which men's minds move when events are moving.

There is a multitude of men in this country today, leaders in politics, business and society, who regard the pending crisis arising from the collision between the spirit of democracy and the advance of plutocracy, quite as Washington, even as late as 1775, looked upon the trouble with King George. They recognize the seriousness of the situation, but believe that it can be dealt with by conciliation and by legislative compromises. The assertion of nationalists that a complete revolution of systems and the establishment of a radically new industrial order, is the only solution, they find as extravagant, absurd and even wicked as Washington up to May, 1775, still considered the idea of separation from the mother country.

These men, although imperfectly realizing the nature of the crisis and therefore holding a conservative position, are as sincere and patriotic as any of us who are in the radical ranks, and perhaps among them may be the Washington of the coming revolution.

Let us wait with patience for their accession to our side, where the logic of events and the disclosure of the scope

and threat of the plutocratic movement will surely bring them in the near future.

There were many men in the colonies who in 1775 saw far clearer than Washington did what the outcome would be and declared much earlier for the revolution, but when Washington at last came to see as they saw he led them all.

Once more, let us have patience with the conservatives.

Editorial Notes.

The New York Tribune has not yet recovered from the November election, but it can see a new alignment in progress. "Before the year 1893 has come to an end," it says, "the truly conservative men of all parties may realize that their highest duty is to act together on all questions affecting the rights of property, etc." And the Tribune will be found battling for the "rights of property," which is rhetoric for the interests of trusts and combines.

In the dispute between the Tammany city government of New York and Congress as to whether we should have a national quarantine system or leave the enforcement of quarantine to local seaport or state authorities, the sympathies of nationalists are of course with Congress. There is indeed but one possible side to the question. The nation might as well leave the customs revenue laws to local enforcement as the quarantine. It is to be hoped that the present cholera scare will settle this question in the right way for good and all.

The nationalists and people's party men in New York state ought to make their influence felt as much as possible in the electing of delegates to the forthcoming state constitutional convention, which meets May next at Albany. Of course the reformers cannot control the convention, but they can do something. One thing we predict: The new constitution will be of brief duration. Within ten years another constitutional convention, controlled by the spirit of nationalism, will meet for its revision in the interest of a radically new order of things.

Philip D. Armour of Chicago, has established a big stock yard and slaughter-house plant at Baden, Cal. The South San Francisco slaughter house company, which has controlled the meat trade of San Francisco for many years, is trying to fight Armour by combining the retail butchers against the new competitor. Armour says that if the retailers boycott him he will open retail butcher shops all over the city. As he has capital back of him, the chances are that the South San Francisco company will be driven to the wall, and then Armour can make it all right by giving San Francisco a hospital or college out of the profits of the meat trade at trust prices.

APPLEBEE ON NATIONALISM.

James Kay Applebee of Boston, delivered an able and interesting lecture at Berkeley hall last Sunday afternoon, his subject being "Nationalism, its Exposition and Defense." He dealt with it under three heads, its necessity, fitness and its adequacy, and his audience gave him the closest attention throughout. Mr. Applebee is to deliver the same through the West, and societies securing his services for that purpose may consider themselves most fortunate.

WALKS OF POVERTY.

Is it well that while we range with science, glorying in the time,
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime!
There among the glooming alleys progress halts with palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousand on the street.

There the master scrimps his haggard sempstress of her daily bread,
There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead.
There the smouldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor,
And the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor.

ALFRED TENNYSON.

LETTER FROM MRS. BESANT.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

I do not often notice newspaper misrepresentations, but my respect for your work leads me to protest against the article "We Trust this is not Sound Theosophy" in The New Nation of December 10. You take a dislocated fragment of an interview and found your criticism on that.

I have never thrown cold water on external improvement. All that I was pointing out was that old evils returned in new forms, while the desire to exploit and to dominate remained, and that it was therefore necessary that some should work on the deeper causes of misery, while others were working at the more superficial. In England there are plenty now to argue and agitate for municipalization, and I heartily wish them success, and constantly say so. There are very few to work for the changing of the mind of man from selfishness to brotherly service.

If you had cared to look at my writings instead of taking a few incomplete sentences from a newspaper interview, you would have seen that I have urged it as part of the theosophic life that each should help forward any movement towards equality and brotherhood that he could aid, and that none should resign any form of useful activity save to take up one more important and difficult.

I cannot but be sorry that your paper should show the same readiness to be unjust, as the capitalistic organs show towards socialists, though it only illustrates my position that the socialist form, without the true socialist spirit of justice and brotherliness, may be prolific of the old evils.

ANNIE BESANT.

Omaha, Neb., December, 1892.

MUNICIPALIZATION AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The inaugural message of Mayor Henry Winn of Malden who was the recent populist candidate for governor in the state, should be read with interest by all lovers of good government. What he says about civil service reform is worth quoting. "The tendency of the present day," the mayor says, "is toward the more extensive assumption by municipalities of work heretofore performed by individuals or corporations, as illustrated by the work of our health department, by municipal lighting and numerous other branches of public service. This requires a large number of public employees and unless the spirit of civil service reform thoroughly pervades the departments, they are liable

to degenerate into machines to control the people in the choice of their officers. The public officer has his rights as a citizen, but he has no right to use the influence or patronage of his office to control votes. An expression in the ordinances of the city would have great influence in the future, and it is worthy of consideration whether something like the Burrage ordinance, existing in Boston, forbidding officers of the city not elected by popular vote from holding office in a caucus or acting on political committees or conventions, though limited only to city politics, might not be adopted with profit."

Mayor Winn discusses the question of electric lighting, and touches upon the defects in the municipal lighting statute and the advisability of amending it. He says: "Notwithstanding the comparatively favorable terms conceded to Malden by the electric company, it is questionable whether the city ought not to establish a municipal plant. I am not sufficiently informed to advise any action further than another investigation, which will give us more complete data than we have in the report on file. The law allowing the establishment of municipal plants is very disadvantageous to Malden. It would compel the purchase of the present electric plant, and the payment for the damages caused by the severance of the portion of the plant lying in adjacent towns, and leave Malden without power to buy or operate any such outlying plant, or supply electricity through it. It also very jealously guards the corporations by providing that the city shall pay for the plant, including as an element of value the earning capacity of the plant, based upon actual earnings at the time of the final vote to establish a plant. These can be made excessive by a monopoly. A committee of investigation should consider whether application should be made for a more favorable statute in case action should be deemed desirable. I understand that the city of Springfield has just passed its first vote to establish a municipal plant. Electric lighting is practically a monopoly, because different companies cannot be permitted to multiply poles and wires in the streets. We should think ourselves peculiarly unfortunate if our water supply were monopolized by a private corporation, even if we could be paid the cost of the works. As time goes on it will be more and more difficult to secure control of our electric lighting system. If then, we are to be relieved from a permanent monopoly in the use of electricity for light and power in Malden, we must consider and act with promptness, if complete examination of the question shall show action to be advisable."

NATIONALIST CLUBS.

The Grant county Review, South Dakota, says: "Occasionally during the past two or three years meetings have been held by a number of our citizens interested in the discussion of economic problems of the day and current topics generally of public interest, reading papers and discussions upon the same. Last summer while the populist convention was in session at Omaha, notice was given that a meeting would be held of persons interested in the subject of nationalism, which resulted in a very surprisingly large turn-out. It was discovered that a lively sentiment upon this subject existed in every part of the United States,

and plans were discussed for organizing nationalist clubs throughout the country. Recently the editor of the Review, who was present at the Omaha meeting was notified that he had been appointed as a member of a national executive committee for the state of South Dakota to arrange for the organization of clubs. In pursuance of the general plan, a meeting will shortly be called in Milbank to organize a club and hold meetings about once in two weeks, and an invitation is extended to all persons who may feel an interest in the matter to confer with the editor of the Review upon the subject. Newspapers friendly to the project of organizing nationalist clubs are kindly requested to give notice of the movement, and inquiries addressed to The New Nation, 13 Winter street, Boston, Mass., will be answered giving information how to start clubs. The New Nation is the brightest and most ably edited exponent of the claims of nationalism, and once a person commences reading it he will never want to miss an issue. Just now it is sending out blank petitions for the nationalization of the telegraph and telephone, an idea that seems to be hailed everywhere with enthusiasm. Years ago the mails were handled by private individuals and companies, and letter postage was as high as 25 cents for a distance of 400 miles. The business was nationalized, and now Uncle Sam carries a letter 3,000 miles for two cents. Who would advocate going back to the old system? Now suppose we plan to have Uncle Sam handle the telegraph and telephone at correspondingly reduced rates. And how would it strike the public if the water, or over-capitalization, was squeezed out of the railroads, and passenger and freight rates were reduced one half? Are not these, and other kindred topics, good ones for public discussion?

PRICE OF BOSTON GAS.

The Boston Post is entitled to great credit for showing up in its true light the much advertised reduction in the price of gas by the Boston Gas company. Many of the facts given are not new, but they will bear repeating until the robbery ceases. The present price of gas is \$1.30, but with the beginning of the present year it is to be reduced to \$1.20 to all who use \$1000 worth a year. Of what benefit is this to the vast majority? But they promise to benefit them by furnishing 25 candle power gas; the reports of the inspector of gas show that for eleven months of 1892 the candle power has been very close to that figure. Another sop thrown to the people is the offer to furnish gas for cooking and heating at \$1 per thousand. The Post says: "The gas is just the same in all cases; it comes through the same pipes, the only difference being that for light it is measured in a separate meter. The question is now asked why the same gas cannot be sold at one price, even if it is used for different purposes?" Some peculiar methods of financiering are clearly shown; the gas commission state that the Bay State company, incorporated in Delaware, had laid 15 miles of pipe at an estimated cost of \$208,500 and the Boston Company had paid \$200,000 for the use of these pipes for two years. A rental of 50 per cent paid for pipes for 1889 and 1890. The Post says: "Here we have \$200,000 paid in cash in two years for what cost only \$208,500, and if the rent at the same rate for the

two years since then he added, the Boston company has paid \$191,500 more than the pipes cost and the pipes still belong to the Bay State company. In other words the gas trust has rented pipes of one company, which it owns, at an exorbitant price from another company which it owns and put the money in its own pocket."

WILL DEFEND THE SYSTEM.

[From the Journal of the Knights of Labor.]

There was a time in this country when people refused to eat molasses and sugar because they were produced by slave labor. The other day I met a man who employs hundreds of workingmen. He is a free-thinker, a radical the scion, as he proudly says, of a family whose ancestors came here over 200 years ago; and he is willing at any time to sacrifice his life upon the altar of liberty if the republic were in danger. When he was a little boy his mother would not give him sugar or molasses, because they were made by the "poor negro slaves"; and he, although an old man today, approves of the sentiment of his dear, never-to-be-forgotten mother. I asked him whether he ever worked for wages. The answer was:

"Only twenty months in all my life."

"How did you get rich?" I asked him, and he replied:

"Other men's labor did it. How could it be otherwise? No man can get rich on his own labor! The average income of the American workingman is not quite \$300 a year, and of course, from such a pittance he cannot save to invest in enterprises. But his labor is worth at least \$600, and what he doesn't get we get."

"So you know that you have been pocketing other men's money all your lifetime, except 20 months, and you never thought that the system enabling you to do so, is just as bad, and perhaps more so, as the system of chattel slavery?"

The old man looked at me in utter amazement, and then he burst out:

"You're right. I never thought of it. But what am I to do? Everybody does it, and everybody will defend this system against any change, just as the slaveholders did."

SOUTH CAROLINA UNDERTAKES TO ABOLISH THE SALOON.

Washington Star: South Carolina is soon to be subject to the operation of one of the most remarkable laws ever enacted even by a state legislature. But it may be a good law. After July 1, 1893, the manufacture sale or barter or exchange, or the keeping and offering for sale, barter and exchange of any spirituous, malt, vinous, fermented or other intoxicating liquors, or any compound or mixture thereof, will be unlawful so far as the private citizen is concerned, but that does not mean that there will be no liquor in South Carolina, for the law contemplates the appointment of officials whose duty it shall be to dispense spirituous and malt beverages. But not freely. When a man desires to purchase whiskey he must prepare a written certificate containing his name, age, residence, a specification as to the

kind of liquor wanted and the use to which he proposes to put it when he gets it, if he does. All liquor is to be sold in the original packages as put up by the state and none of the dispensaries can dispose of less than a half pint. There may be loopholes in the act, but they are not visible just now, and if the effort to develop weaknesses (which will surely be made) comes to naught, the entire civilized world will keep at least one eye on South Carolina.

THE TELEPHONE MONOPOLY.

A correspondent of the Boston Herald has this to say about the telephone monopoly: "The Bell Telephone company has been able to obtain exclusive control of the telephone in Canada, but, not complying with the law, its patent was declared null and void (and it is a question if that does not affect the validity of the patent in the United States), and the Bell Telephone company, having no patent in Canada, the field is open to every one, and the rates are from \$10 to \$25 a year, and the service is good. The rates in Montreal about a year ago were \$10 a year, but the competing line having been purchased by the Bell Telephone company, the rates are now \$25, and that is considered a reasonable figure. The Bell Telephone company cannot advance its prices to what any one might consider an exorbitant price, for the minute they do so, any number of individuals can associate themselves together and secure a charter and compete with the Bell Telephone company, with the right to make and use telephones. Owing to a monopoly of the Bell company in this country we are compelled to pay in Boston \$120 a year instead of \$25 a year, which would be the rate if it were not for the monopoly, and the stockholders are able to receive dividends on nine parts water and one reality. The customers would not have the same cause for complaint if they only got good service for what they have to pay out, but it is not very pleasant to be told that by paying \$60 per year more they might expect to get a fair service."

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

H. C. M. of Sparta, Ill.:—I want to say that The New Nation "just suits me." Down in this part of the vineyard nationalism is spreading like measles in a country school district. Everybody is taking it.

S. F. C. of Manchester, N. H.:—The tone of your paper suits me. It is powerful because it is true, and it will stand in history without a rival as the pioneer of the good times just ahead of us.

J. F. C. of New York:—In renewing my subscription, I desire to express high appreciation of the manner in which the paper has been conducted, and to assure the editor of my cordial co-operation in forwarding the interests of nationalism. The road to its realization may have many rough spots, but the goal is worth all the effort it will require to reach it.

London Justice: Is there one single useful or necessary duty performed by the capitalist today which the people organized could not perform for themselves?

**RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO OUR FRIENDS
THE CORPORATIONS.**

As so many corporation attorneys are attempting to prove to the citizens of various towns that to engage in municipal lighting is a dangerous undertaking, the following report from the manager of the municipal plant in Jamestown, N. Y., will be of interest. We reproduce the report verbatim:

To the Mayor and Common Council: -

I hereby respectfully submit the following report of the cost of electric lights from Dec. 1, 1891 to Nov. 1, 1892:

Coal	\$705 50
Carbons	699 69
Oil	191 20
Globes	41 89
Waste	32 10
Packing	14 28
Incandescent lamps	62 52
Carbonholders	25 35
Gas	20 54
Cleaning and repairing dynamo	16 25
Repairs on lines	27 00
Insurance estimated and not paid	143 75
Repairs on machinery and grates	41 07
Sundries and supplies	108 67
Paid for operating	2,525 00
Interest on bonds	1,150 00
Total	\$5,805 81

135 arc lamps to October 1st.

137 arc lamps since October 1st.

GEORGE W. JONES.

Jamestown, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1892.

A careful analysis of the above report shows the cost of each lamp per year to be \$44.76. The original cost of the plant was \$28,800, and as those who are interested in private companies claim that a legitimate item of expense is 5 per cent for depreciation on plant, we will allow the \$1440 represented by that item. It is also claimed by private companies that there is a loss of taxes on a municipal plant, we therefore allow \$345.60 for that purpose, which is \$12 on a thousand for the full cost of the plant, assuming that it would be assessed for its full value, and we find that these two items increase the cost of each lamp \$13.18, which makes the total cost for each 1200 candle power arc light \$57.94. In answer to an inquiry in regard to the portion of the night the lights were run, a member of the board of public works replies, "Lights burn all night and every night." We pass these figures over to the corporation attorneys for their inspection.

LET THE ELEMENT OF PROFIT BE REMOVED.

Charles F. Warner of Northampton writes as follows to the Springfield Republican:

"Why is it that in all this talk about the Gothenburg plan of dealing with the liquor drinking evil, no reference

has been made to the method advocated by the people's party and Edward Bellamy? This latter gentleman is an 'impracticable dreamer,' of course! and the people's party are a lot of fanatics and socialists, too, but there were over a million of them in the last election, and is it not just possible that some good may come out of Nazareth? In your last issue Mr. Parker of New Bedford and Maj. H. M. Brewster of your city give good reasons why, from the standpoint of good morals and actual experience, the Gothenburg plan is not a desirable one to adopt.

"To begin with, the saloon must go! It is a relic of man's physical barbarism, so to speak, and I believe that the nationalists' plan of dealing with the liquor question would do much toward driving out the liquor dive. This system allows no sales by the glass over the bar; it only permits purchases of government agents employed on a salary, of a certain quantity of liquor, not be drunk on the premises where sold. It demands the sale of only pure liquors at cost, and upon complaint of any one showing evidence that liquor has been sold to a person who misuses it, the agent must immediately cease such sales, upon peril of being complained of himself to higher authority and losing his place and salary. It will be seen that this plan does away with the element of profit in the liquor business, which is the sole reason so many men have engaged in it, and which is the cause of its abuse in irresponsible sales in the corruption and debauchery of our state and national politics, and which must continue to be, in spite of reform ballot laws.

"It seems to me that the nationalist plan ought to satisfy the prohibitionist brethren, as no one is licensed to sell the liquor as a beverage in public places and it drives the traffic for gain into the darkest places, which the government's experience in enforcing revenue laws has shown that it can control and stamp out; while the whole moral force of the people would be at the back of the government to enforce the law and close up the evil places, with advancing civilization, as the woodman's ax in clearing the forest renders longer inhabitable the home of the venomous copperhead and rattlesnake."

In reference to Mr. Warner's letter, our readers are reminded that the nationalist plan does not necessarily involve any particular set of regulations or restrictions as to the mode or purposes of the sales. It proposes simply that the sale, subject to whatever state or local restrictions may exist, shall be exclusively conducted at cost by state officials, with no interest in the amount of sales. In a prohibition state sales would be for mechanical and medicinal purposes only; in other states sales would be not for consumption on the premises, and in other states consumption on the premises would be permitted. These variations of practice would leave unaffected the nationalist idea which is merely that of exclusive public management at cost with the motive of profit eliminated.

A STATE TWINE PLANT.

A Western paper has this to say about the experiment in Minnesota of making twine by the state:

"The inspectors of the state prison report with great favor regarding the state binder twine industry. The single set of machinery purchased in 1890 has been increased to three. The production of twine has reached a million pounds, which is sold direct to the farmers at 9 cents per pound, without loss to the state. The present daily output is 6,500 pounds, a rate which will double next year's output. The hemp material consumed is now largely produced in the state. The concern is in every way in flourishing financial and industrial condition, and asks nothing of the state, except the moderate sum of \$5,000 annually for permanent improvements.

"The experiment of the state in the manufacture of hemp twine may therefore be called a success. The question of enlarging the present plant's scope will doubtless be urged by those who would like to see the state produce sufficient twine for the state's consumption. The present monopoly held by the National Cordage company on both the machinery and material for making manilla and sisal twine renders it practically impossible for extension in that direction. A committee appointed by the state Legislature to purchase such machinery found it impossible unless they would pledge themselves to protect the trust in its interests. Should the experiment of utilizing home-grown flax fiber, however, prove the success claimed for it by the Austin Flax Fiber company, the state plant would find ready at hand an opportunity for extension independent of the trust, its methods and materials."

PUBLIC TELEGRAPH IN ITALY.

"The telegraph system of Italy," says the Engineering News, "is almost entirely owned and operated by the government, with the exception of the lines belonging to the railway companies, operated by them for their own purposes and in some cases for private business. The ordinary messages are sent at a fixed rate of 20 cents per 15 words or less, including the address. Urgent telegrams have the precedence over all others, and are charged 60 cents for the same number of words. These rates are the same throughout the entire kingdom, no matter what the distance. The number of employees in 1890 was 7,511. The gross earnings of the system in 1890 amounted to \$3,010,974 and the expenses to \$2,703,137, leaving a net earning of \$307,837. The aggregate length of wires in 1890 was 83,270 miles. The number of telegraph offices operated by the railway companies in 1890 was 1,507. About the only criticism made in Italy upon the present telegraph system is that the tariff is considered rather high, which applies equally to the

postal system, but the economic and financial conditions of the country are such that a reduction is not easy."

7-

STREET CARS WILL BE WARMED UNDER NATIONALISM.

A Bostonian writing from Washington, D. C., says:

"There is a trolley road, like the West End, from Alexandria to Mt. Vernon, whose cars are heated splendidly by electricity from the overhead wire. The manager told me that the cost was so slight he had not been able to discover it at the power house. It was not over three amperes. Oh, for nationalism!"

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE MEMORIAL.

The New Nation has now on hand blank memorials to Congress asking for public telegraph and telephone systems. We call upon subscribers in every state of the Union to lend a hand in this great undertaking. There is no dream about this business. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns. This is for circulation outside of Massachusetts.

Blank Form of the Petition.

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service.

NAME.	STREET.	TOWN.	STATE.
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[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

NATIONALISM IN POLITICS.

TWO CAMPS IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Initiative Popular in California. The Situation in the Various States. Note and Comment.

F. W. Kittredge, state Senator-elect of Boston, an influential republican, made a remarkable speech at the Chickatawbut club last week, on the causes of the defeat of the republican party. "The masses," he said, "had come to be distrustful of the republican party, were afraid that our party would not protect them from the dread money power, and cast their votes with the parties they thought stood out against monopolies. The populist candidate, Weaver, polled votes sufficient, if added to those given to Harrison, to have re-elected the present president. Is this not enough to show that the people's party is not to be despised? We must not despise it. The populists are assaulting and making inroads into the monstrous practice of pooling of capital seen everywhere about the country, and are carrying the masses with them. Gentlemen, this question of the trusts and monopolies is right upon us here, and is one of which the republican party must and ought to take heed. The lessons taught by the election are three in number: First, the control of the presidency has passed from the slums of New York city to the plains of the West, the home of the populists, whom fight or absorb we must, if we would maintain our party. Second, the South is not again likely to be solid for the democratic party. The populist vote there was 500,000. Third, the masses of the people of America are not longer to be contented with good homes, good clothes, good schools and good money in good banks when they have constantly in their view such men as Gould and their millions. I am sure that that party which does not represent the moral sense and moral purposes of the people in this matter will get left all along in the state and municipal elections. Let us well recall Mr. Edmunds' words of 1890, that unless the progress of the trusts is checked, there will soon come a time when under the tyranny of capital we shall have no liberty."

Upon the other hand, men like Congressman Lodge are doing what they can to hold the republican party to the old lines, and it is evident that the Lodge men are in the majority at the council board. The G. O. P. is in danger of falling into two camps. Meantime republicans are continually joining the people's party in this state. Our advice to populists in towns where an inquiring spirit prevails is to send to the state central committee for speakers. Let meetings for discussion multiply.

Boston Advertiser: "Senator-elect Kittredge, in his elaborate and eloquent speech before the Chickatawbut club

last Thursday evening, seconded very effectually the Advertiser's call upon the republican party to array itself with uncompromising vigor against that recently-hatched business octopus, the trust. He was entirely right in saying that the masses of the people are aroused on this subject, and are going to vote upon it every time they see a chance, or think they see one."

Los Angeles Times: "If the initiative were introduced we would not be entirely dependent upon the Legislature to submit just what it might choose for popular arbitrament, but reforms could spring directly from the people. If the populites advance no worse fads than this they will not be very dangerous."

The white vote of Alabama is 160,000, and the populist vote is 85,000. If any one claims that the new party is not breaking the solid South, lead him up gently to the above figures.

We notice in various Western papers some little stress of personalities in third party discussion. Our advice to populists is to fight economic or currency monopoly as indicated in the Omaha platform. Soldiers rarely go far wrong if they keep firing in the direction of the enemy.

New York Journal of Commerce: "There is something pathetic in the incident at Homestead, where out of 300 children who wrote to Santa Claus, 250 asked for shoes and clothing. Most of the men at Homestead were owners of homes of their own, and when the strike occurred which left them without employment, the hardship was more severe than it would have been if they had been domiciled temporarily. There ought to be some remedy found for conditions that result from a concentration of capital that populates and depopulates villages at the will of one man. Strikes are not the remedy."

The Topeka Advocate believes that the ballot-box is the remedy for the sad state of things above described.

The Oregon republicans have failed in their mandamus proceedings to compel the secretary of state to throw out certain Weaver votes. In consequence of the decision of the state supreme court, Pierce, populist, is one of the presidential electors for Oregon.

The first ballot for temporary secretary of the Nebraska Senate stood: Republicans 14, populists 14, democrats 5; in the House, J. T. Sheridan populist, has been chosen temporary speaker by a vote of 51 to 48.

The Montana Legislature has organized with the election of Thomas Matthews, populist, speaker, and J. H. Wiley, democrat, chief clerk.

The Nebraska Farmers' alliance is evidently not in danger of being drawn off of the main issue by any

incidental reform, as appears from the following resolutions :

"That while we are heartily in favor of improved roads we are unalterably opposed to and condemn any method proposing the bonding of the state, country or district for such purpose, and that we sound the alarm to all other labor organizations to watch this new scheme of capital to further enslave labor.

"That while we rejoice at the establishment of any new enterprise, we are unalterably opposed to any and all subsidies or bounties.

"That as wheat raising is one of our chief industries in Nebraska we recognize the 'millers' combine' as one of the most oppressive agencies against our farmers, there being obviously an unjust and unfair margin of profit between producers of wheat and consumers of flour, and that some steps should be taken to more nearly divide profits, even if should be found necessary to build and operate our own mills."

Chairman Taubeneck and officers of the people's party have issued a letter to the populists of the various Legislatures, warning them against fusion in the Senatorial elections. They say: "Make a square fight for our principles, and vote for no man unless you know that he will advocate and defend them in the United States Senate. We have arrived at a period in our movement where we must make a square, stand-up fight for principle. If the two dominant parties want to fuse on candidates to defeat us, let them do so. The sooner they do that the better it will be for us."

Chelsea People's Party.

The people's party club of Chelsea will hold its first regular meeting Monday evening the 9th, at W. C. T. U. hall, Fourth street. The public is cordially invited.

Note and Comment.

Boston Herald: "It seems to us that this business of ridiculing the new men who have come up in the West in the populist party has been much overdone." We are exceedingly pleased with the progress of the Herald along the venturesome line of reform. It is only about a month ago that the Herald felt called upon to say: "Beauty doesn't win everything in this world. This fact is demonstrated by the fact that William Arthur McKeighan has been triumphantly elected to Congress from the 2d district of Nebraska. McKeighan is a populite, but all parties allow that he is the homeliest man in the present House, and that he has few equals anywhere."

The Lynn people's party club is actively engaged in propaganda work, and in furtherance of that object it has been decided to establish an information bureau. The secretary, B. H. Fairfield, will have charge of the work, and will take subscriptions for leading reform papers in various parts of the country. Reform literature addressed to the secretary, 94 Glenwood street, Lynn, Mass., will be gratefully received.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND LONDON FOGS.

"The London county council," says the Boston Herald, "has turned out to be a remarkably active and enterprising body, but when it is said to be seriously proposing to take up the problem of abolishing the fogs that have so long given ill-repute to that city it would seem that it is taking a tremendous contract upon its hands.

"The only thing required to prevent the fogs is to provide a different method of combustion. This it is proposed to do by establishing municipal gas-works, as has been done very generally in other English cities, and producing gas for fuel purposes on such a scale, and consequently at so low a price as to induce its general adoption by providing the cheapest method of heating. Its use would be made compulsory, if necessary to the end in view. The advantage of gas for fuel, however, would be so evident that recourse to compulsion would hardly be required. The economy of the innovation would be very great, for not only do thousands of tons of coal now pass off unconsumed in the form of smoke, but the loss caused by the suspension of traffic while the fogs last—and they sometimes endure for days at a time—is enormous.

"B. H. Thwaite makes a daring suggestion in the Contemporary Review in this connection. He would generate the gas in the coal fields of South Yorkshire, Staffordshire and South Wales, and transmit it in pipes to London under high pressure, as in the case of natural gas in this country. He estimates that by this means an enormous saving over the transportation of coal by rail would be effected amounting to a total of over \$20,000,000, which after providing for interest on cost, maintenance, etc., would, while giving consumers the advantage of fuel at a price much less than that of coal, leave a very large surplus available for public improvements."

MUNICIPALIZATION OF LIQUOR DISCUSSED IN GLASGOW.

At a recent meeting of the Glasgow (Scot.) Philosophical society, a paper was read by John Mann, Jr., on "Reformed Public Houses." He explained the leading features of the Scandinavian liquor legislation, and the municipalization of hotels managed by companies. In Norway the profits, he said, are devoted to charities and benevolent schemes unsupported by the rates, such as laborers' dwellings, reading-rooms, clubs, theatres, etc., and accordingly the purity of the motive could not be impugned. Reform rather than destroy the present public-houses, the speaker said. Take away from the drink seller all incentive to press sales. The advantages would be an easy and prompt reduction in number of licenses, the police and drink sellers for the first time acting thoroughly in concert; adulteration, so scandalous in the mining districts around Glasgow, would cease; regulations in advance of general law could be enforced, and as the net result we would find a considerable diminution of intemperance, a reduction in crime and disorder, and a large surplus of from a quarter to a million sterling per annum for Glasgow alone. In commenting upon Mr. Mann's address editorially, the Glasgow Evening News says: "We have repeatedly argued that municipal control of the drink traffic is, from the social point of view, a possible solution of the liquor question worthy of serious consideration."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

We noted last week that the aldermen and common council of Springfield had voted to have a public electric lighting system. To make their decision more binding, reconsideration of the vote was refused a couple of days later by a large majority. To the general astonishment and indignation the mayor has vetoed the ordinance. His name is Sibley and he is an elderly man. In fact, he apologized for his veto, which he admitted might be a mistake, on the pathetic ground that he was too old to understand these new ideas. The effect of the veto will probably be to postpone, at most only a year, the adoption of public lighting, while the indignant discussion of the rights of the people against the bloodsucking corporations and their official puppets which it has excited, will do more for nationalism and the people's party in Springfield than a ton of tracts. Mayor Sibley was not re-elected, and will not be able to do any more vetoing.

At the last meeting of the Woburn common council for 1892, an order was unanimously adopted to the effect that in the judgement of that body it was expedient for the city to avail itself of the provision of the law relative to the establishment of a municipal lighting plant.

Boston Transcript: Springfield declares in favor of municipal lighting. It is but a step from electricity to heating, and Springfield would, no doubt, go into the coal business, too, did the constitution permit. Some, at least, of the nationalists' ideas have effected a lodgment in public opinion.

The Legislature will be again asked this winter to grant a charter for the building of the Cape Cod canal, by a company known as the Bass River Canal company, but it is understood that they will not ask for state aid.

The Connecticut River gobbler here is making nationalists by the thousands," writes a Springfield (Mass.) subscriber.

Oregon.

Alliance Herald (Peddleton): If the telegraph system was owned and operated by the government, the people would not only get their news cheaper, but when they got it, it could be relied upon as true.

Washington.

Spokane is wrestling with the problem of complete municipal ownership of its water supply. Both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor of the city are actively engaged in the battle, the latter having passed the following resolution: "We, the Spokane branch of the American Federation of Labor, believe that the city of Spokane should own its entire water system, being thereby independent of private corporations and monopolies." It is also proposed that the city should own its electric light plant, and operate it in connection with the water power supplied by the new dam for the water-works.

Kansas.

Westport is considering propositions for an electric light plant. In commenting upon this the Kansas City (Mo.) Star says: "If a private corporation finds it profitable to

supply Westport with electric light, why may not the public corporation of Westport find it profitable to supply itself? It happens that the matter of municipal ownership and operation of light plants is not an experiment. All about us, at Topeka, at St. Joseph, at Hannibal, municipal ownership system of electric light plants has been tested for some years. Some instructive figures have been published. For instance, the cost per light per night in Kansas City under the private corporation system is 55 cents; in St. Joseph under the city ownership plan it is 14 1-3 cents, the candle power being the same in both cities.

Michigan.

Mayor Pinqua of Detroit, favors municipal ownership of natural monopolies. He maintains that "if the courts decide that the franchise of the Citizen's street railway company expire May 1 next, the city ought to lay its own tracks and rent them to the highest bidder. Although Toronto is smaller than Detroit, it gets more revenue from its street car lines in one month than Detroit does in a year, and Toronto makes its telegraph and telephone companies pay five per cent of their gross receipts. The mayor says that the Michigan Gas company has made the city pay \$100,000 to repair the damage to streets, and yet the city gets not one cent of revenue from the corporation."

Iowa.

"I am surprised" writes Judge C. C. Cole to a local paper, "that the city council will entertain any proposition looking to the continuance of the term of the water company for supplying the city and its citizens with water. The disregard by that company of its contract with the city in the past; its multiplied extortions; its universal overbearing and insulting treatment of those who make complaints of either service or charges for the same, seem to demand that the city and its citizens be supplied with water through some other instrumentality. In my view the time is past in which any city should grant to any corporation the right to exercise its municipal authority. It is the duty of the city to supply itself and citizens with water."

Miscellaneous.

Prominent non-manufacturers are interested in a huge fire insurance company now forming in New York under the name of the American Fire Insurance Lloyds. It will be composed of 300 of the richest men in the country, starts out with cash assets of \$4,500,000, and will issue no policy for less than \$25,000. They will refuse to become members of any boards, or to be governed by them in any way in the making of rates.

The quarterly circular sent out by the banking house of H. S. Loucheim & Co., Philadelphia, says: "Between lower rates and higher expenses the managers have a hard time to make both ends meet, and the numerous consolidations and combines may eventually lead to an acquisition of the whole system of transportation by the government; for the present an effort is being made to mitigate the evil by allowing the 'pooling' of railroads through a modification of the interstate commerce law."

The Artisan (Chicago): While we may not agree with The New Nation as to the proper method to follow in order to "take away" this power which Jay Gould wielded so remorselessly, we are certainly in accord with it in the view that the piling up of such vast fortunes by individuals is a menace which calls loudly for consideration at the hands of those responsible for the permanency and security of the nation.

Foreign.

The pawn shops of Mexico are municipalized, and for the month of October, Mexico City received nearly \$5000 from this source.

NEW BOOKS.

At Sundown.

A beautiful book, containing the last poems of JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. With a portrait and eight photographs. Bound in white and gold. 16mo, gilt top, \$1.50.

The Old English Dramatists.

A book of delightful lectures by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Professor in Harvard University. Uniform with Riverside Lowell, also in fancy binding, \$1.25.

Shelley's Poetical Works.

Edited, with an Introductory Memoir, by GEORGE E. WOODBURY, Professor of Literature in Columbia College. Centenary edition. From new plates, and more nearly complete and every way desirable than any library edition of Shelley previously published. With a new portrait. 4 vols., crown 8vo, gilt top, \$7.00.

Pagan and Christian Rome.

By RODOLFO LUNCIANI, author of "Ancient Rome in the Light of Modern Discoveries," giving the results of archaeological researches relating to the first five centuries of the Christian era and describing the transformation of the Rome of the Cæsars into the capital of Christendom. With numerous illustrations. In Roman binding, with a slip cover. 1 vol., square 8vo, \$6.00.

Uncle Remus and his Friends.

A delightful concluding book of "Uncle Remus" stories and ballads, by JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS. With 12 excellent full-page illustrations by A. B. Frost. 12mo, \$1.50.

The Story of Mary Washington.

A book of new and very interesting information about the mother of Washington, by MARY VIRGINIA TERHUNE ("Marion Harland"). With a portrait and eight illustrations. 16mo, \$1.00.

The Story of a Child.

A charming story of child life and character, but not written for children, by MARGARET DELAND, author of "John Ward, Preacher." 16mo, \$1.00.

A Book of Famous Verse.

A delightful volume, containing a great variety of the best British and American poems. Selected and arranged by AGNES REPPLIER, author of "Books and Men" and "Points of View." 16mo, tastefully bound, full gilt, \$1.25; also in Riverside Library for Young People. 75 cents.

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A book full of interesting information for young people about a peculiarly interesting country and people, by WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D., author of "The Mikado's Empire," "The Lily among Thorns," etc. In Riverside Library for Young People. 16mo, 75 cents.

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A story of marvel, magic and the powers of a mysterious ring, by FERGUS HUME, author of the very popular story, "The Mystery of a Hansom Cab." 16mo, \$1.25.

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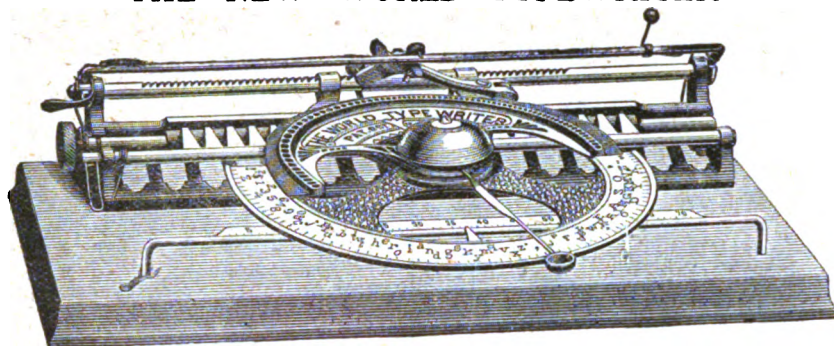
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Vol. 3. No. 3.

Boston, Mass., Jan. 21, 1893.

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legislation is one that we believe in the near future will be generally adopted and prove one of the most potent weapons in the deliverance of the people from the money-power. The popular initiative should, however, be complemented by the referendum, which compels any law passed by the Legislature or municipal council to be put to popular vote upon petition of a certain proportion of electors. The referendum is a defensive weapon, the popular initiative an aggressive weapon, and when the people are equipped with both, the politician may as well go out of business. We earnestly hope that one or both of these propositions will be brought before the Massachusetts Legislature at this session. We must not let California get ahead of the old Bay State.

A Zero Argument for Nationalizing Coal Mines.

This freezing weather has caused untold suffering in many sections of the country on account of partial or complete failure of the coal supply. In many localities the local dealers' supplies of coal have been exhausted, and in many more instances the pressure upon the supply has caused a doubling and trebling of prices which has put the fuel quite beyond the reach of the poor and constituted a cruel tax on those better off. Meanwhile the biting need of the people has been coined into gold by the coal mine owners, all the coal stocks having advanced heavily in consequence of the severe weather. The suffering of the people would not be without compensation if they would lay to heart the moral as to the advantages of national regulation of the coal supply. Under such a system the object would be to give the miners steady employment and the people a steady supply. Temporary fluctuations in demand would not be regarded. Every city would have forwarded to it and stored for use from three to six months' supply in advance, and the price would not vary winter or summer, nor would any clogging of transportation for however long a time cause any inconvenience or rise in prices.

Nationalism and the Failure of the Ohio Gas Wells.

A striking illustration of the enormous rate at which, under the competitive system, we are wasting the natural

This is the stage which Europe long ago reached and America is now entering on.

The relation of employer and employed based upon private capitalism is not only morally wrong and offensive to human dignity, but is, also economically unsound and vicious for the reason that the workers under it fail to receive the entire product of their toil less the expenses of conducting business. The result of this is not only the individual loss and poverty of the workers, but a necessary limitation of the aggregate wealth production of the community, for the reason that the purchasing and consuming power of the masses being measured by the portion of their product which they receive, and this being much less than the total of that product, there is no provision by which the community can within itself exchange and thus consume its product. The consequence is, as we see in all modern nations, over-production on every hand, industry tending toward stagnation unless aided by foreign markets, and a vast army of willing hands for which there is not and cannot be occupation under the present system.

These are the reasons why there can be no settlement of the industrial problem which is not based upon the absolute overthrow of the relation of employer and employed and of the system of private capitalism upon which it rests.

This overthrow can be brought about without damage to the acquisitions of civilization by one plan only, namely the public organization of capital and industry on a national co-operative basis, precisely as the public defense and other public services are already organized, for the equal benefit of all under a uniform law of contribution by all to which citizens respond according to their ability.

Imagine a just taxation system and you have the germ and principle of nationalism. The principle of a just taxation system is that all pay according to their ability, while on the other hand, all share equally in the advantages of public expenditure whatever taxes they are able to pay or if unable to pay any. Nationalism is merely the extension of this principle to the general industrial organization, and there is no other possible solution of the economic problem.

A BILL to Fix the Price of Coal by Law.

Those persons who cry out "paternalism," whenever the people strike a blow in self-defence, are likely to feel badly over the McMahon bill for regulating the price of coal which has just passed to its third reading in the New York Senate. The bill is presented as the outcome of an investigation by a committee into the Reading deal and possible remedies. The committee finds that federal legislation alone can deal with the matter effectively, covering as it does several states, but meanwhile it is thought New York can do something.

The McMahon bill will require all persons engaged in the transportation of anthracite coal to be used in the state and all coal dealers in the state, to take out state licenses, without which they are forbidden to do business. The carrier's license shall fix a maximum rate per mile to be charged for railroad transportation and the dealer's license a maximum rate per ton to be charged for coal at retail, exclusive of charge for delivery. The board of railroad commissioners, which is to issue the licenses, will fix the maximum rates and revise them every three months. Not over \$4.50 per

ton is under any circumstances to be charged in New York city or Brooklyn. Fines, with revocation of licenses, are provided for breaches of the law.

The coal people say that the bill is unconstitutional, and we should not be surprised if it were so. The state constitutions are drawn so strongly in the interest of "vested interests," that there is always a good likelihood that any measure for the relief of the people will be found unconstitutional. Considerable constitution tinkering of a radical sort is going to be necessary to prepare the way for nationalism.

Meanwhile the McMahon bill suggests certain reflections. Its drastic way of going at the trouble as if it meant to help the people without much regard to who got hurt, is in cheering contrast with the average anti-trust law. At the same time the method is the wrong one. Instead of a system to check the extortions of private coal dealers while leaving them a monopoly of the business, municipal coal yards should be established to sell at cost, a necessary result of which would be that private coal dealers would go out of business.

This distinction between attempted public regulation of businesses left in private hands and the direct public assumption of such businesses, represents precisely the difference between the empirical and symptomatic remedies of the superficial reformer and the scientific radicalism of the nationalistic method which deals with the diseases of the body politic by a constitutional treatment going to the root of the evil.

The root of the evil in this matter of the coal supply extortion is private greed. The McMahon bill proposes a system of checks and balance to hinder and modify this evil principle while leaving it in force; the nationalist plan of municipal coal yards, supplemented as soon as possible by national management of coal mining, proposes to eliminate altogether the motive of greed by making the business a public one.

Capitalistic Greed Responsible for the Tyranny of Fashion.

The general panic, now shared by the entire civilized world, over the threatened return of the hoop skirt as an element in feminine attire, is serious enough, despite its laughable side. But while nationalists must suffer with the rest of the community in the coming calamity, they ought to be able to get some satisfaction out of the remarkably effective argument which the situation furnishes against the present system of private capitalism as the basis of business and in favor of the national co-operative plan.

It has been a favorite argument of the champions of the present system as against the co-operative centralized conduct of business under nationalism, that the present system is favorable to private initiative and allows free scope to individuality, that, in a word, while it may be open to various criticisms economic and moral, it preserves and favors freedom and variety. On the other hand these logicians have painted nationalism as a system under which everything would be modelled after one rule by arbitrary edict and individual initiative brutally stifled.

Well, the private capitalistic system is at present in full blast, and what do we see going on under it? Truly an

amazing performance. A costume which the entire sense of the feminine world, supported by the world of men, has always condemned and condemns as superlatively hideous, inconvenient, unhealthful and immodest, as well as needlessly and extravagantly costly, is being forced into general adoption by the fiat of an absolute and irresponsible authority that does not even deign to give explanations, much less to notice objections. A great volume of protest is going up from the press of all Christendom against the new law, and indignant hosts of women are binding themselves by oaths to resist it, but everybody knows that resistance will be vain and that a few months will find the new edict fully enforced and conformed to by those who have been loudest in their protests against it.

There is, in fact, nothing novel in the present situation. The hoop skirt edict is simply the latest in an indefinite series of equally arbitrary decrees by which in modern times the costumes of both men and women have been revolutionized at brief intervals to the enormous inconvenience and pecuniary sacrifice of those affected. Many of the costumes decreed in the past have been as inartistic, as immodest, as shocking to general feeling as the one now dictated, and have called forth similar storms of protest; but such protests have invariably failed to produce the slightest effect, and been followed by the abject submission of those who voiced them.

Will somebody with an unusually robust imagination try to fancy a system under which, in the important interest of costume, all personal freedom and individual initiative would be more effectually and remorselessly suppressed than they are under the system of private capitalism?

"But," perhaps some one may protest, "it is not private capitalism but that mysterious power called the Goddess of Fashion which is responsible for this tyranny, and there is nothing in nationalism to prevent her continued reign."

In these agnostic days when reverence for things out of right is so scarce, we do not like to assail the faith of any one who believes that fashions in dress are regulated from a mystical source, but if there be a Goddess of Fashion, it is safe to say that the cabinet which settles her varying policy is composed of the leading manufacturers and dealers in dress goods, and that the policy is determined by their commercial interests far more absolutely than that of Wall street is by the money kings.

These authorities have one motive, which is to obtain the largest possible sale for their products, and the policy which will procure this result, as any fool can see, is that of the most frequent changes possible in the forms and fabrics of dress, and the more complete the changes the better. The designers and makers of garments have obviously the same interest and can be trusted to second all suggestions of change without any express understanding. The newspapers and fashion journals which depend on the advertising patronage of the clothing and dry-goods dealers and prosper as their business is brisk, do their best to keep the ball rolling. The country retailer and smaller city dealer who are likely to be left with out-of-style goods on their shelves, would sometimes like to have the game go a little slower, but if the devil did not get the hindmost the game would not be competition.

Such simply is the origin of the changes of fashion in

dress and the machinery by which they enforce themselves to the point of commanding a vogue, after which it takes hero-stuff to resist them, and the struggle is really too contemptible to be worth its spending.

Is it true that the same influences will continue under nationalism? Obviously not, because the same motives will not continue. Under that system those engaged in any particular business will not depend on the demand for its particular product for their livelihood, but upon their equal citizen's share in the general product, and therefore those concerned in special branches of business will have no interests distinguished from those of the community at large. Under the present system the interest of each kind of workers is to promote the utmost use and waste of their product so that their business may be brisker. Under the nationalistic system of co-ordinated industries, the less needlessly consumed by any the more for all.

But might there not be a governmentally regulated costume? If there were it would certainly stand a chance of being a great improvement on the hoop skirt and bustle, which no despot would ever have dared inflict on the most patient subjects; but why imagine any regulation of costume at all? The government would be absolutely democratic and certainly the majority of a nation could never be brought voluntarily, for no possible profit, to enforce a regulation costume on themselves any more than to vote that everybody should eat beefsteak. Such enormities are the outcome of societies based on caste and tradition.

It seems safe to predict that under nationalism the natural effect of the situation will be to relegate the matter of costume more entirely to individual initiative than it ever has been before. —Beauty will be the only fashion and art alone give vogue.

Greater Boston.

The report of the Metropolitan park commission is a very interesting document. The commission, headed by Charles Francis Adams, recommends the establishment of a metropolitan park district covering Boston and about 20 towns and cities comprising 40 per cent of the population of the state. The district is modeled after the metropolitan sewerage district, which is conducted by a board of commissioners appointed by the governor. The commission develops a scheme of public improvement and uses the credit of the state to carry the plans out; the expense is levied upon the towns of the district pro rata. The argument of the secretary of the park commission, Sylvester Baxter, author of "Greater Boston," is in line with his plan for a metropolitan district covering substantially the same area, to which is to be given the function of developing not only the parks of this section, but also the street railways, the telephone, express business and other services at or near cost for the benefit of all the people. The secretary extends his investigations to the low tenement problem, and prints a diagram of the block of buildings erected by Liverpool and rented to the poorer classes. The property was condemned and sold under the right of eminent domain, the old rookeries pulled down and a block was built by the city, leaving an open court for recreation in the center. The Boston commission does not definitely commit itself to this scheme, but with the aid of

its secretary, has elaborated a plan which may eventually settle the vexed question of congested population. Boston should lead in this great reform; the essence of which is to recover from private ownership those monopolies that belong to the people.

A Case Typical of the Ethics of "Combination."

The obvious advantages in efficiency and economy which properly result from the combination and consolidation of branches of business under a central control are so great that if the plutocrats who are syndicating the commerce and industries of the country, were to give the people a fair proportion of the gains in the form of lowered charges, they might perhaps have even made plutocracy popular. Certainly they would have avoided much of the odium which they now have to contend with.

But in the nature of the case this was morally impossible. It is the fatality of the commercial of business spirit that it recognizes but one motive, one object of action, and that is selfish gain. Even when it would in the end be more gainful to be less grasping, the shortsightedness which is the peculiar quality of greed, for the most part presents its victims from realizing and acting on the lines of the larger policy.

The result has been that the innumerable syndicates, trusts and combinations of the last few years have been invariably conducted on the plan not only of appropriating to the managers and stockholders all the economics effected, but of going still further and using the monopolistic power gained by combination to increase charges and prices against the public.

One of the latest cases in point is offered by the terms of the lease by which the Boston & Maine system has absorbed the Connecticut River road. Under this arrangement the Boston & Maine is to guarantee 10 per cent dividends on the Connecticut River stock and also issue and further to give the stockholders a bonus of \$50 a share in 4 per cent 10 years certificates, of which the issue will aggregate \$1,290,000. Four per cent on this equals about 2 per cent on the entire stock of the road, so that in effect the Boston & Maine guarantee the Connecticut River stockholders 12 per cent dividends. The dividends heretofore paid by the Connecticut road have been 8 per cent. In order to pay 12 per cent, the charges must be increased 50 per cent over the present figures, which are already notoriously high, or the difference must be saved by neglecting repairs and cutting down operating and maintenance expenses hitherto deemed needful. For this doubling of the tax on the public no equivalent or return whatever is given.

The Connecticut River road is but a small mouthful, compared with other contemporary syndicate grabs, and we dwell on it only as a typical instance of the cynical depravity of the men who engineer these enterprises.

These men are public robbers, compared with whom the bank burglar and the foot-pad are comparatively innocuous persons.

When the American people fully wake up to a realization of this, the offenders may be expected to be treated with no more ceremony than is used to members of their profession in humbler walks of life.

GEN. WEAVER IN THE EASTERN STATES.

Gen. James B. Weaver, the populist leader, addressed a large audience at Cooper Union, New York, on the 6th. In his review of the political situation the speaker said: "We are today in the midst of a revolution that is wider than the continent. It is a revolution that will not down. Like the French revolution, it is opposed by a noblesse, represented by the corporations, and out of it has arisen a third estate, the commons, the people, but it is a peaceful revolution." The distinguished speaker was given a hearty welcome and his points made against the present industrial and currency conditions were cheered to the echo. Resolutions were passed demanding the ownership and control by the people of all means of communication and transportation, and the absolute control by the people of the volume of money. The following resolution was also unanimously passed: "And as citizens of this great city of New York, we do hereby further demand the construction and operation by the city and county of New York of whatever improved means of rapid transit may be finally agreed upon, and ultimately the acquisition thereby of all our civic lines of transportation, and we hereby call upon the Legislature now in session to at once provide by appropriate legislation for the submission to the direct vote of the people of this city of the question whether the city or private corporations shall build the proposed roads. And all these demands, municipal and national, we make in order that the poor as well as the rich may hereafter share in the increased wealth of our country, and that murderous monopolies may no longer under the guise of philanthropy, be allowed to plunder the people."

Gen. Weaver will remain on the Atlantic coast several weeks. He speaks in the theater at Lynn in this state on the 14th. Tickets were offered for sale for that occasion for 50 cents. We understand that there is already a premium on them. Further information concerning tickets may be obtained by addressing John T. Broderick, 33 Elm street, Lynn. Delegations from surrounding towns will attend the Lynn meeting and we urge friends to aid in giving the only third party candidate that has entered the electoral college since the war a rousing reception. Gen. Weaver is one of the best all-round debaters on reform issues we have. The general speaks at Portsmouth, N.H. on the 15th and at Marlboro, Mass. on the 17th.

A BROKEN SPIRIT.

There is something pathetic in the remarks of Ferdinand Ward to the Wall street stock exchanges upon his return from Sing Sing: "While in Sing Sing I thought the conditions very hard. My wife died. But in all my troubles every hour of the day at Sing Sing I comforted myself with the saying, 'This, too, shall pass away.' I have lived to see my experience there pass away. I will live to see all unkind thoughts of me pass away. I am in business now trying to earn an honest living. Whether I meet with success or failure, the result in either event will pass away." Here was a man who was caught in the toils of dishonest speculations, and he comes out of prison with the philosophy that the results of a man's career disappear like the snows in spring. It would be difficult to brew a noble race of men on that basis, and yet nine business men out of ten are in danger under competitive conditions of entertaining the same philosophy.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE NEW NATION.

Upward, upward press the people to that pure, exalted plane,
Where no throne shall cast a shadow and no slave shall wear a chain.

They have trampled on the faggots, broken crucifix and wheel,
Banished rack, and thongs, and hemlock, and the headsman's bloody steel.

Forced the churches to surrender stake, and scourge, and bolt and bar—

Torn the keys from off their girdles, thrown the gates of truth ajar.

They are lighting lamps of freedom on a million altar-stones,
With the torches they have kindled at the blaze of burning thrones.

As we higher march, and higher, on into this light serene —
Every man will be a kaiser, every woman be a queen —

Aye, queen regnant, then, and ransomed from the thralls she wears today,

While her lover, son and brother walk unfettered on their way.

She hath wept and prayed in passion — bitterly hath made her moan —

All the terrors and the tortures of the tyrant she hath known,
Still the blood that flows for freedom, flows for man and man alone.

Nay, behold! the light is burning with a strong and stronger flame,

And the foremost in the phalanx see the stark and stinging shame,

See the biting, blasting, burning shame of sex oppression now,
And with hands and hearts uplifted, swear a great and righteous vow,

That, despite the fangs of custom, and despite the church's frown,
Womanhood shall wield its sceptre, womanhood shall wear its crown.

She hath borne with man his crosses, she hath borne with man his chains,

She hath suffered all his losses, she hath suffered all his pains,
She shall stand with him, co-equal, on the pure, exalted planes!

WILL H. KERNAN.

WEALTH AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

[Joseph Wood in Seedtime, London.]

In the propaganda of socialism nothing seems to me more important than to get people to see and acknowledge the indebtedness of the individual to the community; that there would be no wealth but for the commonwealth; that the main element in property is not personal but social. It is only in fellowship and combination that property is acquired. The social life is the only answer, in fact, which meets the individual's desire to live. It may seem for a moment that the world of labor is just a world of toiling units, each bearing the burden of its own life. But this is only a fragment of the truth. Never in any past which history brings within view has the individual ever labored to support his own life by himself alone. As soon as industrial and economic life begin to have any history at all, we are following forms of combination between man and man which daily become more intricate and complex. No progress, no wealth, no accumulated stores, no life, in fact, is

possible except in fellowship. The duty to live is the duty to labor, and this becomes the duty to live in mutual helpfulness with others. In the light of this idea, what becomes of private property? How much of that which a man calls his own is really his own, and how much is the creation of purely social forces?

Certain it is that if we have any private property at all it is in our bodies — and yet we are told "we are not our own." For we are not our own makers. We are what we are because we are filled by the ministry of past ages with all the fulness of humanity. To-day we are fed in body, soul and spirit by the millions of human beings all over the wide world. Into the composition of our souls, into our affections, purposes and will, into our very mind and thought, the affections and wills and minds of millions of mankind have entered, and we, so made and fed and living in all this world wide life, fulfil our destiny in becoming in turn instruments to meet the needs and lives of others.

Think how much is done for us; what we receive and absorb. Let our imagination travel for a moment over the scenes where toil is now going on for us, to the far countries whence come our food supplies — all the world laid under tribute; think of our sailors in their hard and dangerous work; visit in fancy our miners, our factory-workers, our laborers in the East and the West, in the rice fields of India or in the wheat fields of California; think of all the myriad-headed service of this great city. It passes all imagination. Others are always working for us. We are always being ministered unto. Day by day, hour by hour our indebtedness to the community increases. To the community we owe everything. Or go back again over your own life. How many have toiled that you might become what you are — educated, refined, the scholar, the gentleman. Think what has been the labor of creating the civilization we unconsciously inherit. Which of us can repay to the existing generation, still less to the world, the vast debt we owe? We talk about our right to our own! What is our own? We are bankrupts every one except by the grace of the community, and our one right is the right to serve. Each for all can be our only motto, and private property becomes a mere convention, more or less convenient, but a convention only, which society allows and which society can abolish without wronging any man.

Although it is a simple and obvious fact that the social element in production is a hundred to one compared with the individual element, it is necessary to illustrate its working. For this purpose no better example can be found than our old friend Plugson, the typical cotton-lord, whose portrait has been painted for us by Carlyle. Consider a day in the life of a man like Plugson. He comes down in the morning and finds on his breakfast table a newspaper, which gives him tidings from all over the world and which he eagerly consults, that he may know how the money market stands. Look at that printed page — price one penny. Remember that there was a time when there were no books, no news-sheets, no papers, no writing, no alphabet. Plugson's power to make money lies largely in that penny newspaper; without it he would be a poor man. But he did not invent the alphabet; he did not invent the printing machine; he did not elaborate all the arts by which the penny newspaper is possible. It is fair to say that

without that morning sheet on his breakfast table Plugson would be worth less by £50,000 than he is. He has received a magnificent gift from the past; 10,000 experiments have been made during the last thousand years before he could have his morning newspaper. To whom do the result of these experiments belong? To society as a whole; to civilization; to the multitudinous community.

Having finished his breakfast Plugson hurries off to catch the train for business, and looking at the church clock sees by it he is a minute late. Plugson believes in punctuality, and quickens his stride. Minutes are money! But how comes it that Plugson is able so accurately to mark the minutes? Did he invent watches and clocks? That church clock sums up in itself a long series of efforts and failures, and centuries of thought and labor, from the time when men took to marking the time by sun dials, on to the time when Galileo saw the censer swinging in Pisa cathedral and conceived the idea of the pendulum, on again, through a score of inventors, of workers, to our Dollands and Bensons. At what cost has this triumph of skill been won? Whose cost? Not Plugson's. And yet how much of his wealth he owes to the convenience of clocks and watches; that is, to the accurate registration of time.

Plugson just catches his train, and in 30 minutes is landed in the city, having traveled 12 miles in that short space of time. Is it any merit of Plugson's that he can fly over the ground at this speed? What does that steam engine represent, which economizes his time and adds so much to his wealth? It represents an amount of thought, patience, experiment after experiment, stretching back for hundreds of years, almost inconceivable in variety and extent. No one man invented the steam-engine. Before the steam-engine was invented some one had to invent screws, nuts, bolts, the smelting of iron, the manufacture of steel; the laws of compression and expansion had to be discovered; many lives and countless treasure were expended in building up this wonderful fiery steed. What a mighty movement along the ages is represented by the steam-engine! To whom does the steam-engine belong, with its thousand inventions? Not to Plugson, not to this generation: to society as a whole. And the wealth we acquire through the steam-engine is society's gift to us; we did not make it all.

Leaving the station Plugson steps out into the smoothly paved, well-lit, carefully swept and watered street. That street was once simply a mud lane between rows of tumble-down cottages. What a convenience it is to Plugson that he can walk in ease and safety along the smooth pavement and well-kept road. Who made that road? Whose efforts laid down that cunning macadam? Who first thought of slightly arching the road that it should be kept well drained? The very streets of our town we did not pay for; previous generations have built them and left them to us for a legacy. Yet without such well-kept roads how would Plugson do his business, run with ease from his office to the Exchange, send his wagons swiftly and safely on their errands?

So we might go through all the day in Plugson's company, might see him writing out checks, using the telegraph, eagerly opening the letters which have come by post, answering them by the aid of a typewriter, recovering a debt in the county court, giving orders through the tele-

phone and securing to himself his gains and fortune, not one tenth so much by his own brains, skill, knowledge, invention, muscles, nerves, activities, as by the forces and conquests of civilization which he has received from the past, and which he is just clever enough to turn to his own account. And now tell me how much of his £100,000 he made himself? How much of it does he owe to society?

Nine tenths of any man's wealth is not of his own making at all, it is a social product, and it is for the community to say how its private possession shall be regulated and on what terms.

This again is true of nine tenths of capital, that it is a social and not an individual creation. Where does capital come from? Who created it? The usual answer is capital is labor saved. It is nothing of the sort, except to a very small degree. Nineteen twentieths of capital is labor taxed. In asserting that capital is the result of savings, we insinuate that capitalists are a highly deserving class of people indeed, since it is due to their self-denying, wonderful "abstinence" that we have any capital at all. This is perhaps the greatest of all the fallacies of the old political economy.

Here is a man who begins life with the typical half-crown and at 50 years of age retires with a fortune of £50,000. This now is so much capital which he invests! But how did he get it? At 20 years of age he found himself working shoemaker, earning £2 a week. He lived on £1 and saved £1, and at the end of five years found himself with a capital of £250. This he has saved and he deserves much credit for his abstinence. But mark you, this is all he ever does save, for now he changes his method and instead of saving from his own earnings begins to tax the earnings of others. He takes five people into his employ — two girls, two boys and a man. He gives the boys and girls each 5s. a week, and the man 25s. a week, a total of £2 5s. But the profit of the work done by the five people amounts to £5. He need do no work himself except that of superintendence, and he will receive more for his own portion than he did when he toiled all the week to earn £2. Now he receives £2 15s. But he is better off not because he saves labor, but because he taxes labor. He need not save another penny. Indeed he begins to spend. He lives in a larger house, keeps servants, in time sets up a carriage, and by this method of taxing labor, every year extended, gradually accumulates £50,000.

Given the possession of £50,000 gained in the way I have described, what does its owner do? He retires from business and lives upon what he pleasantly and euphemistically calls "his savings." Well and good. But does he? Nothing of the sort. He proposes to eat his cake and have it too. He lives on interest. At five per cent he receives £2,500 a year and at the end of 20 years has received his £50,000 in 20 annual payments. His capital is gone? Not so. It is there just the same, and he proposes to tie it up and leave it to his family in such a way that they shall become a perpetual rent-charge of £2,500 on the community. Because he was clever enough to amass 50,000l he purposes to fasten his family upon the country for the next 200 years, or perhaps longer, as members of an idle class who draw their living from the community. Now why, in justice, should 50 families have

to work harder than otherwise would be necessary in order to keep this one family in idleness and luxury for ever and ever? For where does the interest on capital come from? Again it comes from the taxation of labor. Labor pays it; every farthing of it!

Let us press home the indebtedness of the individual to the community. Our wealth, our ordered world, our civilization, our freedom, our knowledge, have been bought with a great price. We are the result of that age-long conflict, the tears, the labors, the spiritual upheavals, the tremendous strain which make up the long roll of history. There is no province of human life in which we are not reaping golden harvests which were sown for us by men of other generations. Our inventions, our just laws, our system of jurisprudence, our agricultural methods, all the things that contribute to the ease and safety of human life have been won for us by the desperate struggle, "the agony and bloody sweat" of a vast succession of obscure as well as illustrious ancestors. For our virtue as well as our wealth, for our moral ideas as well as our material possessions, we are under infinite obligations to the past. We owe all that we value to the community in whose life we live and move and have our being. What then? Well, this, at least, that the simple-minded disciples of olden time, of whom it is written, "Neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own," had more insight into economic truth than half the professors of that much misunderstood science.

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

G. W. C. of Spokane, Wash.:—The nationalistic idea is fast taking root in Washington soil, and in 1896 a political platform that does not "bristle" with nationalism will not be supported.

W. H. of Farmersville, N. Y.:—I have been so delighted with Agnes C. Watson's article in the last number that I want she should know that one reader at least approves of every word she has said and every word she has quoted from Browning, from "Looking Backward" and especially from "Middlemarch." I think the article so clear and truthful in expression and so beautiful in spirit that it will be well for you to refer your readers to it and insure a second reading from those who may have hastily read it, and a reading by some who may have overlooked it.

R. P. P. of Sherman, Tex.:—The New Nation is doing a great work down here, wherever it circulates. I distribute every copy of mine among friends, who all say it is the brightest, clearest and most satisfactory reform journal published. In the meantime I talk nationalism. I am a traveling man, so have a good many opportunities every day on the road. Sometimes I break loose on a whole crowd in the waiting-room of some country hotel or railway depot, and it sets them all to thinking. My idea is, that no good man should miss an opportunity for spreading the new gospel by every means in his power. Such effort I bound to tell. I talk people's party business and nationalism together, — telling everyone the exact relationship between the two, — as I understand it. A good many, of course, have never connected the two movements at all,

but I seldom fail to convince them that nationalism is at the bottom of the whole thing. Some have read "Looking Backward," but many have not; I seldom leave a man, however, without getting him in the notion of reading it, — even if he has already done so.

E. V. of Grafton, Cal.:—To me, the number of practical but not professing nationalists and populists in our state is amazing. It needs only the slightest arousing to place them by mouth where they are in heart. The New Nation and its editor are doing more to reach this class than any other agency of which I know.

E. S. of Redmond, Wash.:—Nationalism is being considered here among the people's party men, and we are having your points discussed in the alliance. I, myself, being of Swiss birth, take to nationalism readily, it being there to some extent in operation.

J. A. W. of Pueblo, Col.:—Your paper is exercising a greater influence than any paper in the United States. It is molding public opinion. If I could put it in every one's hands, there would be no use of any other effort to bring a co-operative commonwealth.

A DANGEROUS CORPORATION.

The West End railway people of Boston have returned to their demand for the use of the Boston Common for transit purposes. We have it from good authority that the possibility of eventually selling power from the company's wires has been discussed by the officials of the road, and we again warn the public of the danger of putting so many privileges in the hands of a private corporation. It certainly has not escaped the notice of the reading public that in the Merrimac valley at Worcester, Providence, R. I. and other centers, rings of speculators are tumbling over each other in the race for local transit franchises, and we wish to repeat that the transit part is the most insignificant part of the business, broadly looked at. Electricity is the power that is destined to run the mills — and the Legislatures, too, for that matter. A plant like that owned by the West End could be utilized to furnish power to manufacturers along the street car route. Let the people have a care. They are now harnessing a mighty steed and putting the reins into the hands of money-makers. If the people of Boston were to turn about and, taking over the whole transit business, it would be possible to let out power in Boston at rates that would make this city the best place in America to conduct a manufacturing business. A small motor does not cost the user over \$125, and by connecting it with an electric power wire the machinery is ready to start. If this wire is furnished by the West End, the complications which we are all familiar with in gas matters will surely follow. If, however, the city runs the business, it will be conducted for the benefit of all the people and of the city as well.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

*LABOR IN DISTRESS THE WORLD OVER.***The Anti-Option Bill and Gambling. Defects of the System.
Politics. Note and Comment.**

The danger point in any system of swindling the public will be reached when by a conspiracy of silence the tributes of capitalists are promptly paid. It does not take long for poor human nature to get on good terms with misery. The habit of submission is not difficult to acquire if set about in dead earnest. Witness the decline of popular demonstrations of the unemployed in London. Harold Frederick telegraphs the following from London to the New York Times :

"The papers report more coroners' inquests on deaths by starvation than London has known before for years. There were four on one day this week, but all apprehensions of disorder among the unemployed so freely indulged in at the beginning of winter are falsified. The East End is quieter than usual, and the street agitators accustomed to hold meetings at Tower hill have been unable for the first time to secure listeners in any numbers. Missionaries and agents of charity working down there tell the most heart-rending stories of widespread suffering, intensified as it has been by the unusual severity of the weather, but its effect seems to benumb rather than to stir to revolt or public protest. Of all the projected mass meetings in Trafalgar square of which we have heard so much a couple of months back nothing whatever is said now. The submerged tenth are wrestling with starvation in silence."

The English people are like the other nations of Christendom. If the submerged tenth can in Great Britain wrestle with starvation in silence, the submerged tenth can do it in America. It is high time for us to think of these things.

The strike of the millionaires against the workers of Homestead led to a revolt all over the country against the employment of Pinkertons in labor disputes. Judge Stowe during the trial of a Homestead case at Pittsburg last week, stopped the attorney of a striker who was cross-examining Capt. Cooper of the Pinkerton service. "I won't allow such questions," said the judge. "These men (Pinkertons) were going to Homestead on a lawful errand, and had a right to go. These rioters had no business there. Even if the Pinkertons had been going there to take that mill by force, they were justified in doing so, and no one has a right to dispute it in this court, and you may as well understand that now. Such ideas as you attempt to advance never have been the law, are not the law, and, I hope, never will be the law. It is anarchistic to advance such sentiments, and I will allow no one to advance such ideas here."

It would seem by this that scores of Legislatures which

have passed or propose to pass anti-Pinkerton laws are headed toward anarchy. So are the hundreds of newspapers that are demanding fair play for the laborer.

The conspiracies of capital against isolated dealers brings up a principle that was involved at Homestead. The Carnegie company maintains its right to hire whom it pleases and where it pleases. The Lockport (N. Y.) coal exchange claims the right to sell to whom it pleases. This exchange refused to sell coal to a dealer not in the combination. An indictment for conspiracy was found against the exchange and the members were convicted. They appealed to the general term which confirmed the verdict. The case is now before the court of appeals. We do not see how these New York courts, which are decreeing that a combination cannot sell to whomever it pleases, could avoid declaring that public policy was against standing behind conspiracies of capitalists against laborers. Attorneys in Rochester and New York are engaged in prosecuting retail coal combinations. It is a curious fact that in New York another line of retailers — the grocers — are about to prosecute manufacturers who are discriminating against them in the prices of their goods. These same retail grocers, to be sure, opposed the principle which they propose to use against the manufacturers' combine when they discriminate against the poorer part of the consuming community. The latter have no weapon but the power of the state to defend them, and consequently the grocers feel free to turn the conspiracy laws against their oppressors.

Emperor William of Germany gave a dinner recently to Herr Krupp, one of the largest employers in Germany. There were at the table many heads of great industries. The emperor urged them to adopt a better policy toward their workingmen. It was the opinion of the guests that the best way to meet the demands of strikers was "the absolute suppression of strikes and the severe punishment of strikers." The emperor seemed to have some idea that these money-makers would turn philanthropists under his after-dinner smile; but not even royalty can change the methods of money-makers. Why does not Germany manufacture its own cannon and Uncle Sam his own steel armor plate? There are no strikes in government workshops.

We doubt if the proposed anti-option law will stop gambling. It does not cut deep enough. It is, however, serving the purpose of a text. Champions of the right to gamble are springing up on all sides. The Boston Herald states the case as follows :

"The inherent right to trade in this way is as much a part of American birthright as any other of the native prerogatives of our people. Too many of our business men

have been ready to part with it thoughtlessly with a view to securing for themselves supposed advantages. It is an occurrence like that of the passage of the anti-option bill which invites them to pause and contemplate whither they are tending. One interference on the part of government begets another. The principle established, and it is not easy to mark the limits of the use of power. It is a fatal power to the prosperity of business interests. One day it is felt in one direction, another day in another. Business men are most of all concerned that it be brought to an end. It threatens them first and most directly in its operation."

If the "prosperity of business interests," that is, of capitalism, were the criterion by which laws are judged; the above would all be right enough. A Wall street pool last week divided \$1,400,000 in profits. The business done by this pool was all speculative. Miscellaneous speculators all over the country lost and a few won. The object of the anti-option bill is to stop this demoralizing practice. It is worse than the New Orleans lottery because a few big dealers who have "quiet tips," bet against hundreds of uninformed speculators all over the country.

The New York Tribune in a discussion of the economic conditions which permit the robbery of poor people in trade, says:

"Flour, which they could get at about \$5.50 a barrel, they buy in the form of baker's bread at about \$15 a barrel. So it is with all the other staples of life. The well-to-do are able to get everything at bottom prices, because they are so situated that they can purchase a large quantity at once. But the very poor, who can least afford it, pay two or three times as much for similar articles, which are often inferior in quality. Evidently something should be done to remedy this state of affairs; but it is not easy to say what. It is useless to appeal to the retail dealer, for he is simply doing what all business men do—getting as much profit as he can out of his business."

We have followed this thread of conspiracies through the intricacies of business far enough to convince any one of the peril of ignoring the fact that the public is a silent partner in all business and that the principle of private competition has reached a point where genuine anarchy will come by national causes if the theories of trade now in practice are permitted to have full play.

The Minnesota Senate has passed a resolution introduced by Ignatius Donnelly favoring the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. The resolution is now before the House. It is very encouraging to find a commonwealth like Minnesota putting its shoulder to the wheel on this great issue. We trust that the Massachusetts Legislature will soon follow this example.

In the meantime there is every evidence that the popular petition to Congress is being readily signed. Persons

wishing blank memorials can secure them by addressing the office of The New Nation.

After a hard fight Judge W. V. Allen, populist, has been elected United States Senator from Nebraska.

The Good Work Goes on.

"I notice that a Western correspondent of yours," writes a friend from New Bedford, Mass., "speaking of the telegraph and telephone petitions, makes the statement that he has got 48 names on his petition without giving 10 minutes exclusively to the work. I can tell him of an individual who has got about 248 names on a petition who has not given 10 minutes exclusively to the work. I hope this will not discourage him, however, but stimulate him to greater effort in the good work."

Note and Comment.

Judge Martin, who has just been elected to the United States Senate from Kansas by the populists and democrats, is called by the New York Sun a "hayseed socialist." He certainly enters the Senate with a first class endorsement from the metropolis.

The Reform Press association meets at Washington, D. C. on Washington's birthday. The bi-metallists will be in session at that time. Notices have been sent out also for meetings at the same time of the National Citizens' alliance and the Industrial Legion. The executive committee of the people's party will be at the capital; and all in all, it looks as though some populist politics was on foot.

WHAT PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IS DOING IN MAINE.

Waterville, Me. was furnished electric lights by a private company up to two years ago. The citizens then decided the lights were costing too much, and a municipal plant was established. The result has amply justified their course. Arc lights of 2000 candle power cost the city but \$57.33 each per year, running all night, including \$1600 per year for cost of power besides the other expenses for care of lights, carbons, interest, depreciation of plant and extras, all, in short, that the managers of private companies demand shall be included as legitimate expenses. The true significance of these figures can only be appreciated by contrasting them with prices paid by other cities in Maine to private companies. Bath pays \$150, Bar Harbor \$150, Portland \$125, Augusta \$125, Biddeford and Saco \$108. The lights in all except the two last named burn all night; the average price paid to the private companies in the four first named cities is \$137.50. This shows quite an advantage in favor of municipal lighting. In commenting upon the above figures the Evening Telegram of Providence, R. I. says: "This story does not differ in general character from that of similar experiments elsewhere, but it is interesting because comparison is made only with the cost of lights in other cities of the same state and where conditions are similar."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Among the bills introduced in the Legislature is one providing for state life insurance. It was drafted by C. T. Simpson of Malden.

New York.

A bill has been introduced in the Assembly permitting municipalities to own and operate gas and electric light plants.

The Central Labor Federation of New York city recently passed the following resolution: This Central Labor federation of New York demands that the government should control all means of transportation, therefore it is self-evident that this body is opposed to any extension of the elevated system under the present ownership, but favors the placing of that and all other roads in the hands of the government. The Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' union also passed resolutions in favor of municipal ownership of the proposed rapid transit system.

The Manhattan Spirit company of New York city has bought up the Burcey Chemical company of Binghamton, and now controls all the refineries of wood alcohol in the state. Its capital is \$5,000,000.

Minnesota.

A syndicate composed of Northwestern lumbermen has bought an immense tract of pine forest in the northern part of the state. Capital about \$2,000,000.

St. Cloud is supplied with water by a private company. The city has a contract with the company by which it can buy the plant next September. The Knights of Labor are already agitating the subject of municipal ownership and a strong effort will be made to bring it about.

Maryland.

A New York syndicate of insurance men has secured control of five Baltimore fire insurance companies. In some cases the entire stock has been bought, while in others 51 per cent has been secured. Most of the five companies have been for years accumulating funds with which to meet emergencies, which has resulted in their having a large surplus, and it will be in the power of the syndicate to divide up these funds and make large profits from extra dividends.

Colorado.

Colorado Farmer (Denver): There must be something wrong in the mechanism when a car to haul a carload of hay from Fort Collins to Denver cost \$17, and the charge for the same identical car loaded with apples is \$93. One man recently discovered the discrepancy when he had occasion to ship a car of hay and to load the same car with apples the following week.

Washington.

The Ledge (Tacoma): "Seattle owns her own water-works. They are of a profit of \$6,000 per month to her. They are run economically. The rates are reasonable and complaints are unusual. It is a non-political machine in the fact that three fourths of the employees under the

former administration are still at work, although the present administration has been in power over six months.

Illinois.

Chicago Daily Globe: The city of Chicago has long since solved the vexatious problem of municipal water supplies to the entire satisfaction of all parties concerned. The water rates in Chicago have always been much lower than in any city in the union where the supply has been furnished by private corporations, and yet the munificent sum of \$8,380,411, which represents half the cost of the works, has been paid out of the income from the water rates. At the present time the bonded indebtedness of the water-works has been reduced to \$4,938,900. If such a grand showing can be made in the matter of municipal water supply, there seems to be no reason why the city should not furnish light and heat to its residents on equally satisfactory terms.

Florida.

"But I found something else in Indian river that will interest you," writes a Boston nationalist traveling in Florida. "Having to telegraph at Rockledge, I was told the rate was 10 cents for 10 words, a cent a word, the European rate. 'How is that,' I asked, 'and what do you suppose was the answer?' 'The government owns the line!' Was it possible! But I got my explanation. It is a line built by Uncle Sam for the signal service, and the public are allowed to use it as a matter of accommodation. It runs, I think, from Titusville to Biscayne Bay, but I am not sure of the exact termini. But this little piece of what we hope to find universal is soon to be doomed. George Gould's company is building a line parallel with it, and when their instruments begin to click, Uncle Sam's will stop. When I return to Florida again my message will not cost 10 cents, but 25. That is, unless your government telegraph petition does the work."

Miscellaneous.

The Haverhill Bulletin has a very candid article on the railroad problem, the whole drift of which is toward the ultimate placing of the transportation service in the hands of the government.

A combination of house-heating boiler manufacturers has been formed in Chicago under the name of the American Boiler company, with a capital of \$1,500,000. The company has already bought the business of Pierce, Butler & Pierce of Syracuse, N. Y., the Richmond & Boynton company of New York and Chicago and the National Heating company of Chicago. It is their intention to add more companies to the trust.

The manufacturers of governors for steam-boilers are trying to form a trust.

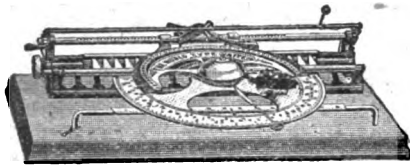
The extension table manufacturers have perfected a combination, with a membership of 42 of the leading manufacturers in the country. It is called the American Extension Table Manufacturers' association. One of its objects is to secure a reduction in the tariff on Canadian hardwood, which is largely used in their business.

Foreign.

William Small, secretary of the Lanarkshire miners, proposed at the recent Glasgow meeting of the National Trades union Congress a bill to be introduced into Parliament erecting a state department whose function shall be "to secure the recognition, restoration and administration of state property in the minerals and metals of the state." In other words, Mr. Small proposes the nationalization of the mines. His motion was unanimously adopted.

The trades council of Melbourne, Aust., has adopted resolutions in favor of state ownership of all coal lands.

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Haverhill.—First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Meeting every Sunday evening at 8 P. M., at 73 Merimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.) Rooms open every evening.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P. M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909 1/2 Market street.

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This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

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THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

A couple of weeks ago The New Nation made the text for an editorial out of a circular sent out to the working-men of Cleveland by Rev. Mr. Buxton, a Methodist minister, asking the questions "Are you a Christian? If not, why not?" We print elsewhere a letter in response from Mr. Buxton. It is a letter which ought to convince all that the policy at once most wise and most just in addressing the churches upon the subject of radical social reform is

one of friendly argument and appeal rather than of indiscriminate denunciation. It is true, indeed, a great multitude of priests and ministers profess to teach Christianity who are utterly ignorant of what the spirit of Christ is, but on the other hand there is a large and growing body of ministers who, like Mr. Buxton, recognize as clearly as we do, that for a Christian not to be a radical social reformer is to be a hypocrite above all men. Clergymen can no more be lumped together than men of other professions. There are good and bad ones. Let us be more earnest to encourage the good than to denounce the bad.

Socialism had the right of way in the German Reichstag last week. For five days the principles of socialism were discussed. An orderly debate on this subject would have been out of the question under the Bismarck regime. This alone demonstrates the advance of socialism in Germany. There is talk of a law-and-order party composed of a coalition of the various groups against the socialists.

Is it "Undemocratic" to Increase the Powers of Government?

A subscriber writing us in regard to the petition for government ownership of the telegraph and telephone says: "The only objection to government control is that it tends to increase the powers of the government, which is undemocratic."

Here seems to be a confusion of terms, growing evidently out of a confusion of thought.

Looking up the definition of democracy as given by Webster, we find it to be "Government by the people; — a form of government in which the supreme power is in the hands of the people." According to this definition, the correctness of which will not be questioned, any policy tending to enlarge the powers of the people in government is democratic and any policy tending to restrict the power of the people is undemocratic. Is then the proposition of government ownership of the telegraph, a measure for restricting or enlarging the powers of the people in government? Very obviously it is a proposition for enlarging the powers of the

people, by placing them in direct control of the facilities of communication? What, then, in the name of common sense, does our correspondent mean by calling the proposition "undemocratic"?

We might leave the matter here, but it may be profitable in a spirit of candor to seek after the explanation of the certainly very complete misunderstanding of terms into which our correspondent has fallen. Obviously it arises from a loose and indefinite use of the word government. There are two contrasted kinds of government which are as opposite as light and darkness and everything that is true of one kind of government is false as regards the other. The one sort is the government of men by other men, and the other is self-government. The one is royal, imperial, aristocratic, the other is republican, democratic, popular. To increase the powers of monarchical governments is undemocratic because it encroaches in so far on the power of the people. To increase the power of a democratic government, on the other hand, is necessarily and always, by the very meaning of the terms, a democratic policy.

When Thomas Jefferson said "the government which governs least is best," he necessarily had in mind the only forms of government of which the world at that date had had any experience, namely the royal and aristocratic forms, and as applied to them the saying was quite true. It requires no argument to prove that the less men are tyrannized over by selfish despots the better.

When however the people govern themselves for their own interests, to say that the less governing they do the better, is equivalent to declaring that the less attention people give to their own affairs the more prosperous they will be.

We beg our correspondent and all other good people who have allowed their minds to be fuddled by the misuse of this maxim about government, to bear in mind that the question is not whether they shall be more or less governed but who shall do the governing, for they have got to be governed by somebody anyhow. The economic system of a country, commercial and industrial, upon which we all depend tenfold more completely than upon the so-called political government, is a complex and elaborate system which requires a deal of governing. It has got to be governed by somebody and will be governed in the interest of those who are allowed to govern it. At present it is being governed by a set of moneyed oligarchs, who are fast reducing the people to the condition of "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Shall this system continue or shall we overthrow our tyrants and establish in industry as well as in politics a government of the people, for the people, by the people?

Could anything be more democratic than this?

Shall We Own or be Owned?

One of the most refreshing of recent indications that the old spirit of Boston is not dead, has been afforded by the uprising of the people against the latest of the series of attempts by the West End street railroad corporation to grab the Common for railroad purposes. Probably the corporation is for the time being once more defeated, but next year it will renew the attempt and so the year after until some time the people are caught napping and the

grab is successful. There is a curious parallelism between the relations of Boston and New York to the local transit companies which respectively dominate them. Boston's fight to save the Common from the West End is paralleled by New York's struggle to save what is left of the Battery from the Gould elevated system. In both cases the only way in which the cities can protect themselves from being swallowed by the corporations is by swallowing them. It is as true of the relations of municipalities to their local transit systems as of the relation of the country at large to the great steam railroad systems that unless the people pretty soon own them, they will pretty soon own the people.

Our Contemporaries Discover a Significant Fact.

The "great dailies" and the non-reform press generally are slowly spelling out the significance of the late presidential election, and by the time the next one occurs they may have mastered the simpler points. The latest fact they have discovered is that the states in which the political revolt has been the strongest and most radical, in which it has been not only a revolt against the old parties, but against the whole present system of industrial despotism and economic inequality, are precisely those states, such as Kansas and Nebraska, in which the pure-blooded native American stock constitutes a larger element of the population than anywhere else in the country.

This discovery has completely knocked out one of their favorite points against people's partyism, namely, that it is merely the work of a lot of unnaturalized or semi-natural-immigrants, led by a pack of "foreign anarchists." They are sadly beginning to admit that this argument will have to be given up and some other one found that will fit the facts better.

Yes, decidedly it will have to be given up. Out of the vast mass of foreigners in this country, altogether the greater part find its conditions, even at worst, an improvement on the state of things at home, and are inclined to be, relatively, at least, content.

It is the American, descended from generations of Americans who, being able to contrast the present state of the masses in this country with their past condition, is able to judge how fast and how strongly things are tending from good to bad, and he is the man who surely would naturally be expected to be first in the counter-revolution against the growing plutocracy.

Race distinctions count for nothing with us, but we make note of this because there could be no more striking evidence that the tendencies which this uprising resists are themselves aggressive and revolutionary, than the fact that the class most deeply rooted in the traditions of Americanism is the first to spring to arms against them.

The Mark of Cain put on Frick.

We wish to call attention to the report of the committee of the United States Senate appointed to investigate the Homestead affair, which has just been rendered. The committee finds that the Pinkerton guard system is utterly vicious and has been largely responsible for the embitterment of the industrial struggle. The employment of such private armed forces is declared to be an assumption by

individuals of the power of the state and an abuse that should be corrected by legislation. As to the responsibility for the bloodshed at Homestead, the committee charges it directly, as The New Nation has done all the while, upon H. C. Frick. Had he taken a proper and reasonably considerate course with the employees, the committee declares that there would probably have been no collision. The report expressly points out that up to the time of the importation of the Pinkertons there had been no violence and no destruction of property, and that there was no danger which justified the bringing in of mercenaries. As to the acts of violence that followed, the report holds the locked-out men to a share of the responsibility, but for the original provocation, without which there need have been no violence and no bloodshed, it distinctly fixes the blame on Frick.

Weaver in New England.

Gen. Weaver's appearance upon the platform in New England suggests the historical origin and continuity of the radical reform movement in the United States. This agitation began directly after the war, when the soldiers came home to find that while they had been defending the government from an assault in front, the money power had been capturing it behind their backs. Then began the epoch of industrial discontent of which the rise of the greenback and granger parties and the great labor organizations were early manifestations and the birth of nationalism and of the people's party the latest fruit. It was fitting and proper that Gen. Weaver as the leader in the earlier agitation which prepared the way for and made possible the great revolutionary movement now on foot, should receive the first great honor in the gift of the new party. He was the logical candidate of the Omaha convention and his subsequent bearing has approved its choice as the best that could have been made.

No Lack of a Crusade.

Zion's Herald, a leading organ of the Methodist Church quotes some one as saying that "The Christian Endeavor Society has reached the point now where it must begin to die unless it gives itself body and soul to some grand practical crusade."

The editor of Zion's Herald confirms this opinion in the following noteworthy language:

True, very true, and the same will have to be said—if not now yet before very long—of our own Epworth league. The truth is, young Christian friends—and we may as well face it squarely—that an organization for the nurture of personal piety has no abiding root. . . . Spiritual athletes cannot go on forever getting up muscle. It will only become a burden to them unless they get a chance to use it in some actual conflict. What are gymnastics good for if they remain forever gymnastics? Wanted—a crusade! . . . something objective, something all-enlisting, something to set souls on fire with indignation and resolve.

These are true and sound words, but why in the name of religion, righteousness and common sense should it be needful to advertise for a cause that is to be "all enlisting, something to set souls on fire with indignation and resolve!" Have we not such a cause in the many-faceted movement for radical, social and industrial reform, the most radical wing of which The New Nation earnestly if inadequately represents?

Surely the soul must be too cold for indignation and too

flabby for resolve which needs a more pressing occasion or a more potent stimulus than is presented by the condition of the world as it is, with its contrasts of pride, power and luxury on the one hand, with degradation, abjectness and utter misery on the other, and all the bitter gradations of dependence and shame between the two extremes.

That men and women who have taken the name of Christ on their lips should, in presence of such a condition of things, need to advertise for a "crusade," is a pathetic illustration of the extent to which the church today has turned its back on Christ and departed from his doctrine.

Well, indeed, may Zion's Herald say that "an organization for the nurture of personal piety has no abiding root." Possibly, there might be social conditions under which such an organization could find a place, but we have not got there yet. There is too much work to do.

People who in the presence of the existing mass of remediable suffering among men, form organizations for the "nurture of personal piety" instead of going to work, are mockers of Christ and take the name of God in vain.

Men or women who think they can save their souls while the bodies of their fellow-men are lacking, have not learned the first elements of ethics, let alone religion.

Are not then these people Christians? No, they are not. To be a Christian is a great thing and there are few. Nine out of ten of the members of Christian churches delude themselves in deeming that they know aught of the spirit of Jesus Christ. If they did they would know no peace while the existing economic system stood as a colossal and triumphant contradiction of his doctrine of brotherhood and of the glorious bondage of the strong to the weak. If they were Christians they would not need to advertise for a crusade.

Brethren of the social reform, organize to carry the gospel of Jesus Christ into the churches. Let us present them with the New Testament and recommend to them the examination of the doctrine of Jesus Christ as therein set forth.

J. FOSTER BISCOE.

J. Foster Biscoe, ex-president of the First Nationalist club of Boston and prominent in nationalistic circles when he was in health, died in this city last week of pneumonia. Mr. Biscoe was graduated from Amherst college in 1874. He became principal of the High School at Hopkinton and afterward studied law at Westboro and the Columbia law school. He was admitted to practice at Worcester, and opened an office in Boston, where he continued in practice until his death except during a short period in business in New York. Mr. Biscoe was known in college and afterward as a clear-headed thinker and a close student of economic questions. As far as his health permitted he gave up his spare time to nationalism, being a charter member of the First club. Mr. Biscoe's speeches never failed to attract attention and his loss will be felt in this section.

The wholesale grocers at all the principal points on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers are forming a combination under the name of the Western Association of Wholesale Grocers. Its purpose is to have each dealer distribute his goods in the territory tributary to him at prices fixed by the combination.

VERITIES.

The "light that never yet on land or sea"
 Hath shone resplendent; save in limner's dream;
 That beauty radiant, whereof we seem
 In loveliest face or figure but to be
 Viewing the dim reflection — well do we
 Know that no idle pigments of the brain
 Are these ideals; they for aye remain
 The living substance, the reality.
 Nor was it idle fancy when of old
 Seers glimpsed, and Christ, with prescience clear, foresaw
 Mankind at one in loving brotherhood.
 They voiced our deeper consciousness, whose law,
 More all-compelling as the years unfold,
 Makes self subservient to the common good.

LOUIS BRYANT TUCKERMAN.

Cleveland, O., January, 1893.

POVERTY AND RELIGION.

[Rev. Myron W. Reed of Denver, Col.]

Can poverty and piety flourish together? Yes, you will say, the Master was poor. He had not where to lay his head. But remember he had been rich. Though he were rich he became poor for our sakes, that we, through his poverty, might be rich. Voluntary poverty may consist with extreme piety.

St. Paul was a volunteer — and so we hear him not railing at fortune but singing in a dungeon. The most peaceful faces I see belong to sisters of charity. Their faces are chiseled by their thoughts. Father Damien, who volunteered to live and work on the island of Molakai, a missionary to lepers, and who did so work till he died, literally followed Jesus Christ. On the headstone of his grave there ought to be graven the words: "He gave himself for us."

But the Catholic church is wise. Her missionaries and nurses are clothed and fed. They are poor, but it is not anxious poverty. They have where to lay their heads; they are not in old age turned out to die. It is not the poverty I meet with every day of my life. The poverty of a man willing to work, who tramps these streets day after day and cannot find work; "The saddest sight on earth," says Thomas Carlyle.

Voluntary poverty can be borne and human nature not injured thereby. Who were they who sang awhile ago in Georgia, "Hurrah! hurrah! we bring the jubilee?" They were not drafted men nor bounty jumpers. They were volunteers who were not well out of sight before home-staying patriots debased the currency they were paid in. But in face of toil and prison and death they sang "We bring the jubilee." The volunteer was contented to be effaced from the earth that his country might stay on the map.

My point is that unwilling poverty, enforced poverty, is unfriendly to any kind of piety. But some man will think of slaves singing in cotton and cane fields. But it was a prophetic song of a "kingdom coming."

God sits in Heaven and He answers prayer,
 You can hinder me here, but you can't up there.

There is no applied present Christianity in any slave song.
 And also is it true that while the slave was poor, he was

property and cared for. He knew where to lay his head. He was fed. It was in the master's interest to take good care of his slave. The slave was poor, but it was not the extremity of poverty that one now with open eyes can see.

But I shall be referred to the poor people of Galilee who welcomed Christ, who swarmed upon him, drank in his words as thirsty pilgrims in a desert, coming suddenly to a spring, drink in water. But there is this difference between poverty in America and poverty in Syria 1800 years ago: Then poverty was regarded as fate, as unpreventable as a hail storm. It was accepted as blindness is accepted by one born blind.

The men, women and children who work in a sweater's den in Philadelphia — a work for an existence — know that they are not victims of the providence of God. They feel that they are victims of the greed of men. They are very poor that somebody may be very rich; be uselessly rich and inhuman, and finally die and leave a portion of blood-money to endow a theological seminary and so try to circumvent God.

Voltaire says: "What harm can a book do that costs 100 crowns." Twenty volumes folio will never cause a revolution; it is the little primers that cost 30 sous that are to be feared.

The country is inundated with primers that cost little and tell much. Look over any news stand at the tracts on the labor question. All this light cannot be shut out of any back room or cellar anywhere. Poor people are saying now: "We do not want charity; we do not want 'Lady Bountiful' the doctor's wife to ride down in her carriage and give us old flannel 'blankets and broth' and tell us to be contented and wait for a 'home over there.' All we want is justice and equal opportunity." Enforced poverty in this country of the Declaration of Independence brews not a seeking for the kingdom of heaven, it breeds mutiny. The nihilist is not like the poet. The nihilist is made and not born; made by injustice always and everywhere.

Mr. Warner of the Congressional investigating committee on the 18th of last December, visited the sweating district of New York. He reports: "In a room renting for \$28 a month and measuring 16 by 20 feet, 20 people are at work on Sunday. In every case the working room of the day is the sleeping room at night. The clothing is used to sleep on." Charles Kingsley called this kind of clothing made in such conditions, cheap and nasty. It is possibly dangerous. Here is an item from the report: "Children from 8 to 10 years of age sew the buttons on, fell long seams and do the coarse sewing, and this they do without a murmur, sitting most of the day and into the night."

How is the Lord's prayer going to be taught in scenery like that? I find these words in a newspaper: "How can a man teach children to pray to a Father at all, if the only father they know is a beast of burden, far dirtier and worse housed than a farmer's horses? How can he teach them to pray that God's name be hallowed if the only bedroom in the house is crowded with blasphemous and dissolute lodgers, whose small weekly payment is essential to the very life of the household? How is he to teach them to pray for daily bread without helping them to get the wages which alone can pay for it? How is he to teach young

men and women to pray against being led into temptation, who are crowded into the grossest and most degraded temptations by the mere conditions of their life and sleep? How is he to teach them to pray to be delivered from evil, who are delivered soul and body to evil when they enter their homes?" No, enforced poverty does not mix with piety.

AS A PREACHER SEES IT.

To the Editor of The New Nation :

I saw in a recent issue of your estimable paper an allusion to the 3000 circulars sent by myself to working men, headed with the question: "Are you a Christian? If not, why not?" No little interest was aroused in the city by the answers returned. I believe the discussion from the pulpit which followed has brought about a more cordial and sympathetic relation than formerly subsisted. You hinted that perhaps it would be well for the working men to send a circular to me with a similar query, and if I gave an affirmative answer to inquire why I was not converted to industrial reform? But I am converted. One year ago I read a paper before the preacher's meeting, this city, entitled "Christian Socialism." I have frequently declared my convictions as set forth on that occasion.

The rapid and enormous amassment of wealth in the hands of a few is the most alarming condition of our social life. When one man has perfect liberty to arrange a train of circumstances like blocks on a chess board, so that in three moves he can checkmate 70 millions of people, it is high time to inquire into the limitations of personal liberty. It should never be possible for any individual to make a million dollars while the clock is ticking five times. Let us cease to call such work a commercial transaction. It is robbery. No intellectual acumen is capable of honestly earning such a vast sum of money. One of these robbers died recently and the papers praised his love of home and kindness to his family. A lioness loves her whelps and will fondly caress them. But she will slay a thousand lambs to feed her offspring. A highwayman who knocks down the unsuspecting traveller and takes his purse is comparatively a harmless individual because his power to injure is circumscribed. But the man who can reduce many hundred families to poverty, wreck fortunes to build up his own, that man is to be feared.

But all this is done under the sanction of law. Wrongs may be perpetrated upon the public with impunity, provided they are done upon a large scale. There is no limit fixed in the commercial world to a man's power to harm and defraud. To any extent the ability and sagacity of his intellect, the hardness and duplicity of his heart can carry him, he may go, and the law does not say nay.

A remedy for these evils must be found. People will not long suffer the bread and meat to be taken from their table and the very coals to be raked from their hearthstone. They will not contentedly be taxed by private individuals in order to create an omnipotent plutocracy. We must either accept an industrial reform which will in a quiet and bloodless way check rapacity and prevent rapid accumulation of wealth by unworthy means, or we shall be compelled to submit to that sterner remedy for wrongs, the dagger, musket and torch. May we be saved from the latter, which is but the brute

force of a mad, frenzied people seeking redress for wrong and often finding it not.

We propose the extension of national and municipal control over the enterprises which have been abused for selfish ends. We favor government control of railroads, the waterways, the express, the telegraph and the fuel supply. Every city should own its own water-works, gas or electric plant and street-car service. When this is accomplished and the public realizes the benefits of the plan, let there be a gradual extension of control as abuse of privilege seems to call for it.

Immediately there is a cry of "paternalism" and "despotism" and "centralization of power." If this government were a hereditary monarchy, or if officials were elected for life there would be something in these words to frighten us. But when we call to mind that we are the government, we see that this plan is simply letting the people do their own business and share their own dividends, instead of submitting to the tyranny of a corporation and permitting it to grow fat from their necessity.

Now, my dear Editor, I trust it is clear that the minister is very near the kingdom and does not need laboring with very much to convert him.

E. O. Buxton,
Franklin Ave. M. E. Church.

Cleveland, O., Feb., 1893.

CHRISTIAN AND LABOR.

Passed at a recent meeting of Knights of Labor, St. Paul, at which nearly all the assemblies of Minnesota were represented:

Resolved, that this assembly ask the clergymen of Minnesota, "Why, in cases of disagreement between labor and capital, with but few exceptions and those few exceptions generally the pastors of liberal churches, they array themselves on the side of capital?"

And be it further resolved, that we believe it is the fear of poverty which prompts them, as all others that depend on their wages or salaries for a living, to take the side of the capitalist on all social questions of the day where reforms are needed by a suffering hard-worked people in the interests of the whole human family.

And be it further resolved, that if we are mistaken in the reasons advanced and it is ignorance on the social questions which causes the constant struggle between labor and capital, we respectfully request the clergymen of this state to inform themselves upon those questions and fearlessly express their opinions so that we may arrive at the true solution of the social problem.

And be it resolved, that we hold in the highest esteem those clergymen, conspicuous by their scarcity, who have the courage to stand up for the rights of the producers of wealth. In addition we respectfully submit the following questions for their consideration, expecting those who are really followers of Christ to give us the result of their reflections in the public press:

Questions. 1st. Is unlimited ownership of land just and in accordance with the foundation principles of the Christian religion?

2d. If not, what shall be the limit?

3d. Are we all alike precious in the sight of the Lord?

4th. If so, does he contemplate in his scheme of creation that there should be inequality of wealth at birth; does God intend that some helpless infants shall be born to poverty and slavery that others may be enabled to hold them as slaves?

5th. Does labor create all wealth? if so, how can a Christian possess wealth he has not created, without theft, or uphold others in doing so without becoming by connivance or silence a party to the crime?

A CALIFORNIA PAPER SPEAKS OUT.

San Francisco Chronicle: "Mr. Powderly would begin practical socialism by the nationalization of railroads and telegraph lines, and he will find a great many people in the United States will assent to his views. The matter of transportation of persons and interchange of products in this vast country of ours has become of such pre-eminent importance that there is serious question whether it should be allowed to remain any longer in the hands of private persons or corporations. It is entirely within bounds to say that the carrying of persons and goods from place to place in the United States is equal in importance and dignity to the government of any state in the union, if it be not second only to the federal government. That it is too vast a power to be intrusted to irresponsible individuals intent chiefly on personal and corporate gain is believed by many students of civics and economics who see in it a danger to the safety of the nation. The governmental control of telegraph lines is, obviously, covered by the same reasoning which applies to railways.

"It may be conceded, then, that so far as Powderly has gone in his statement of the socialistic idea he has strong backing, and that there is an inherent probability that what he suggests will be tried in actual practice before many years. There is precedent enough for the governmental control of railways, but even if there were not it would be no obstacle in the way of the United States, for we are in the habit of formulating our own policy and doctrines without precedent, and if the first fruits of socialism be the nationalization of the railway and telegraph lines it will not be long thereafter until Powderly's statement that he is only one of 65 million socialists will be amply justified."

LOWER PRICES UNDER PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

The Boston Globe in an editorial on Prof. Edward W. Bemis' article on municipal gas-making in this country, in the February Review of Reviews, says:

"It is noteworthy, in connection with Mayor Matthews' recent appeal and the cost of gas to the average consumer in Boston that in Bellefontaine, O., municipal gas is furnished at 80 cents a thousand; the prices ranging from that minimum to \$1.50, which is the rate in Philadelphia. Prof. Bemis says: 'Of the seven cities which have private gas-works, of which five are larger than that of any of the cities, save Richmond, having public works, only one city enjoys a lower price than \$1.60.'

"Nor does Prof. Bemis think that the public ownership idea means an increase in venality. He maintains that the results gained have been accompanied by a decrease rather than an increase in political corruption. Citing Philadelphia in particular, he argues that she gains more from public management of the gas business than does New York from private management, despite the greater cost of distribution in the city of Penn."

GEN. WEAVER IN LYNN THEATER.

The Distinguished Populist Warmly Welcomed to Massachusetts.

James B. Weaver, the populist leader, appeared before a Lynn audience Tuesday evening. Both the citizens and local officials did everything to make the distinguished visitor's stay agreeable. A committee of populists conducted the general to the Thomas-Houston works, where Prof. Thomson welcomed him and conducted the party through the establishment.

After supper at the Revere house Gen. Weaver held a reception in the mayor's office at the city hall. Mayor Hayes was present and W. P. Conway, who was a populist candidate for the mayoralty in the last election, was kept busy introducing citizens for nearly an hour. The party, including the mayor and city officials accompanied by the Lynn band, then repaired to the theater, which was packed to the doors. Mr. Cary introduced Gen. Weaver and he received a hearty ovation, the cheering lasting several minutes. The visitor referred in his speech to his visit to Lynn 12 years ago, and rehearsed the progress of the reform movement since that time. He discussed at length the demands of the Omaha platform in reference to the currency, the means of transportation and of communication. The West and the much of the South are familiar with these doctrines, and we count it a good omen for the new party that so large and responsive an audience can be gathered here in bond-holding and monopoly-ridden New England to consider in earnest the state of the union and the proper means to avert the perils that confront us.

After the close of the meeting Gen. Weaver was given a reception by Post 5 in G. A. R. hall and the company did not break up until a late hour.

Gen. Weaver spoke at Portsmouth, N.H., Wednesday evening, at Marlboro, Mass., Friday, and he speaks at Haverhill this evening. He returns to New York on Monday and will attend the Washington (D.C.) meeting of populists on Washington's birthday.

The Manufacturers' Paper company of New York is a trust embracing a number of the larger manufacturing concerns. It controls about two thirds of the production of printing paper and supplies many of the large dailies. Its sales already exceed its capacity, and therefore it is obliged to contract with mills not in the combine in order to fill its orders. This condition of things induced the directors of the trust, at a regular meeting in New York three weeks ago, to seriously consider measures for the absorption of mills not under trust control. The capital stock was increased, and invitations sent up to representatives of the independent mills to be present at a secret meeting to be held in Chicago.

C. F. B. of Concord, N.H.: — The telegraph and telephone petition was a happy thought. It is taking well. Nobody has refused to sign here. It is popular with people of every political faith.

THE DRAMA OF THE RAILROAD COMBINES.

"These recent railroad consolidations have done more to propagate a belief that government control of railroads will have eventually to be adopted than all the arguments of nationalists," observes the Boston Transcript. "When the combined corporations, in the pursuit of extra income to pay the cost of different deals, proceed to lay heavier burdens upon trade, or economize by withdrawing railroad support from certain sections or places, then the cry for state or national government interference will go up."

The Transcript voices the feeling of thousands of citizens who have hitherto rejected public ownership on general principles without any attempt to analyze its merits. The general public is very much like an audience in a theater, which pays for the fun without having a voice in the management. Permit us to give an outline of the drama of railroad consolidation during the past year. First came the Reading combine and the policy of extending its aggressions into New England. The Central, New England & Western railroad was the first to surrender to Reading and with it the Poughkeepsie bridge. Then Boston & Maine surrendered, a system composed of 34 smaller roads leased and owned. The capitulation of New York and New England is said to be soon announced. The New York, New Haven & Hartford road is the natural rival of the Reading railroad combine, and the latter's challenge for New England supremacy was accepted. The New Haven system was built upon the surrender of 12 smaller roads. It has captured within a short period the New York, Providence & Boston, made up of three roads and five branches, the Housatonic road, which was a consolidation of six smaller roads, and the Old Colony, composed of six original roads and 30 branches. Just before the Old Colony surrendered, the Connecticut River road (made up of five minor roads) became the tactical point in the annexations of railroad properties; and the dash of Reading brokers into Springfield and the midnight purchases of stock formed a dramatic scene that will be long remembered. The curtain went down with Connecticut River kneeling before the Reading combine. The Boston & Albany is practically a Vanderbilt property and we have the impression that Vanderbilt and McLeod understand each other thoroughly. As matters now are the New Haven system controls 1426 miles of line and the Boston & Maine, of which McLeod has recently been made president, 1340 without counting New York & New England. The tactical point at present is Concord & Montreal, and in the next scene we are promised a tableau in which the president of the New Haven road extends his benediction to the kneeling figure of this child of New Hampshire. It is a merry drama, all must admit and, as the Transcript says, the nationalists have no better way to open the minds of men than to send people to the show.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

CAUSES OF THE POLITICAL REVOLT.

Private Monopoly has Worked the Mischief. Note and Comment.

The Springfield Republican in a carefully prepared article on the causes of the political upheaval, concludes that the secret is the \$482,699,600 in mortgages recorded during the last decade. The editorial continues:

"Now when the farming class throughout the country is becoming profoundly stirred apparently over the comparative unprofitableness of its business, is it remarkable to find this discontent in Kansas approaching close to the temper of revolution? With wheat ruling all this time at below 80 cents at Chicago and laboring under a huge mortgage debt drawing 8 per cent on the average, is it wonderful that the Kansas farmer should have begun to regard his condition as hopeless? And Massachusetts, which has harbored actual rebellion of a debtor class in the Shay's outbreak of a little more than a century ago at least, need not be amazed. Indeed, the more native and American the population is, the more we should have reason to expect such scenes as are being enacted in Kansas. When Job Shattuck, one of the leaders of the Shays rebellion, gathered his men about the court at Concord and declared that the time had come to wipe out all debts, some one yelled out at him: 'We know all about them two farms you can't never pay for.' Shattuck was the American original of some of the Kansas populists and a full-blooded Yankee who had plunged hopelessly into debt in the booming times of an inflated currency. Men in that condition who have not had the spirit crushed out of them entirely are never apt to be very conservative in their actions. The western mortgage companies which engineered this Kansas borrowing craze sowed the seed of which the present political outbreak is the bright and legitimate flower."

The facts compiled in this article must stand, and while we cannot see how the borrowing craze can explain the condition of things in Kansas, we must applaud the Republican for the pains it has taken to get at the bottom of the question. To contract a debt with one volume of currency and to pay it under a smaller per capita is sure bankruptcy and this has been the fate of Kansas. An honest dollar is the dollar of the contract, and the nation has not kept its contract with Kansas. The honest dollar of Sherman and his banking constituency has played upon the West, a very shady trick. And this is but one item in the indictment brought against the two old parties.

It should be remembered that it is not Kansas' fight alone. Twenty-two electoral votes and over a million in the people's party column show that reckless personal financiering cannot explain the political upheaval. Even in Kansas, the laborers joined hands with the farmers in the last election. This is true of the Pacific coast, partially

true of the South and notably true as we come East, where to be sure, the revolt has not yet taken political form as extensively as in the West.

The revolution as it was registered last November has taken hold of small shop-keepers, college professors, workmen, farmers, doctors, literary men, and in fact all classes of this vast country. People have discovered that monopoly is king for the time being. One combination forces wheat down, another forces freight rates up. One combination reduces the wages of the miners and increases the price of coal.

Upon every table of the land are the price lists of trusts. Take the salt-cellar. The table-glass trust dictates the price of the glass. The Rock-salt trust, capital three million, dictates the price of the rough salt, and another trust, capital one million, sees that the manufactured article is screwed up to the highest peg.

Let any one run through the 170 trusts controlling the necessities of life and conclude if he can that the reckless borrowing of money in Kansas has put over one half of the wealth of the county in the hands of less than one per cent of the population.

A syndicate has secured control of 140 miles of street railways in New Jersey. The plan is to connect the ferry landings of Jersey City with Newark, Elizabeth, Bloomfield, Lafayette, Greenville, Mountclair and the Oranges by electric car. We predict nationalist clubs in all these places within a twelvemonth.

We notice the rumor that the West End street railway property of Boston is to pass into the hands of the capitalists who own the Boston & Lynn road, as well as the street railway system of Providence. Friends of Mr. Whitney of the West End say that he leads a dog's life on account of the popular criticisms of his management. If the system is passed over to outside parties, the West End can continue its aggressions without fearing or feeling Boston criticism, and can only study, as a speaker said last week at the State House hearing on dividing the Common — how far public opinion can be outraged with impunity.

The System must go.

The Erie County (Pa.) convention of the people's party passed resolutions at its recent meeting, from which we clip the following:

Resolved, that we, the members of the convention of the people's party, while reaffirming in general the principles upon which the party is founded, do most earnestly renew the demand formulated at Omaha for the nationalization of our railroads.

We denounce the existing private railroad system of the United States as a system equally illogical, absurd and unjust; as a system founded upon gross visible and tangible perversions of the constitution and common law of the United States, of which perversions we hereby also

peremptorily demand correction. We regard the said system as the principal source of nearly all social evils which now afflict our country.

We declare that it is the sole considerable author of the deep adversity which at present overwhelms the farming interests of the United States.

We declare that it originates and supports nearly every speculative trust, combine and other private business monopoly in the United States, that it practically robs the laborer of the freedom of contract by taking away his opportunity to exercise that freedom; that it consequently makes the workingman resort to strikes, lockouts, boycotts and other self-defensive measures of force virtually unavoidable and therefore justifiable.

We declare that this iniquitous system is therefore responsible for nearly all our so-called labor troubles; that it is at the bottom of every surcharged or overcrowded labor market, and that it is in fact the responsible provoking cause of the cry for an eight-hour day and of that for a restriction of immigration.

Lastly we declare against and demand the utter abrogation of this execrable system, because we believe it to be the principal source of that almost boundless political corruption, which at present more than anything else menaces our free institutions, and so renders their perpetuity considerably problematic.

Note and Comment.

A conference of populists of Essex county, Mass. will be held at the Essex House, Salem, on the 22d at 2 p.m. A club will be formed in Salem the same evening at Liberty hall. The public is cordially invited to the Liberty hall meeting.

James Kay Applebee of Boston spoke on "Nationalism" at DuRand, Ill. on the 8th. A friend who was present says that it was heartily received and will be the topic of conversation for days to come."

"Boston lifts her hat to Gen. Weaver and is glad to see him," remarks the Boston Herald. "She doesn't subscribe to his political doctrine, but that makes no particular difference now. The battle is over."

Not so, neighbor; the battle is just beginning.

Judge Allen, the new populist United States Senator from Nebraska, secured his place without fighting for it, without spending a cent and without giving pledges to private corporations. Allen and Lodge of Massachusetts are about the same age.

One of the contestants in the joint debate between the Trinity club and Old South club, Boston, last Monday said that it was as important to keep organized government and organized industry apart as it was to keep separate church and state in the Middle Ages. He argued that city ownership of local railways was a step toward nationalism and socialism. "If the city starts with railroads, where can it stop?" he asked. Another speaker who also opposed public ownership, said it was not the West End but the basis of our social system that is at stake. These men are asking the right questions and laying down the true lines of discussion. They will eventually see how wrong their conclusions are.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Wakefield has voted to establish a municipal lighting plant. The town has a private company, which also lights Reading, South Reading and Stoneham. A disagreement has arisen in regard to the terms of the purchase, which has led to a suit to test the constitutionality of the lighting act.

Rockland Independent: We should own our lights and our railroads just as we own our water. All public improvements belong of right to the public that benefits by them.

Maine.

A legally appointed board of commissioners fixed the price that Auburn should pay for the private water-works at \$250,000, but the Aqueduct company refuses to sell at that price. The outcome of the matter will be awaited with interest.

Washington.

A lumber trust has been formed in Spokane, and the price of all grades of lumber has been increased from \$2 to \$3 on a thousand.

People's Advocate (Chealis): Municipalism is nationalism in miniature.

Pennsylvania.

Knights of Labor Journal (Philadelphia): A United States syndicate has secured the control of the coal lands of Nova Scotia. These lands are owned by the province, but the government has given the syndicate a lease of them on terms which practically create a gigantic coal monopoly. While the rest of the world is moving forward the government of Nova Scotia—the members of which mistake themselves for liberals and reformers—are going backward.

Miscellaneous.

Menasha, Wis., Harrisonville, Mo. and Cameron, Tex. are in a fair way to have public lighting.

A syndicate has been formed for the purpose of buying up the six typewriter companies—the Caligraph, Yost, Remington, Smith-Premier, Dinsmore and Brooks. The capital involved is \$20,000,000.

A strong effort is being made to form a combination among the manufacturers of bicycle tires. There are 12 or more concerns in the entire country, and the value of their yearly output is \$3,000,000.

At its annual meeting in Chicago the Diamond Match company increased its capital from \$7,500,000 to \$9,000,000. Half of the new stock will be issued at par to the stockholders, and the other half will be distributed on a stock dividend, representing an accumulated surplus. The earnings of the trust for 1892 were 31 per cent over those of 1891. The president states that 8 per cent of the increase was due to a reduction in the labor account.

A new telephone company has asked to be incorporated under the laws of Illinois. It will be known as the Harrison International Telephone company, and is to be capitalized at \$80,000,000. It will do away with the telephone girl, and in her place substitute automatic switch boards.

The first move will be to construct a circuit between New York, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, and from there back to New York, at an estimated cost of \$10,000,000. It proposes to do business at one-half the rates now charged.

A strong new window-glass trust is being built upon the ruins of the defunct Western Window-glass association. It is to be incorporated under the laws of Wisconsin. The new combine will include all the makers and jobbers of window-glass in Pittsburg, Wheeling, and the states of Ohio, Indiana, as well as other Western states. Its purpose is to control and maintain prices, and this is to be accomplished by the penalty of forfeiture of all stock subscribed by any factory or jobber failing to keep the rules of the combine. The trust will fix prices and negotiate terms with labor, but the management of plants and sales of goods will be left to the factory owners.

The straw board trust, known as the Columbian Straw Paper company, has secured control of 41 straw paper mills in 10 Western states. It is organized under the laws of New Jersey with a capital of \$4,000,000. It has had many ups and downs in the past, but now seems to be getting a firm hold of the industry it seeks to control.

Foreign.

The Register of Berwick, Nova Scotia, in editorially commenting upon the coal combine there, says: "If the principles of nationalism were applied to the coal business of Nova Scotia, the coal mined by the government and supplied to consumers within the province at the cost of mining, Nova Scotia might soon become the workshop of the world. Of course any suggestion like this would at present be scouted by all parties, but if the evil wrought by the coal combine proves one half as bad as feared, this generation will not pass without a loud call for government control and operation of our mines."

The Toronto (Ont.) Monetary Times says: "The total earnings of the Toronto street railway in 1892 were \$815,217, of which the city's percentage, under its agreement with the railway, amounted to \$65,217. The amount received by the city for mileage for the last three months' use on 70½ miles of road of single track amounted to \$13,963, an increase of \$280 on the previous quarter." The road is owned by the city and leased to a private company.

A correspondent of the New York Christian Advocate: "The Australian railroads, with insignificant exceptions, are built and run by government. Hence competing lines touting for passengers and freight are unknown here. A good deal of the public debt of these colonies has been incurred in the construction of railroads, which are held as an asset—a fact which is too often overlooked when colonial public debts are under discussion. There are now 12,000 miles of railroad in Australia, of which 667 miles only are in private hands. Australians regard these railroads as public property, to be used for the benefit of the public and not for private advantage. It would be easy to get rid of a large part of the public debt by selling the railroads and using the money in that way; but any man who seriously proposed this would be laughed or hissed to scorn."

All but seven per cent of the interior navigation in France is under control of the state and is therefore free from tolls. The length of navigable waters is 8,000 miles, 650 of which are tidal, 2100 miles river without works, 2250 canalized rivers and 3000 miles of canals. The cost of the entire system was 300 million dollars construction and purchase, and 25 million dollars for concessions. The annual cost of maintenance is \$325 a mile, which covers all expenditures. The average cost of moving a ton of freight is .064 of a cent on the rivers and 25 per cent less on the canals.

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Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Haverhill.—First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Meeting every Sunday evening at 8 P. M., at 73 Merrimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.) Rooms open every evening.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P. M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909 1/2 Market street.

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An upper, or horizontal strainer, covers the entire flush-pot, and is hinged to one end of the sink, so that it may be opened when it is desired to use the deep part of the sink. The sink is discharged by means of a self-acting siphon, and a vertical strainer is interposed between the flush-pot and its siphon. The short arm of the siphon is trapped with a seal-retaining trap of the Sanitas trap principle, just behind the vertical strainer. This strainer slides upwards in a groove to give access to the trap when desired, but closes again automatically by its own weight as soon as released. Clean-out openings are provided at the trap and wier chamber and give access to every part of the waste system. No bones and solid refuse can be scraped into the discharge outlet and dropped into the waste-pipe, because this pipe ascends instead of descends at the outlet; and should the trap be clogged, it will simply cause the water to cease to flow out until the obstruction is removed, which can easily be done by simply raising the lower strainer and lifting out the obstruction by hand.

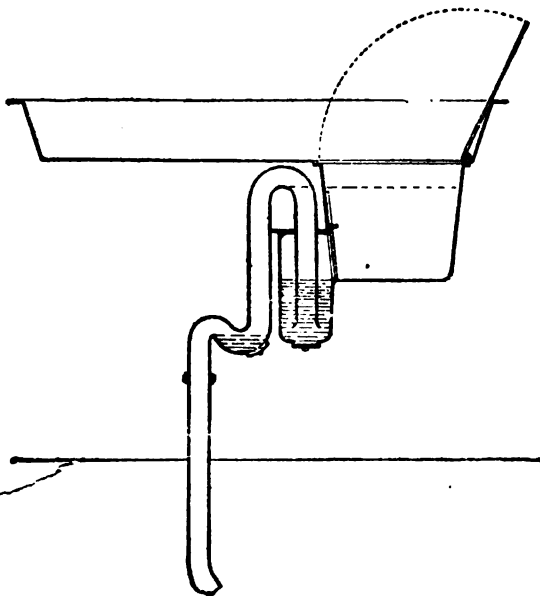
Operation of the Sanitas Kitchen Sink and Flush-pot is as follows: The sink is used in the ordinary manner until the flush-pot fills to the height of the siphon overflow. When this point has been reached, the next discharge of a quart or two of water suddenly emptied from the washing-pan charges the siphon and causes the entire contents of the flush-pot to rush out through the waste passages, filling them full bore, and scouring them from end to end. The solid matter and large

lumps of grease will be left on the bottom of the flush-pot, and must be removed by the servant in the proper manner, inasmuch as they cannot possibly be removed in any other manner.

Manufactured and Sold by the

Sanitas Manufacturing Company,

SMITH & ANTHONY STOVE Co., Proprietors, Boston, New York and Chicago.



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The New Nation

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Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

Both branches of the Philadelphia city government have passed without a dissenting vote resolutions petitioning Congress for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Thus the good work goes on.

Paid agents of the Standard Oil are at Ottawa lobbying for a bill taking off the Dominion duty on oil. Paid agents of Whitney of the Nova Scotia coal combine are at Ottawa

defending their leases in Nova Scotia against interference by the Dominion executive. Both of these monopolies are solid for the abolition of the tariff on their specialities. That is, they will be more monopolistic without the duty. This is respectfully referred to tariff reformers. The latter do not strike deep enough.

The rapidity with which the issue of a public rapid transit system is being forced to the front in New York city, is suggestive of the nearness of a new order of things. The real estate exchange of New York and the trade unions' representatives held a conference last Sunday at which they agreed upon a plan for a bill to put to vote by the people of the city of New York next November, the question whether the city should construct a rapid transit system. The labor men wanted the question of public operation included in the vote, but the real estate allies not being quite ready for that, the question of public operation was left to be determined later, it being pretty certain that if public construction is adopted public operation will logically follow.

Information Asked by the Governor of Pennsylvania.

A Pennsylvania nationalist writes from Harrisburg as follows:

I today presented the memorial to Congress for government telegraph and telephone service to Robert E. Pattison, governor of our state, and requested his signature. His first question was: "Is the present telegraph service a burdensome monopoly and does the company exert a baneful control or influence over the press?" Won't you kindly put an article in The New Nation answering this question fully?

Concerning the first point, raised by the governor as to whether "the present telegraph system is a burdensome monopoly," we assume that it has reference to whether the system is burdensome, and not to whether it is a monopoly, for of course every one is aware that the Western Union owns nearly all the telegraph mileage of the country and controls the rates on most of what little it does not own. As to whether or not this monopoly is burdensome, we submit the known and published facts that it is stocked,

inclusive of the latest stock dividend of 13 million dollars, at 100 million dollars, and that Postmaster-general Wanamaker officially states that the outside cost at which it could be duplicated by a brand new line is 35 million dollars, which figure has been declared and proven by detailed estimates to be at least twice as high as the actual cost of new lines performing the present service would actually be.

In order to pay dividends upon this enormous volume of water, the Western Union charges minimum rate of 25 cents for the shortest possible message for the shortest possible distance, and two, three, four, five and six times as much for 10 words or less where the distance is considerable.

The question whether these rates are burdensome we answer by referring to the rates charged in foreign countries where the governments operate the telegraph in connection with the post office. In Great Britain and Ireland the uniform rate to all parts of both islands is sixpence, 12 cents, for 12 words, that is to say, half the lowest price charged by the Western Union for the shortest possible distance. The same rates or less are charged by the government telegraph systems of Germany, Austria and France as are charged in Great Britain. According to the French system you can telegraph from Algeria in Africa to Paris, including cable under the Mediterranean, for two cents a word, the rate for distances within France being 10 cents for 10 words.

Please particularly observe also that these rates are not made possible by incurring a deficit for the telegraph service which is paid by taxation. The European telegraph lines yield a revenue to their respective governments.

Anybody who has ever been in Europe will confirm these figures which will also be found, every one of them, set down in full in Postmaster-general Wanamaker's official reports to Congress.

We think Gov. Pattison will have to admit when he has consulted these authorities that to call the Western Union's charges "burdensome" is a weak statement of the facts. They are robbery.

Next we come to the governor's query whether the present telegraph system "does exercise a baneful control or influence over the press?" As to this point it is not necessary to waste a word in showing by specifications (which could be abundantly furnished, that the influence of the Western Union monopoly over the press is "baneful." Any influence exercised over a supposed free press by an irresponsible commercial monopoly must in the nature of the case be "baneful"; for a free, untrammelled press is essential to popular government. That the Western Union must in the nature of the case be able to exercise such an influence follows from the fact that all newspapers depend and must absolutely depend upon its agents and its service for the transmission of the news of the day, and unless they can obtain especially favorable contracts directly or indirectly from its management for news service, they must give up business. The only ground on which it could be denied that the Western Union does influence the press would be the contention that its managers are a set of angels, incapable of taking advantage of the opportunities offered by almost despotic power. Stronger inferential evidence that

the daily press of the country wears the Western Union livery could not be asked than the fact that its whole influence either by conspiracy of silence or active intrigue has been consistently employed against government telegraph since that reform was first demanded a quarter of a century ago. The press has never betrayed the people so glaringly as in this instance and the reason has been its general dependence upon the telegraph monopoly and the selfish interests of great journals in maintaining the advantages over competition which favorable contracts with the Western Union have given them.

Let our Pennsylvania correspondent go again to Gov. Pattison, lay these facts before him and once more ask for his signature to the petition, which if he be the honest man he is said to be, will surely not then be withheld.

Why the Workingmen are Boycotting the Militia; an Alarming Situation.

There is no more portentous feature about the industrial situation just at present than the unanimity with which the organizations of labor, nationally and locally, are boycotting the militia service. You can scarcely take up a paper that gives the news of the proceedings of these bodies which does not contain more or less lists of resolutions to the effect that the militia has been used as an instrument to repress labor in the interest of capital, and calling on workingmen to refuse to enlist and appealing to such as are in the service to resign and withdraw as soon as possible. It is not too much to say that the workingmen of the country, so far as they recognize their distinctive interests as such generally speaking, since last summer assumed an attitude of distrust and suspicion verging on open hostility toward the militia service. We understand that in Ohio especially the defection of workingmen from the ranks of the militia has already become a serious matter.

This is a state of things wholly new in these United States, where the popular feeling toward our citizen soldiery has always heretofore been one of pride and affection. In the old world, the soldier has been the tool of tyranny for so many ages that he is naturally looked upon by the people with suspicion; but in America, as we have said, it is only within a short time, only a few months in fact, that a similar feeling has definitely developed.

In pointing to such a sudden and complete change of view as startling and alarming we do not differ from our contemporaries who champion private capitalism as the basis of industry. They have scented the danger from this quarter, and are roundly condemning the workingmen for their course. Now while we find the situation as deplorable as our contemporaries, we utterly disagree with them as to who should be condemned for it.

The workingmen have not without provocation taken up this new attitude so entirely in contrast with the traditional America feeling. The circumstances connected with the calling out of the militia in Tennessee, Pennsylvania and New York last summer, furnish a very adequate explanation of what has happened. Let us calmly review the facts.

In Tennessee the militia were called out in defense of the convict lease system, the inhumanity of which has been admitted universally for 20 years. The Tennessee militia took the field in defense of this system and for the protec-

tion of capitalists who were lessees of convicts and had pitted their unpaid slave labor against free labor in order to reduce the wages of workingmen. Is it any wonder that in Tennessee workingmen's organizations declare that a workingman is a traitor to his clan who gives aid to a force likely to be made the tool of such work as this?

In Pennsylvania, the calling out of the militia to protect Frick against the popular indignation he had needlessly provoked at Homestead, was probably a proper thing to do in itself; but the utterly gratuitous language, attitude and behavior of Gen. Snowden, Col. Harkins and Lieutenant-Colonel Streater, together with the Private Iams incident, were well calculated to be a stench in the nostrils of every workingman in the United States. The whole tone of these commanders of the forces and of the judicial Dogberrys who co-operated with them, clearly indicated that they considered the militia to have intervened not to preserve the peace between Frick and his employees, but to take sides with the former against the latter, as, in fact, a sort of reserve Pinkerton guard. Is it any wonder that the Federation of Labor meeting at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, a few months after these occurrences, should have adopted resolutions pointing out that a workingman had no business in the militia?

Now we come to New York and the Buffalo switchmen's strike. We find here that Mr. Doyle, division superintendent of the Lehigh Valley railroad, is also a brigadier-general of militia of New York state, and that he, having provoked a strike by his switchmen, through disregard of the 10-hour law of New York state, put on his uniform and ordered out his brigade to overawe the popular sympathy with the striking switchmen.

No more shocking perversion of the public force for private ends than this ever happened in Russia itself; but what does Gov. Flower of New York do upon being notified of the facts? Does he relieve Doyle and pacify the whole trouble by promising that the 10-hour law shall be enforced and switchmen no more be compelled to work 24 hours on a stretch? Not at all. He orders out 7000 more militia to back up the law-breaking corporations against the populace of Buffalo, which, to the credit of human nature, took the part of the 475 men who constituted the whole body of the actual strikers.

After the incident was ended was Doyle removed? Not at all. He still remains brigadier-general of the New York state militia, and only last week again ordered his brigade to be in readiness to put down a threatened strike at Dunkirk, N.Y. That is to say the Lehigh Valley railroad has, through its superintendent, a brigade of state troops at its disposal whenever it wishes to coerce its employees, and Gov. Flower and the other authorities seem to think this arrangement quite as it should be.

Is it any wonder that all the labor unions of New York are resolving that the state militia is no place for workingmen?

We have somewhat carefully reviewed the events which have led to the remarkable and, as we have said, very portentous change in the attitude of the working masses of the American people toward the militia service. Will anyone undertake to say that, human nature being what it is, they do not afford a pretty adequate explanation of it?

As we have said many times in this paper the present and

coming social crisis in this country is the result of an attempted seizure of the government and of the country by a plutocratic revolution, and of the resistance of the people to the attempted usurpations. One phase of this crisis is the open brazen-faced attempt to prostitute the militia service to the interest of the plutocrats against those who resist them, and the boycotting of the militia service by the workingmen is the response of the people to this attempt.

A Poor Rule Because it does not Work Both Ways.

"You may discontinue my paper," writes a subscriber. "You have converted me to nationalism, and I do not need The New Nation any longer."

We cannot quarrel with any one who pays so flattering a tribute to our persuasive powers, and yet we would have our friend remember that if this principle were generally applied by the readers of reform papers, the editors of the same would presently be left with a waste basket full of compliments and a blank subscription list.

The rule might be a good one if it worked both ways, but unfortunately it does not. If we could depend on the support of our opponents we could dispense with that of our friends; but if a man does not feel the need of a paper because he agrees with it, it is certain that he will feel still less need of one he does not agree with. We therefore trust that our subscriber's line of reasoning will not be generally adopted, or if it is, that it be with an amendment. If any one feels indeed converted and in need of no more conversion, let him substitute for his own name on the subscription list that of somebody in need of conversion. In this case we should feel less doubt of the sincerity of his conversion than we should otherwise be compelled to entertain.

The Modern Method of Political Bribery as Compared with the Old-fashioned One.

The New York Tribune of the 20th, in discussing the Cleveland-Hill feud, ascribes to the Cleveland side a plan to break up the Hill forces, by bringing to Cleveland's support such men as Boss Croker, Lieut.-Gov. Sheehan, Senator Murphy and other leaders of the Hill phalanx. According to this authority Mr. W. C. Whitney is to be the man to conduct the negotiations, and the methods to be employed are intimated in the following suggestive language:

There is a homely adage that there are more ways of killing a dog than choking him with butter. There are more ways, too, of diverting a politician's allegiance than by offering him political preferment. Opportunities for growing rich speedily and surely have attractions for most men; few are able to withstand them. The man who can add to recognized political adeptness the power of pointing out to those whom he desires to attach and bind to himself in aid of his ambitious opportunities for acquiring wealth and fortune without labor, capital or serious trouble, possesses weapons which will prove immensely effective if properly handled. Such arguments might not prove so unanswerable to one of Senator-elect Murphy's means, but how would it be with Mr. Sheehan and Mr. Croker? I am told that both have already profited largely through the kind offices of Mr. Whitney in business ventures, and that appetites have been only whetted for further investments of a like satisfaction-kind. It would not astonish me at all if these well-known Snapper leaders upon whom Senator Hill has relied in all his successes of the past soon became as devoted in Mr. Whitney's service as they were to that of Senator Hill.

The significant feature here is not whether or not any such plan is actually contemplated or such methods are to be used to accomplish it. Of these questions of fact we

know nothing. The important thing is not whether particular men use these methods in particular cases, but that they are recognized as methods commonly used.

The cheap and vulgar bribery against which reformers of previous generations have inveigled, is in fact no longer employed to influence politicians above the lowest grades of ward-heelers. It has long ago generally given way in all important "deals" to the methods indicated in the above quotation, which are infinitely safer and more effective. Instead of dirty cash transactions, clumsy, risky and ignominious in all the circumstances, good offices are now exchanged, a tip in stocks is given, a hint is dropped as to a "good thing," an opportunity for "a ground floor investment" is afforded, or perhaps in case of a lawyer a professional opening is provided, and so, without a compromising act or word, the necessary men are secured and the desired combinations effected.

The palpable precision, ease and noiselessness of the modern methods of political bribery, as compared with the older ones, illustrate the constantly more perfect evolution of the modern political machine as a government of money, by money, for money.

One Effect Perhaps of "the Spirit of Unrest."

The statistics of murders and suicides in the United States during 1892 show rates of increase which may well make us ask whither we are drifting. The murders in the whole country in 1892 were 6792 as against 5906 in 1891, 4200 in 1890 and 3567 in 1889. That is to say, the number has doubled in four years, and that, too, by a steady rate of increase which shows the operation of some general tendency rather than any particular temporary cause affecting any one year.

The statistics of suicides give equally alarming results. There were 3860 suicides in 1892 as compared with 3331 in 1891, 2640 in 1890 and 2224 in 1889. We find in four years' time almost a doubling in the number of self-murders as of murders. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the increase of the population during the same period has been but a trifling percentage. Of the suicides, the cause ascribed for the largest group, 1463, is despondency. A more particular analysis of these statistics of causes, localities and nationalities might suggest various conclusion; but one general inference it certainly seems safe to draw, and it is that for some reason or reasons the moral balance of our people is being unsettled at an alarming rate. To trace out these demoralizing influences in detail would lead us too far into the field of speculation, but is it irrational to suggest that they would probably be found to be more or less identical in root with the causes which during this same period of the four past years, have developed such an unprecedented volume of social political and industrial unrest, dissatisfaction and anxiety in this country. This is a period during which the elements of an impending crisis, destined to be the greatest in the history of the country and of the world, have been gathering their forces, and it would be strange indeed if the tension of the coming storm were without effect, in disturbing the moral balance of men.

It would be interesting to inquire if the statistics of insanity for the same period show a similarly unprecedented

rate of increase. In that case certainly it would be rational to look for the explanation in some such general cause as that indicated.

The Mass. rapid transit bill introduced by Representative Parker of Boston certainly marks progress. The bill provides for the building of an elevated system by Boston and neighboring towns and cities, and the leasing of the road to a private company for a term of years with figures at which the cities can buy the rolling stock, shops, tools, etc. at some specified time. The arguments in favor of the building by the public of an elevated road structure would, we think, cover the rolling stock and business of transportation. At all events, we will follow the course of this bill with interest. Judging from the tide of popular sentiment on this subject, the bill is more likely to be amended up to the public conduct of this public service rather than down to the private control of capitalists.

EQUAL REWARD.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

I have just read the address of Rev. E. Daniels as given in The New Nation of February 4, in which he says he does not believe in equal reward, but in reward according to service, etc. As a practical matter, could he find any two men to agree to what the particular reward for a particular service would be, and be just? He has a "Rev." before his name. Does he pay any attention to Christ's teachings, who, if he did not teach equality, taught the strong should serve the weak? To an ordinary man like myself, it seems strange to see ministers advocating a system of industry that would leave the widows, fatherless, weak and unfortunate with little or no attention.

CLARENCE W. BROWN.

Erving, Mass., February, 18.3.

SENATOR BLAIR ON NATURAL MONOPOLIES.

Ex-United States Senator Blair of New Hampshire has this to say about the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone: "I cannot possibly go into any discussion in writing of these great questions. I will simply say that I am in favor of the people controlling and regulating railroads, telegraphs, telephones and all methods of heating, lighting and transportation, and of all vehicles for the general transmission of intelligence by steam and electricity, etc., for the promotion of the general welfare. When the people have entrusted individuals or corporations with the practical operating of these means or agencies of serving the public, they should hold their servants to a strict accountability and from time to time by law regulate the service and reduce rates and charges so that but a fair and reasonable cost should be taken from the people for the service rendered. I believe in the right and power of the people to operate all these natural and artificial forces for themselves, as in the case of the post office, and in taking possession of existing franchises upon payment of proper compensation to previous owners, provided the general welfare demands it. Whether the general welfare demands it is a question to be decided as the cases arise."

DIMES AND DOLLARS.

Dimes and dollars, dollars and dimes,
 An empty pocket's the worst of crimes.
 If the man's down, give him a thrust;
 Trample the beggar into the dust;
 Presumptuous poverty. It's quite appalling, —
 Knock the man down; aye, and kick him for falling.
 But if the man's up, lift him up higher;
 His soul's for sale, and ye're the buyer.
 So get ye wealth, no matter how,
 No questions ask (of the rich, I trow);
 Steal by night, steal by day,
 But do it all in a legal way.
 Join the Church, ne'er forsake her;
 Learn to cant and insult your Maker.
 Be hypocrite, liar, knave or fool,
 But don't be poor; remember the rule:
 Dimes and dollars, dollars and dimes,
 An empty pocket's the worst of crimes.

*GOVERNMENT MINES, RAILROADS AND TELE-
 GRAPHS.*

The Minnesota Senate has passed by nearly a unanimous vote, a memorial to Congress introduced by Ignatius Donnelly, of which the subjoined is the material part:

Whereas, it was the original design of the founders of the government to reserve from sale and retain for the benefit of all the people the public lands containing mineral or metallic wealth; and

Whereas, the present evil conditions in the coal fields of this country are an unforeseen and unnatural outgrowth from the conceded right of private property, applied to an article of prime necessity for all the people, in the hands of corporations,

Therefore, the Legislature of the state of Minnesota respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to take immediate steps under the right of eminent domain to condemn and enter into possession of all the anthracite coal lands of this country, and hold and administer the same as a public trust for the benefit of all the people on terms that shall be just to the miners of the coal and the consumers of the same.

T. V. Powderly is moved to print over his own signature in the Journal of the Knights of Labor, a strong appeal to other Legislatures to pass the same memorial as well as the government telegraph and telephone petition which, by the way, has also passed the Minnesota Senate. We quote from Mr. Powderly's article:

"If the memorial of Mr. Donnelly ever reaches Washington — it will reach there one day — and if the march of progressive thought shall for the next decade keep pace with that of the past few years, the question of free silver will be settled, for the government will have taken possession of all mineral deposits, and the mines, as well as the silver, will belong to the people. It is beginning to dawn on the minds of the people that the railroad and telegraph lines should be owned by the government. Not so many people believe in railroad ownership, by the government, as in telegraph ownership. If a vote were taken on the question of government ownership of telegraphs, there is no doubt but that it would result in a victory for the people by an overwhelming majority. With the telegraph in the hands of the people we may expect that the side of the masses will be faithfully given in the dispatches each day. The ease with which the sentiments of a public man are distorted and misconstrued will not prevail under government ownership of the telegraph and we may expect to read less exaggerated

reports of public speeches. It will then be possible for the slandered speaker, and I contend that the man whose utterances are distorted by the press is slandered, to obtain redress, for he will be a part owner of the wires that carry the news. Speeches now made in favor of government ownership of rail and telegraph lines are not reported, while those made in opposition to these projects are faithfully chronicled. The people are educated to look on but one side of these questions so far as the telegraph service of the nation goes, and it is time to change the current of thought by placing the avenues of intelligence in the possession of the people themselves.

"The New Nation of Boston is circulating a petition to Congress in favor of government ownership of the telegraph. It should be extensively signed and returned to The New Nation for presentation to Congress when it meets next winter. When the petition in favor of the same measure — government ownership of the telegraph — was circulated in this order seven years ago, we presented to Congress a roll of over 800,000 signatures. Eight hundred thousand men requested, over their own signatures, that Congress would restore the telegraph to the care and ownership of the government of the United States. That petition was in circulation only six weeks. The directions sent out with the blanks were to have them signed and returned to the general office at Philadelphia in time to present them to the national Legislature six weeks from the date on which they were mailed. It was possible seven years ago to obtain nearly a million signatures in favor of government ownership of the telegraph inside of six weeks, and the petition now in circulation should go to Congress backed up by the names of over five millions of people. There is no doubt but that the telegraph will soon be in the possession of the government and another of the demands of this order complied with. There is but little doubt in my mind that in a short time the railroads will become the property of the government and it is time to begin the agitation for government ownership of the mineral deposits of the nation. Just fancy a great nation like this, progressive, prosperous, thoughtful, radical and independent, begging from individuals the privilege of coining into money the metals which should of right belong to the nation itself. Fancy 65 millions of people passing through such a winter as this, shivering for the want of coal which a few greedy men have seized through no shadow of law, human or divine. Think of having to wait to get warm until a coal baron gets ready to settle the rates of transportation with a rival operator or railroad king. The idea is preposterous and the quicker the people awake to the truth of the situation the better will it be for all.

"We should endeavor to have each state Legislature enact such a memorial and present it to Congress when it meets next winter. What state will follow Minnesota? Who will emulate the example of Ignatius Donnelly?

"In the meantime do not forget the petition for government ownership of the telegraph, and if you have no petitions at hand send to The New Nation, 13 Winter street, Boston, Mass., for a blank form."

A Boston syndicate has bought the Milwaukee Gas works, paying \$2,500,000 for \$1,250,000 capital stock.

*THINGS SAID BY GEN. WEAVER WHILE IN
NEW ENGLAND.*

The people's party leaders hold that the rum curse is primarily a voluntary evil, which every person has power, if he will, to avoid by establishing a prohibitory law for himself without the consent of the Legislature. That being the case, public vices enthroned in law take precedence as public questions. The populists realize that it is very hard to either enact or enforce a law in advance of the daily life of the people. On the contrary, the monopolistic injustices of land, transportation and money are so framed into law that no individual can escape those injuries if he would. Land today is monopolized by speculators. But the world is as new to every child as it was to Adam, and if each child cannot, when he comes into the world, find a place for himself here as Adam did, there is a wrong done. Transportation agencies, of people, merchandise and intelligence, are today legally under the control of private corporations. These agencies are public highways, but private corporations now have the legal right to dictate to the people how we shall use our highways—how we shall exercise our own natural rights. It is a monstrous condition of things.

For a great commercial people to permit their public highways to be usurped and operated for private gain is one of the anomalies of the age and cannot long continue. Control has never controlled. You cannot harmonize corporate greed with the public welfare. Corporations have all the infirmities of avarice without the restraining virtues of conscience. They come into life with a full set of teeth and have never known the benign influence of a mother's love and advice.

Money is an instrument for the transaction of business and can be created only by the sovereign power in the republic. It should be created and issued by the people for the benefit of all. At present the people make their money, pay for making it and guarantee the redemption, and then give it away to a few rich bankers, in consideration of an agreement that the people may borrow it back again on paying eight or ten times as much for it as they have received from the bankers. Our whole economic system is one eternal range of folly and robbery of the masses.

The return of the democratic party to power is a mere accident, so to speak, and not the result of the deliberate purpose of a majority of the people of the United States, for they are more than 1,000,000 in the minority in the total vote.

The republican party will rapidly disintegrate everywhere—in fact, it is doing so now—and the anti-monopoly elements in both of the old parties will affiliate with the populists, just as the free soil elements affiliated with the republicans between 1856 and 1860.

With the slipping away of time has come a mighty revolution. We are in the midst of it today. We have all the symptoms that were present at the breaking out of the French revolution. We have the true pre-revolutionary

spirit. Thank God we have a Bellamy, a Powderly, a Gompers, an organized labor and a people's party.

✓ You ask me what equal rights are, and I answer that it is simply religion in motion. It is religion that has broken through the walls of the church and become real. It is simply a portion of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." If you cannot believe that, you cannot be a member of the people's party.

I believe as our fathers believed. I have read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the speeches of Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, and early fell in love with liberty and acquired a hatred for slavery. I remember how eagerly I joined the grand crusade against chattel slavery. I remember Wendell Phillips said to me, "But few men understand the real meaning of the slavery agitation. It is a battle for the emancipation of labor, and its final solution will not come until its labor possesses and enjoys the fruits of its own toil. The battle has yet to be fought for the emancipation of labor in America." This controversy today is the same old fight over again, and it is going on, whether you want to help it or not.

"WHERE SOCIALISM FAILS."

The excellent London correspondent of the Boston Herald, Arthur Warren, takes neither a very logical nor yet hardly accurate position in a recent letter in which he attempts to show "Where Socialism Fails." In not a few letters Mr. Warren has shown the complete success of many steps in the direction of socialism in England, and he cannot very well give the lie to his own investigations. Moreover he does not appear to have considered the subject thoroughly enough in its deeper bearings to justify him in the making of authoritative conclusions. (Even were the facts as he claims them to be in various instances that he now cites, it would prove nothing, any more than the very frequent breaking down and running off the track of the first railway locomotives proved that great modern invention an everlasting failure.) Indeed, it would be little short of miraculous if a new departure in any direction, whether mechanical, political or social, should run with absolute smoothness.

Mr. Warren, however, by no means justifies his conclusions. Great Britain is a land of contradictions, and it is not difficult to find there apparent support of the strongest kind for every side of an argument. In many respects, notwithstanding their remarkable success of recent years in various branches of municipal administration, the English are notorious for their clumsy way of doing things, born of ages of tradition and precedent. It would be easy to offset every point that Mr. Warren makes by examples from German experience proving the opposite. The fault that he finds with the British post office, for instance, would not hold at all in Germany. And nothing could be more infelicitous than his citation of the British telephone service, which he instances as an example of government control, because the telephone companies exist only by permission of the post office and by virtue of paying tribute to that department! "It is the worst telephone service, and the smallest, of any country in the world," he

says. The German telephone service, on the other hand, which has been a department of the post office from the very start, is the best and the largest. Berlin has more telephones than any other city in the world.

Mr. Warren says that in every country where government railways exist the trains are slower, the rolling stock is poorer and the service less effective than in countries where the railways are in the hands of private enterprise. This assertion is glaringly incorrect. In Germany, for instance, the reverse is the case. The fastest train in the world runs between Berlin and Hamburg. The rolling stock is far superior to that of the English railways, and the English railway stations are shanties compared with the German.

His point against municipal tramways is also not well taken. Up to date there is but one city in Great Britain that operates its own tramways, and we have Mr. Warren's own testimony to the thorough success of the principles in that city. Huddersfield, Glasgow, which has made such a success in many things in the way of public management, has decided to operate its own tramways, but does not take them over till next year. Mr. Warren has also testified to the admirable results of the municipal ownership of street-railway tracks in Great Britain, as against private ownership, with the wretchedly laid rails that are put down in utter disregard of street traffic in this country.

As he acknowledges that everywhere the sphere of government is now being enlarged, and that "it is useless to ignore the fact that this tendency of the time is an expression of the aspirations of humanity," we have excellent ground for trusting that a man usually so clear-headed will soon recover from his present attack of what may be called Spenceritis.

SYLVESTER BAXTER.

PUBLIC SERVICE IS CHEAPER.

To the Editor of The New Nation :

About one year ago I wrote you of an experiment in one ward of the city by which the street sprinkling for the summer was to be done by the city instead of by private parties, and prophesied not only success but an enlargement of the area, all of which has come true. Six more wards are added this spring. I live in one of the new wards added and have just received notice that my assessment for sprinkling four times a day for nine months will be \$2.37. Last summer private enterprise charged me \$9 for less service.

R. H. HOWE.

Chicago, February, 1893.

PUBLIC LIQUOR LAW IN A GEORGIA COUNTY

Clark county, Ga. recently adopted what is called the liquor dispensary law. The largest city in this county is Athens, the seat of the state university. We do not know the details of the law, but expect to print them later. The county buys all the liquor and dispenses it to the public by salaried agents. The element of private profit is eliminated. The first annual report under this law shows that the county sold \$55,000 worth of liquor over its bars, which netted \$77,000; value of stock on hand, \$5,000; clear profit above expenses, \$14,000. Local sentiment is in favor of the new plan.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLE AT TOPEKA.

Some Points which the Dispatches do not Give. Note and Comment.

We have not attempted to make a detailed record of the drama that is being enacted at Topeka, Kan. A truce has been declared, and it is well now to review briefly the situation. Many partisan papers are attempting to justify the mutiny of the militia officers who refused to obey the orders of their superior, the governor of the state, upon the ground that the orders were illegal as the House which Lewelling recognized was not properly organized. We shall not debate that point beyond reminding these papers that the officers in question had no official connection with any legislative body, but were under the governor's command.

The assumption that the populist House, as it is called, was illegally organized, cannot in our opinion be maintained. All parties in Kansas agree that the populists had a clear majority on the face of the returns. The republican contention is that in two counties the returns were not correct. The judges of election in the various towns in these two counties sent their returns to the county clerks. The latter were republican in politics and proceeded to throw out enough populist ballots to elect a republican from each county to the Legislature.

This trick of counting out was learned by the republicans in Hayes' time, or they may have caught the idea from the Bourbon democrats of the South.

However, the populists appealed to the courts for a mandamus ordering a recount, and the courts decided that the local inspectors of election completed their functions when they forwarded their returns to the county clerk.

The latter officials in the two counties in dispute, after throwing out the populist ballots, certified that two republicans had been elected, but accompanied the certificates with affidavits stating that they had changed the vote as it came to them from the election judges.

It is the law in Kansas that the state secretary shall call the roll of the new House, but when he attempted to do so, the republicans would not permit him to proceed, as they claimed that he did not intend to call the names of the republicans from the counties in dispute. The result was a small riot and the organization of two Houses. The real merits of the election have never been passed upon by the courts. The case of the republicans is a technical one at best. All sides agree that when the polls closed November 8 there were ballots in the boxes enough to prevent the republicans from organizing the House. Kansas belongs to the populists this year, and in due time we trust by peaceful means the facts will be recognized. As matters

now are, no republican United States Senator can be elected, and after the adjournment the governor can appoint a Senator for Kansas, probably Martin who has the governor's certificate of election.

We would mention the fact that when Gov. Lewelling called out the militia the republicans applied to the Santa Fe railroad for men. The Associated Press has not given all the facts in the case. The republicans asked the railroads to help them, and every train for several days brought into Topeka crowds of republicans on free passes. This haste to forward passengers free is in marked contrast to the fate of the four carloads of provisions sent by Nebraska farmers to the Homestead strikers last year. The provision cars were side-tracked and never reached their proper destination.

Let the people remember that the railroad corporations have enlisted against them. The issue is joined. A western republican paper feels called upon to say in this connection:

"The history Kansas is making at the present goes a good way to prove that this thing of the people ruling may be carried too far. It takes men who understand government is to govern safely."

We have heard several Boston men spell this sentiment out plainly in private conversation. "A limited monarchy after all is the safest kind of government for business men," says one man.

All nationalists, we think, are optimists, because they look at national perils prepared to apply the remedy. And we note above the spread of autocratic corporation rule in order to open the minds of men who still think that tariff reform is the only fire-escape of the nation. This is ridiculously inadequate to redeem our people from the bondage of private monopoly.

The attempt of the republicans to steal Kansas, we may add by the way, is having a good effect upon the populist movement all over the country. The populists in the South are working night and day. Alabama is the best organized state, and next come Georgia and North Carolina. Our correspondents in Virginia, Florida, Texas and other states say that the cause is moving on admirably. We can speak with equal confidence as to Massachusetts. Gen. Weaver's audiences at Lynn, Haverhill, Marlboro and elsewhere in New England have alarmed the old parties. The campaign of 1896 has already opened. It is a pretty fight as it stands, and the majority will win.

Note and Comment.

Independent Press, Franklin, Neb.: Many republicans and democrats are nationalists and when they see that the people's party favors reforms that must come before Nationalism can succeed they will fall into line with the populists.

Judge W. V. Allen, who has just been elected populist

United States senator from Nebraska is an old soldier. In 1891 he was elected as a populist judge of the 9th judicial district of Nebraska.

Congressman Watson of Georgia has introduced in the lower House of Congress a bill to create the office of national inspector of cotton and grain, and to provide for the issue of certificates of deposit and the issuance of post office orders thereon. Congressman Watson, by the way, is having a fine time introducing evidence before the investigating committee in his contested election case to show how 2700 democrats in his Georgia district cast 10,800 ballots against him.

GROWTH OF ELECTRIC RAILWAY SYSTEMS.

We cannot conceal our surprise at the apparent indifference of the public to the growth of the electric street car systems in various parts of the country. Speculators agree that about the best thing in sight now is to gather up street railway franchises. The combinations linking a dozen or a score of towns by electric cars and menaged, by private capitalists are reported in every part of the country. This is especially true of New England. We call attention to the company which has recently been incorporated in New Jersey. It is called the New England street railway company. Under the charter the company has a breezy breadth of privilege which is not even limited by the boundaries of the republic. The company may not only unite and extend the surface railways of New England, but it may conduct that or almost any other business in every state and territory in the United States, present or subsequently acquired, in over a hundred cities by name specified; in Montreal, London, Paris, Great Britain, Ireland and France generally, and in the Argentine Republic. For this grant it pays one tenth of one per cent of its capital stock to the state of New Jersey. The present purpose of the company is given out to be the purchase, control and consolidation of the surface, railways in New England, their operation by electricity, and the development of a system that shall relieve steam railroads with much through business of some of their local traffic. The Corporation Trust company, which is the trustee of the new railway corporation, is an office building concern. Its main officers constitute the legal officers of the new corporation besides those of many others doing business in other states. If the intention of the New England Street railway company is fully carried out, it will stand third among the great street railway corporations of the country. The other two are the McKee-Verner combination and the Metropolitan or Widner-Elkins combination. The McKee-Verner people control the Atlantic-avenue line in Brooklyn and the system in Indianapolis. The Metropolitan Traction or Widner-Elkins combination controls street-car lines in Brooklyn and New Jersey. The market value of all this electric railway business depends upon the gifts of the people, and as long as the people are content to charter men to forage upon the masses these dangerous combinations will grow.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

/ Massachusetts.

Public lighting will be the subject discussed at the public meeting in Endicott hall, Moody street, Waltham, March 7. The meeting is under the auspices of the Waltham Cold Cut club.

/ Rhode Island.

A combination has been effected between the largest ready-made clothing stores of Providence.

/ New York.

New York city brought suit against the Manhattan Elevated company some years ago to compel it to pay 5 per cent of its net earnings to the city. Justice Inghram has just decided that the company must pay that amount for the 10 years from 1880 to 1890.

/ Ohio.

The city council of Cleveland has passed a resolution asking the Legislature to allow the city to issue \$500,000 bonds for a municipal electric light plant. The resolution was indorsed by the Central Labor Union, and the secretary was instructed to forward copies of the same to the Cuyahoga County delegation, and the speakers of the House and Senate.

/ Kansas.

The Liberator (Norton): Government ownership of the railroads, is the hot iron at this time; let us strike it and mould it into shape.

/ Missouri.

The lower branch of the Legislature has passed a bill establishing maximum telephone rates at \$50 per year in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants; \$40 between 30,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, and \$30 in all other cities in the state.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch: Franchises granted in future should provide for a return to the city of every dollar over and above a fair return on the actual investment together with such further compensation as may serve as a reasonable inducement to cover all extraordinary risks. There is no reason why franchise holders should be allowed any more profit out of their public enterprises than is expected by individuals who engage in private business, take all the risks themselves and ask no favors of the people or government.

/ New Jersey.

Trenton is considering the establishment of a municipal electric light plant.

/ Virginia.

Manchester has granted a franchise to a private company for the establishment of a gas plant. It is stipulated that the cost to consumers using less than 5000 feet shall be 50 cents per 1000; 5000 and under 10,000, 45 cents; 10,000 and under 20,000, 40 cents; 20,000 and under 50,000, 35 cents; 50,000 and special contract not to exceed 30 cents per 1000.

/ West Virginia.

The city council of Charleston is considering an ordinance providing for the municipal ownership of water, gas and electric light plants. The people are to vote at the

next city election upon a proposition to issue bonds for that purpose.

/ Pennsylvania.

The Pittsburg Dispatch, a leading republican organ, in editorially discussing the bill introduced into Congress for determining the amount of debt due the government by the Pacific railroads, says: "The joke of it is that the amount of the debt is well known. Congress issued bonds in aid of these railroads. The amount of the bonds is not in dispute. The amount of the interest is not in dispute. The fractional part of the interest which the United States has succeeded in getting back out of the companies is not seriously in dispute. The only thing that is in dispute is the ability of the nation to collect the debt from debtors whose course has been marked by willingness to commit fraud on the creditor, or rather the doubtful factor is the willingness of the legislators to resort to the means which are always resorted to between private debtors and creditors, of taking the property and realizing whatever can be secured from it."

/ Texas.

El Paso recently voted 482 to 25 in favor of bonding the city to the amount of \$205,000 for the city to build and operate its own water-works.

/ Iowa.

The Sioux City Journal: Why should not a city own the gas-works as well as the water-works — light as well as water? The most valuable thing is the public franchise. Things are changing. The day has passed when a modern city of 25,000 has to beg for the use of its franchises. They are too valuable. They ought not to be the means by which monopoly levies exorbitant tribute upon the community. There is likely to be some red hot municipal reform before this country is 10 years older.

/ Miscellaneous.

Boston Transcript: The mayor of Boston is advertising for proposals for gas-lighting from others than the Boston Gas Light company. The mayor of Detroit is fighting a gas monopoly there. In Chicago the best young blood of the city is united in a municipal gas league. All such incidents speed on the day when every city shall do its own lighting. Under government by the people for the people monopolies dealing in necessities, with charges to earn dividends on bloated stock issues can exist only until the people put their minds onto the question.

Boston Globe: The question of rapid transit has become highly popularized. In New York, where, as in this city, everybody is exercising his wits upon the theme, the latest scheme to come to the front is the "roof railway." The proposed elevated road is to rest upon a succession of high buildings fitted up for stores and tenements, and to be owned by the city. The rent of these buildings is to help pay the running expenses of the roads, and the income is to be devoted to the nearest appropriation to free rides. The scheme is an amusing contribution to the curious ideas afloat on subjects of national and municipal economy. Why a certain class paying rent should supply free rides to their fellow-citizens is not quite plain to see. It is averred that these classes would be paying rent anyway, whether the roads passed over their roofs or not. While this is true, the plan amounts all the same to a city's going into the business of renting stores and tenements, and might easily be construed as a sort of entering wedge for the nationalist plan.

A conference was recently held in New York by representatives of the leading sewing machine companies of the West looking to a combination. Their openly avowed purpose is to reduce the competition which is playing havoc with the profits of the manufacturers.

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Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 8 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Haverhill.—First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Meeting every Sunday evening at 8 P. M., at 73 Merrimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.) Rooms open every evening.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P. M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909 1/2 Market street.

Altruist Meetings are held every Sunday at 8 p. m., in Rooms 55, No. 2 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo., for lectures and free discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare and improvement of society. All liberal and progressive men and women are invited, Seats free.

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BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1893.

Not quite four years have elapsed since our club, the first Nationalist Club in the world, was formed. Within that short time the Nationalist idea has commended itself to the American public to an extent far exceeding our most sanguine hopes. The influence we have brought to bear upon legislative action has been remarkably successful, and many issues that we have raised have been taken up enthusiastically by citizens at the polls. Our ideas are becoming actualities. The times are ripe. Organized effort will now carry things with a swing but it must be organized effort.

Do you believe in the nationalization of industry, or, are you with us in the work of nationalizing the railroads, telegraph, telephone, express or any of the so-called natural monopolies? Do you wish to be identified with us and count for something? If so, you can render important assistance to our work. The way we propose is this. We have opened a CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIP of this First Club, asking for members all over this Union, requiring an admission fee of \$1.00, and a yearly due of \$1.00, the money to be applied by the club to Nationalist work, pure and simple. Each corresponding member is entitled to all the publications to be issued by the club, and will be considered a center for the distribution of such publications. We give a Certificate of Membership, handsomely gotten up, to each Corresponding Member. Come in and share the victories to come.

P. O'NEILL LARKIN, Secretary.

L. J. BRIDGEMAN, President.



\$1.50 AMERICAN WATCH

We commenced on Jan. 1st '93. In our New England factory, to make a newly patented AMERICAN LEVER WATCH, which we not only GUARANTEE to keep PERFECT TIME but to give satisfaction in every respect. We will refund money without question to any dissatisfied purchaser. We are making an average of a WATCH EVERY MINUTE—1440 per day—432,000 for this World's Fair year. Our trade mark is on every dial and a guarantee with every watch. **IT IS MADE ON HONOR!** DESCRIPTION.—The movement is AMERICAN PATENT LEVER; Lantern Pinion; Patent Escapement and Regulator; Patent Pinion (or stem) Wind and Set, requiring no key; 5 turns winds for 24 hours; Patent DUST-PROOF Case, heavily Plated with GOLD Substitute, guaranteed to wear a year; Weight of watch 4 1/2 oz.; Cut exactly represents it. Every watch tested and regulated before leaving our hands and will NOT VARY A MINUTE IN 30 DAYS. Price postpaid, \$1.50 each; \$ for \$4.00; 12 for \$15.00 by express. Mention CURE CHAIN with Columbus Medal Charm. AGENTS and STORE-KEEPERS send at once for sample and terms. Catalogue of 1,000 necessary articles free. We refer to any prominent Publisher or New York firm. Do not order C. O. D.; a useless expense as we warrant every watch. ROSE, E. LIGERSOLL & BROS., 65 Cortlandt St., N. Y. CITY.

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It keeps in the middle of the road. Circulation, 10,000. The oldest reform paper in the South.

Lessons in Sanitary Plumbing.

LESSON NO. 8.

Every plumbing fixture should be constructed on the principle of the FLUSH TANK, in order that it shall keep the waste pipes clean AUTOMATICALLY. This cut represents a section of the

SANITAS KITCHEN SINK.

It consists of the combination of a square flush-pot with an ordinary kitchen sink in such a manner as to provide a sink of the ordinary appearance and form above, but having a deep portion or flush-pot at the end, with an automatic discharge.

An upper, or horizontal strainer, covers the entire flush-pot, and is hinged to one end of the sink, so that it may be opened when it is desired to use the deep part of the sink. The sink is discharged by means of a self-acting siphon, and a vertical strainer is interposed between the flush-pot and its siphon. The short arm of the siphon is trapped with a seal-retaining trap of the Sanitas trap principle, just behind the vertical strainer. This strainer slides upwards in a groove to give access to the trap when desired, but closes again automatically by its own weight as soon as released. Clean-out openings are provided at the trap and wler chamber and give access to every part of the waste system. No bones and solid refuse can be scraped into the discharge outlet and dropped into the waste-pipe, because this pipe ascends instead of descends at the outlet; and should the trap be clogged, it will simply cause the water to cease to flow out until the obstruction is removed, which can easily be done by simply raising the lower strainer and lifting out the obstruction by hand.

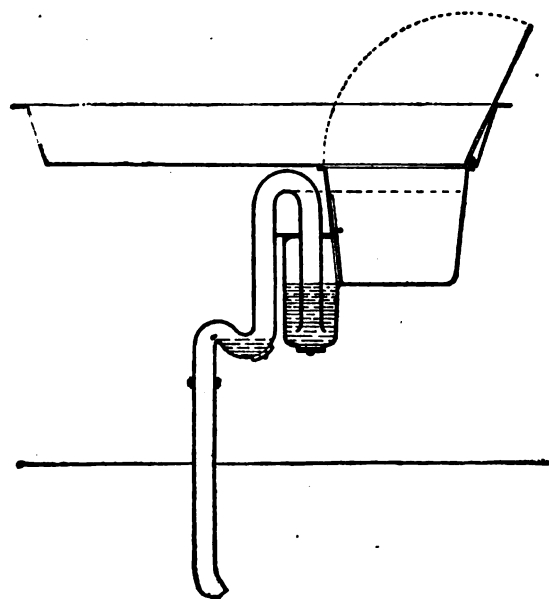
Operation of the Sanitas Kitchen Sink and Flush-pot is as follows: The sink is used in the ordinary manner until the flush-pot fills to the height of the siphon overflow. When this point has been reached, the next discharge of a quart or two of water suddenly emptied from the washing-pan charges the siphon and causes the entire contents of the flush-pot to rush out through the waste passages, filling them full bore, and scouring them from end to end. The solid matter and large

lumps of grease will be left on the bottom of the flush-pot, and must be removed by the servant in the proper manner, inasmuch as they cannot possibly be removed in any other manner.

Manufactured and Sold by the

Sanitas Manufacturing Company,

SMITH & ANTHONY STOVE Co., Proprietors, Boston, New York and Chicago.



The New Nation

Edward Bellamy — Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

We call particular attention to the report of the electric lighting committee of Braintree, Mass., a resume of which will be found elsewhere in this issue. The average cost per year of running arc lights in 25 Massachusetts towns mostly by private companies is \$78.56 per lamp. The town of Braintree has succeeded in reducing the expense to \$52.98 per lamp. We call this a triumphant refutation of the charge made by uninformed persons that the public

cannot do business as economically as private companies.

Washington swarmed with populists from all parts of the country last week, the attractions being the annual meetings of the Reform Press association and of the Bi-metallic league. Resolutions were unanimously passed by the Press association favoring the mammoth petition for a government telegraph and telephone. The Bi-metallic league resolved that if Congress refused to remonetize silver, the league would favor the demonetization of gold.

Ought the People's Party to Indorse the Principle of Prohibition?

The Voice of last week contained the following:

A good many persons and papers have answered the question we recently put to The New Nation, but The New Nation itself is hard at work looking backward and thinking.

The New Nation acknowledges inadvertence in not earlier taking notice of the question referred to, which was first called to our attention by the above reminder. It appears that the Voice asked if The New Nation would favor, as a basis of agreement between the prohibitionists and the people's party, the following declaration:

We believe that the traffic in liquor, for beverage purposes, is inimical to the public welfare, and ought to be suppressed. As a step in this direction, we advocate the public conduct of the business until such time as a majority of the votes in any state declare for its entire suppression.

The New Nation has of course no mandate to speak for the people's party as a whole, but as a warm sympathizer and hearty worker for its interests we naturally have strong opinions concerning the best policy for it to pursue, and we are bound to say that any prohibitory support that might be secured by the people's party as a result of adopting such a plank as the above would be very dearly purchased.

The plank is in terms an explicit declaration that prohibition is the only true ultimate solution of the liquor question, and that any other policy can be tolerated only as a makeshift. This is a declaration which none but a con-

vinced prohibitionist could honestly subscribe. If it would attract prohibitionists to the party adopting it, we may assume that it would be equally effectual in repelling persons opposed to prohibition. Now the people's party at present, if we may follow an estimate recently appearing in the press, is composed of some 40 per cent of opponents of prohibition to about 60 per cent of prohibitionists. These figures may be more or less accurate, but they are a probable guess. Supposing them to be approximately correct, it would appear that the proposed plank would offend 40 per cent of the one million men who voted for Gen. Weaver, and tend to alienate them from the party. On the other hand, it is to be supposed that it would please the 258,000 men who voted for the prohibition national ticket and tend to attract them to the party. That is to say, 400,000 voters already in the party would be repelled for the sake of attracting 258,000 voters not in the party at present, and not at all certain to join it even though the bid for them were made, for it by no means appears that these 258,000 men would accept the rest of the Omaha platform even if made satisfactory on the liquor question.

Now it is an old adage that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. If this is true then certainly two birds in the hand are worth very much more than one bird in the bush, and yet the Voice would have the people's party throw away two voters which it has in the hand for every one of those now in the bush whom it might or might not succeed in capturing after throwing away those it has.

Of course this estimate of the people's party as made up of 40 per cent anti-prohibitionists to 60 per cent of prohibitionists, may be incorrect, although the consistent course of three successive national conferences and conventions of the people's party at Cincinnati, St. Louis and Omaha, in refusing to adopt a prohibition plank certainly indicates that the opponents of prohibition are very strong. But even if they are not and if the adoption of the Voice's plank would please more of the party than it would alienate, yet so long as it alienated even 30 per cent (300,000) of the Weaver vote, and on the other hand, brought over the solid prohibition vote (258,000), which no one would expect it to do, the party would be a loser of 40,000 votes.

But conclusive as this very simple calculation is, as to the folly of adopting the Voice's plank, the main practical objection to that course remains to be presented. In order to fulfill its work the people's party must become a majority party and carry the nation. To do this it must not only keep its hold in the trans-Mississippi states more or less sympathetic with prohibition where it is now strong, but must enter and capture 20 or 30 other states in which the prohibition party, after a generation has failed to make a respectable showing, and where its policy has been rejected by overwhelming majorities whenever brought to the test of a popular vote.

Is any one childish enough to suppose that this sentiment against prohibition which, taking the country through, has again and again shown itself so deep-seated and irresistible, can be placated merely by doing up sundry economic reforms in the same package with the unpopular proposition? That would in fact be a combination which while doing very little to help prohibition, would do a great deal to discredit the economic reforms associated with it. A chain is no

stronger than its weakest link. Just so a political platform is no stronger than its weakest plank, and it is hard to see why the people's party, with a plank declaring for the principle of prohibition, should expect to do much if any better than the prohibitionist national ticket has done, seeing, especially, that it is quite probable that a large element of the prohibitionists would balk at the Omaha platform and still prefer to train alone.

We have thus far spoken of the propriety of an indorsement of the principle of prohibition by the people's party from the standpoint of practical politics, from which point of view it certainly seems to be absolutely suicidal. We wish to add a few points as to the question of the moral principle involved.

When a practice, like the traffic in and use of liquor becomes, as it now is, a crying abuse, before adopting the offensive and blundering remedy of forcible suppression we should inquire how far it is possible to abate the abuse by less violent methods. When we have thus done all we can to minimize its offensiveness, it will be time to consider whether the remaining evil is sufficiently inimical to the public welfare to justify recourse to forcible suppression. The liquor abuse is one which is particularly amenable to this rational method of abatement for it is one which is by common consent very greatly aggravated by the manner in which the traffic is carried on. The root of the evil in the present method of the liquor traffic lies in the operation of the desire of profit on the part of private dealers to promote the adulteration of goods, the excessive stimulation of consumption and the disregard of all restrictive regulations. This root of evil can be cut off at a blow by taking the traffic out of private hands and making it a public monopoly to be conducted at cost without profit by the state. This plan is so practicable and its promise of abating many of the grosser evils of the traffic is so great that surely it deserves a trial before we talk again of returning to the weary and well-nigh hopeless task of "suppression."

But it may be urged, allowing that public management without profit would greatly lessen the abuses of the traffic, would not forcible suppression of the use of liquor be necessary to put an end to them?

Not necessarily, by any means. Force always is a confession of failure, and prohibition a morally unscientific method, never to be thought of if there is a better way possible. The motive of profit on the part of the seller is but one of the roots of the abuse of liquor. There are other deeper and thicker roots, namely, poverty, ignorance, despondency, idleness, hunger, grinding toil, brutalizing associations. These roots, we who believe in the near establishment of human brotherhood based on economic equality, as the form of society, expect eventually to reach and dig up. When these roots shall have been destroyed we fully believe that the use of liquor will so rarely be attended with abuse that not even the most impatient reformer will think of dealing with it by so harsh and oppressive a method as indiscriminate prohibition, of which we will say in closing that as it is not immediate practicable so it may not be ultimately necessary. As a policy it will never generally prevail in this country, not indeed apparently to as great an extent even as hitherto. It is a most hopeful indication for temperance that all the newer-

lines of reform thought and experiment, upon the liquor question tend in different and more promising directions.

The Inheritance Tax to the Front.

We reprint this week from the Review of Reviews an admirable statement by Max West of some of the facts and arguments as to the taxation of inheritances, which The New Nation has, in season and out of season, earnestly advocated. We have nothing against the income tax and would like to see it adopted if some efficient machinery for its enforcement can be devised, but as between the income and the inheritance tax, the latter is far more practicable and vastly more effective as a means of breaking up the vast accumulations of wealth on which our plutocracy is based. We believe indeed that the drastic application of the inheritance tax is eventually to be one of the most efficacious instruments in preparing the way for economic equality. Meanwhile, the mistake so frequently made in levying the tax, of making it heavier on collateral bequests than on direct inheritances should be avoided. This practice directly discourages the breaking up of great estates and puts a premium on the vicious practice of leaving them solidly to direct descendants. The tax should be the same on all portions of estates however left. Let us have the inheritance tax.

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

"I am not able this year to subscribe for friends as I have done before" writes a Spokane correspondent; "yet I am fully persuaded the paper should have a larger circulation among us. It has occurred to me that what cannot be done in a large way, may still be brought about in a small one, and I am now trying to collect a nickle a week from as many persons as I can persuade, to try this plan of propaganda. I volunteer to do the collecting and forwarding without commission. With no meetings to attend, no care of organization to bother them surely no one at all interested, can very well decline the honor of joining this Nickle Club. I may not be able to do all that it is possible to do in this way, but cheerfully inclose my first week's collection — \$1.00."

J. M. of Globe Village, Mass.: — I am very much pleased with it. It has made a nationalist of me, a populist and a better Christian.

WISCONSIN UNIVERSITY AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

The joint debate between Athena and Philomathia societies, University of Wisconsin resulted in a victory for Athena. The subject was the municipal ownership and operation of lighting works and street railway lines. Athena took the affirmative and won. A correspondent writing from Madison says: "The societies choose the question nearly a year in advance, selecting the best men in the society. The result is that they put about a year of tremendous work on it, some of the young men spending their summer vacation on it. As a result, it becomes the chief university affair of the year and each side is presented in a masterly way. I understand the debate with the great mass of statistics and facts, collected by the boys, will be published soon and Prof. Ely may incorporate it in a book he will write on Municipal ownership of gas, street railways, &c."

ANOTHER CLERGYMAN GETS RELIGION.

At a recent meeting of the Kansas City Ministers' alliance Rev. Charles L. Kloss of the Southwest tabernacle read a paper on the "Labor Movement in America," from which the following extracts are taken.

"The greatest heretic and sinner of his age is the man who supposes that the content of religious thought is fixed, and that he or his churchly progenitor has fixed it. The next sinner in rank is the man who limits religious questions to purely speculative, theological or doctrinal points.

"These are new times, and there are new issues and questions to face, and the old gospel has in it a heroic and new message to fit the issue. Social questions — and the labor movement is the almost gigantic of them all, absorbs and involves most every social relation — are religious questions. They concern man's relation to man, and it is possible to so get a message out of the divine word with reference to them as to make every comfortable sinner in our pews squirm.

"The labor movement is the church's opportunity — a chance to show friendliness and forever win instead of alienate the wageworker. Two as safe and conservative economists as Washington Gladden and Richard T. Ely assert that the workingman is slowly being alienated from the church. Washington Gladden found in his own church, with seats free, a plain building and special efforts to reach them, only about one tenth of the families belonging to this class, whereas of 50 leading business men of Columbus 45 per cent were communicants and 77 per cent were regular attendants. Whatever the cause — we have not time to discuss it — the fact is indeed a hard one and admitted without much dispute.

"The bulk of Christ's ministry was to the bodies of men. Touch a man's body, and you put in an enteriag wedge for the whole gospel to follow. Gen. Booth is an expert in reaching the masses, and he does it none the less effectively because he tries to give men employment and creature comforts before he sings psalms to them.

"The ministers are the natural leaders of this movement, or ought to be — not to advocate any specific reform so much as by their attitude and preaching to show that an applied Christianity will settle difficulties. The gospel of Christ has in it the best political economy. It is true that possibly our churches are not ready for Christianity applied to their own society, and that if attempted a good many will raise the dust on a false issue and say, "Politics! Give us the pure, simple gospel," and will fire many a preacher headlong from his pulpit only to find a larger pulpit and reinstatement and recognition at last, as in the case of Dr. McGlynn. So it will do in case of every preacher who is worth firing.

"We ought to fight with all our energy the aristocracy of wealth — more correctly a plutocracy. Hold up that. Spending \$500,000 on a stable, \$20,000 on dog kennels, \$1500 yearly for maintenance of a pup and diamond earrings in the ears of a poodle, when men are crying out for bread, bread of life — teach that that is blasphemy against humanity, against God Almighty. Teach that no one class, as a class, should rule; that we are in the world to minister and serve, not to be ministered unto and served. Let us hold with John that men may love God and be ever so pious and have so long a list of benefactions to their credit that if they do not do justice and love men in a measure as Christ did, they are liars and will eventually find themselves in Gehenna. This is not the hell of Dante, but mighty, real and genuine. Dr. Parkhurst says, 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but they make better time when some one is after them.'"

THE TRIUMPH OF CIVILIZATION.

On the outskirts of a great city,
 A street of fashionable mansions well withdrawn from all
 the noise and bustle;
 And in the street — the only figure there — in the middle
 of the road, in the bitter wind —
 Red-nosed, thin-shawled, with ankles bare and old boots,
 A woman bent and haggard, croaking a dismal song.

And the great windows stare upon her wretchedness, and
 stare across the road upon each other,
 With big fool eyes;
 But not a door is opened, not a face is seen,
 Nor form of life down all the dreary street,
 To certify the existence of humanity —
 Other than hers.

EDWARD CARPENTER in "Toward Democracy."

FACTS AND LOGIC AS TO THE INHERITANCE TAX.

[Max West in the Review of Reviews.]

The announcement that the state of New York will receive an inheritance tax of about \$700,000 from the estate of Jay Gould has called forth a sharp discussion of this mode of taxation in the newspapers. While some writers maintain that the share of the state should be much larger, others condemn the tax as unjust and pernicious. Lawyers and laymen have pronounced it unconstitutional; it has been styled "an infamous measure of taxation," "a penalty on death," "stealing from the estate by legislative authority," "an outrage that can only find precedent in Oriental autocratic governments." It has been objected to as double taxation, which will be sure to drive away capital. "Tax the property of the people all that is necessary," writes a clergyman, "but don't step in between father and son in an unrighteous manner." "Never since the obnoxious stamp act was passed by England," declares another New Yorker, "has any statute found its way into our books which was more invidious and hateful."

Yet nearly every civilized country in the world has an inheritance tax as part of its fiscal system; and in many countries Mr. Gould's estate would have paid much more than \$700,000. In France or Italy the share of the state would have been about a million dollars; in England, nearly three millions; in Ontario or Victoria, more than three and a half millions. In most of the American commonwealths, on the other hand, there would have been no tax whatever, though in a few states the comparatively small bequests to the brothers and sisters would have been taxable, and if Mr. Gould had lived in Chicago his estate would have paid some \$72,000 toward the support of the Cook county probate court. If he had died two years ago his estate would have paid no tax in New York, for it was only in 1891 that the Legislature imposed the one per cent tax on direct inheritances of personal property, in the case of estates exceeding \$10,000 in value. Yet the estates of two or three other rich New Yorkers who died after the introduction of the five per cent collateral inheritance tax in 1885 have contributed very respectable amounts to the state treasury. The estate of Mrs. A. T. Stewart has paid more than \$300,000

and that of Henrietta A. Lenox more than \$200,000, while the collateral bequests of William H. Vanderbilt have yielded taxes amounting to \$81,000.

Collateral inheritances alone are now taxed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Jersey and they have at various times been taxable in several other states. The tax has existed in Pennsylvania since 1826, in Maryland since 1844 and in Delaware since 1869. In the other states it is of more recent date, Massachusetts adopted it in 1891 and New Jersey only last spring. The rate is in most cases five per cent, but in Maryland and West Virginia it is two and one half per cent, and in Delaware it varies from one per cent for brothers and sisters to five per cent for distant relatives. Bequests for charitable and educational purposes are generally exempt, as well as small amounts in other cases.

Last spring an inheritance tax with many interesting features was adopted in the province of Ontario. The tax applies only to estates of more than \$100,000 where the property goes to direct heirs, and only to estates of more than \$10,000 in other cases. The rates are two and one half per cent for direct heirs when the value of the estate is between \$100,000 and \$200,000; five per cent for direct heirs when the estate exceeds \$200,000 in value, and for the grandparents, brothers and sisters and their descendants; and uncles and aunts and their descendants, and ten per cent for other persons. The purpose of the tax, as set forth in the preamble of the act imposing it, is to defray a part of the cost of the asylums, hospitals and other charities maintained by the province.

The "duties on estates of deceased persons" form one of the chief sources of revenue in Australasia. The rates are progressive in most of the colonies; in Victoria the maximum is 10 per cent, applying to estates of more than £100,000. The widow and children pay one half the schedule rates. In New South Wales the maximum is five per cent and no favor is shown the direct heirs. In South Australia, on the other hand, the succession duty is graduated from one to ten per cent, according to relationship alone; and there is a probate duty in addition. Until recently the highest rate in Australasia has been the 13 per cent maximum of New Zealand; but by an act of last October Queensland now takes 20 per cent of large amounts bequeathed to persons not related to the testator. Tasmania has a slightly progressive tax, levied on personalty alone.

At the Cape of Good Hope the inheritance tax was introduced nearly 30 years ago. The rates are from one to five per cent, according to relationship.

The United Kingdom has a complicated system of "death duties," as Mr. Gladstone has named them, known separately as the probate, account, legacy, succession and other duties. The probate duty, which must be paid before the estate can be settled, and the account duty on gifts, which, strictly speaking, is not a death duty at all, apply to personalty alone, and the rates approximate three per cent. The legacy duty on personal property and the succession duty on realty and settled personalty are graduated according to relationship. The estate duty is an additional one per cent tax on property amounting to £10,000 or more; so that its effect is to make the death duties slightly progressive. There is an annual tax in lieu of death duties or cor-

porations. A municipal death duty for London is a possibility of the future.

The heaviest inheritance taxes on the continent are levied in Switzerland. In Geneva distant relatives pay 15 per cent. In six cantons the rates are progressive. When there is no will, the little canton of Uri taxes distant relatives 20 per cent, and even more on the excess above 10,000 francs.

In Germany the Erbschaftsteuer nowhere applies to direct heirs except in Alsace-Lorraine. Herr Miquel tried to extend the Prussian tax to direct heirs in 1890, but failed. The rates in Prussia are from 1 to 8 per cent, according to relationship.

The French law taxes the gross value of the property, without allowing deduction for debts — an unusual feature, which has caused much dissatisfaction. The maximum rate is 11 1-4 per cent.

Austria, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Poland, Roumania, Monaco, all have inheritance taxes.

The constitutionality of the American statutes has repeatedly been tested in the courts, and has nearly always been upheld. It has been sustained by the highest courts of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina; but similar laws have been declared unconstitutional by the supreme courts of New Hampshire and Minnesota. In both of these states the tax was established for the purpose of defraying the cost of the probate courts. The United State supreme court has sustained both the tax which Louisiana formerly imposed upon foreign heirs and the federal inheritance tax which formed a part of the internal revenue system during the civil war.

From the standpoint of political economy, as well as of law, the inheritance tax may be regarded either as a tax or as a limitation of inheritance. For at least a century, economists and statesmen have been pointing out glaring anachronisms in the existing law of inheritance. Jeremy Bentham proposed to abolish intestate inheritance except in the case of immediate relatives, and to limit the power of bequest of childless testators. John Stuart Mill went further, and proposed to limit absolutely the amount which any one should be allowed to take either by inheritance or bequest. The existing laws make it easy to forget that inheritance and bequest are not natural rights, nor even necessary consequences of the right of private property; and to many these proposals of Bentham and Mill seem almost communistic utterances. Yet no one has ever been able to give a good reason for the operation of intestate inheritance in modern times between distant relatives — relatives so distant that they know and care nothing of one another. As for Mill's proposal to set a limit to the amount of inheritances and bequests, it has within a few years been revived in so conservative a body as the Illinois bar association, and a bill for the purpose was introduced in the Illinois Legislature in 1887.

The limitation of inheritance by means of a progressive inheritance tax is advocated alike in the writings of one of America's most talked-of millionaires on the one hand and in the platform of the Knights of Labor and the organ of the nationalists on the other. Andrew Carnegie and Edward Bellamy agree perfectly in this matter; both would like to

see an inheritance tax rising as high as 50 per cent in the case of multi-millionaires. Four years ago Mr. Carnegie wrote as follows: "Of all forms of taxation, this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the state, cannot be deprived of its just share. By taxing estates heavily at death the state marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life."

But it is not necessary to be so radical as Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Bellamy in order to uphold the inheritance tax. It has been defended simply on the ground that as inheritance and bequest are institutions of positive law, by which the orderly transfer of property from the dead to the living is made possible, the state should receive a premium for permitting and carrying out the transfer. It certainly seems no more than fair that the cost of probate courts should be defrayed, in large part at least, by those who receive the chief benefit from their existence; and in several of the American commonwealths the adoption of a modern inheritance tax has been due to this consideration.

Again, the inheritance tax may be regarded as a property tax paid once in a lifetime instead of once a year. The collection of this tax makes it possible to diminish other taxes and each estate simply pays once for all, and at the most convenient time possible, what it would otherwise have paid in annual installments. Or, the payment may be regarded as in lieu of taxes which have been evaded when lawfully due. It is notorious that vast amounts of personal property escape taxation; and it seems to have been this fact which led the New York Legislature to tax direct inheritances of personal property alone.

From the standpoint of the heir, an inheritance is a sudden increase of wealth without labor on his part; a sort of accident income, which manifestly increases his ability to contribute to the support of the government. The death of the head of a family may be a positive economic loss to the wife and minor children who depended upon his exertions for their support; but in any case where property goes to collateral relatives, or even to self-supporting adult sons, there is a distinct increase of tax-paying ability. Hence so long as moderate amounts going to wife and children are exempt, the inheritance tax can be oppressive to no one.

The tax has been found to be quite satisfactory in its practical operation and productive of very considerable revenues. It has not driven away capital, because men would rather pay their taxes after death than at any other time. It is difficult to evade, and the cost of collection is not heavy. In New York especially it has become one of the principal modes of taxation. In Pennsylvania the collateral inheritance tax yields about a million dollars annually.

It is in the most democratic countries of the world — England, Switzerland, the Australasian colonies — that this form of taxation finds its highest development. No tax is better adapted to replace the outgrown, antiquated personal property tax.

Tipton Dispatch: Government ownership of railroads, telegraph and express business is not an experiment, but has been an established success in many other countries.

THE WEST END SEEKS FURTHER PRIVILEGES.

Henry M. Whitney of the West End railway of Boston in his speech before the legislative rapid transit committee last week, repeated his opinion that if a tunnel or an elevated road were built to relieve the congestion of Boston population the work should be done by the public and the tracks then rented to his company. A careful reading of his speech however makes it very evident that he is after greater powers for his company by binding the hands of the public. This is what he said about his company:

"What would be the effect of any limitation upon its franchise? Why, the fact of any limitation upon its franchise would be that every time a new step was taken in this problem, for every investor to figure as to how long it would take before the franchises were to expire. I believe that it is within the scope of human ingenuity, I believe that it is within the scope of the ingenuity of this committee, to devise a bill which shall be both fair to the community and fair to the investor. If you desire to have the West End company do this, you must put it in a position to get its money. You must make people who are invited to furnish the money for this enterprise feel that it should be secured. If the city proposes to do it, you give the guaranty of the city. I have not the slightest objection to the city's doing this work. Personally I would prefer it. Personally I would prefer that the city should build this tunnel and build these elevated roads and lease them to us or not, as they see fit. But I say that if we are to go on and incur liabilities, if this community and this Legislature look to us to solve this problem, they must strengthen our hands and put us in a condition to do it. If you are willing to do that; if you are willing to say to everybody else "hands off" and leave the West End free to work out this problem for the good of the whole commonwealth; if you are willing to say that, it can be done; if you are not willing to say it, it is utterly no use for me to ask you for any scheme whatsoever. I am simply speaking to you the words of truth and soberness and of the highest public spirit that I am aware of. I know this problem is important. I know that it is a problem in which the interests of humanity are at stake. I do not believe it is for the interest of the city of Boston to enter upon this undertaking. And I believe it is entirely within the province of this committee and of this Legislature to frame a bill which shall be in the interest of the community and at the same time be such a bill as will invite investments. I desire to see the West End railroad company, if it undertakes this problem, have the support of this whole community. I desire that it shall be put in a position so that every man who has a dollar to invest, and every poor man and man of moderate means who desires to see its lines extended where he may go and live more comfortably may feel that that shall be a place into which he may safely put his savings. If you do that you will make the West End road a quasi public institution."

How a quasi public institution? A private company performing a public function cannot in any sense satisfactory to the public be a quasi public institution. The company

is organized primarily to make money, and if there is any advantage for poor men to invest in West End stock, why not make the advantage general and let all poor men in on the ground floor, which would be the effect of public ownership. We are curious to know how long Boston will dwell under the spell of Mr. Whitney's sophistry.

COST OF THE BRAINTREE (MASS.) PUBLIC LIGHTING PLANT.

The reports of the electric light committee and the manager of the electric light department of the town of Braintree, Mass. have been published. The town having taken the legal preliminary steps under the municipal lighting law of 1891, appointed a committee, headed by Thomas A. Watson, and appropriated \$30,000 in March, 1892, to put in an electric lighting plant. The committee bought a lot with a frontage of 175 feet on tide water which will enable the town when it chooses to build a wharf and coal sheds and purchase by cargo all the coal used by the town for water-works, school houses and electric station. A brick building 82 by 40 feet was erected. The outside plant consists of 42 miles of triple insulated No. 6 copper wire (Calumet and Hecla metal) strung on 711 chestnut poles, set 44 poles to the mile, making the entire length of the pole line 16 1-7 miles. The wires are run in three circuits. There are at present in operation 75 1200 candle power arc lamps, of which 41 are suspended in centre of streets, and 34 are placed on tops of poles. The suspended lamps are between 35-foot poles. Of the pole lamps, 18 are on 35-foot poles and 16 on 30-foot poles. There are also 72 25 C. P. incandescent lamps in operation, besides eight in the station. We append a classified statement of expenditures:

Land and grading	\$940 00
Services architects and engineers	625 00
Station and chimney	6,028 43
Steam plant	6,658 79
Electric plant	7,606 57
Line material	3,535 02
Wages and teams for line construction	1,210 23
Setting poles	892 89
Poles	1,630 65
Painting poles	562 63
Tools and furniture	227 81
Freight, expressage and teaming	264 00
Insurance	64 13
Car fares, postage, etc.	7 70
Bills payable	283 00
Total	\$30,853 15
Stock on hand	692 47
Cost of plant	\$30,161 38

From the report of the manager, Thomas A. Watson, we learn that the town's electric light was put into permanent operation Oct. 15, 1892, and since that day it has been run on all nights not well lighted by the moon from dark until 12.15 o'clock.

There are in use 75 1200 candle power arc lamps and, including the eight that light the station, 80 25 candle power incandescent lamps (equal to 22 arcs). Total number of lamps in arcs or equivalent, 97. Operating expenses

are as follows for three and one half months from Oct. 15 to Feb. 1, 1893:

Wages of engineer and fireman	\$539 14
Coal	290 21
Oil and waste	57 89
Water (from town water supply)	23 80
Carbons	103 00
Alteration on furnace (should have been charged to construction)	15 35
Small supplies	2 57
Insurance on boiler	9 52
Insurance on station and apparatus	44 60
Total	\$1,086 09
Less for coal, oil, waste and carbons on hand Feb. 1	83 27
Total for running 97 arcs three and one half months	\$1,002 82
Per arc light per year, at this rate	35 45

The above figures do not include interest or depreciation. Allowing \$500 for depreciation and \$1200 (4 per cent on \$30,000) for interest will add to the above cost per light per year \$17.53, making the total cost including everything \$52.98.

The average price per year paid by 25 other cities and towns in Massachusetts for the same size arc lamps run on the same time schedule as given in the last report of the gas commissioners is \$78.56.

This is a difference in favor of our town of \$25.58 per light per year, which multiplied by the total number of lights (97) gives a total yearly saving of \$2,481.26.

Without allowing anything for the average saving per light that must result from increase in the size of the plant for additional street lights and for house lighting, this saving alone would pay for the cost of the plant in less than 12 years.

The three and one half months that this statement covers comprises the longest nights in the year and consequently the cost of coal and carbons has been much greater than it will average during the rest of the year.

The regulators of the dynamos show that four or five more arc lights or their equivalent in incandescents can be added to those at present in use without overloading. The additional cost of operating these lights will be scarcely perceptible, and had they been in operation during the period covered by this report, the present cost per arc light per year would be reduced about \$1.25.

When all the lamps at present in use are burning, indicator cards taken from the engine show that it is developing 65 horse power. As the engine can easily develop 100 horse power and the boiler 125, there is a surplus steam power in the present plant amply sufficient to run 50 more arc lamps or their equivalent in incandescents.

Copies of this report can be secured by addressing Thomas A. Watson, Braintree, Mass.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

I became a subscriber to your journal about three months ago and have been an earnest student of nationalism since. I confess that the broad and sweeping scope of its contemplated achievement in the field of political and industrial reform was somewhat surprising, not to say startling to me at first, having before had only an imperfect idea of its true import. But it took only a little investigation to convince

me that nationalism is the true theory of Christian government, and the longer I study it the more strongly is that conviction fixed in my mind, and faith in the ultimate ascendancy of the nationalist or people's party established within me. The movement which the advent of this new party inaugurates is a most righteous cause and ought to gain the ready and hearty support of the great mass of people of the nation whose labors produce its wealth and prosperity but who enjoy but a stinted share of it, the major portion accruing to the benefit of a privileged few whose avarice blinds them to all sense of reason and justice. Opposition to the cause can but be based upon ignorance of its true character and purpose or rank prejudice resulting from the greed and avarice of the moneyed element.

The plan of government control of telephone, telegraph, railroad and similar public conveniences, excites the strongest opposition on the part of some people, not one of whom would listen for a moment to a proposition for putting the mail service into private hands again as it formerly was. Yet every argument that can possibly be advanced in favor of continuing it under government control, can be used with equal force in favor of a like ownership and management of the service mentioned, and the express service as well. In fact these all interlock and work together to a greater or lesser degree and all would be improved and made more perfect under one control, particularly if it is the general government, in whose hands the only object would be to secure the most perfect service and greatest convenience to the people at the least possible cost consistent with liberal treatment and compensation of employees in the service.

Again there is no good reason why municipalities which have for a long time furnished the people water, should not also own and maintain gas, electric light, street car and other plants, and furnish as well as water, light, fuel or heat, transportation and all similar conveniences. That it can be done more cheaply and satisfactorily than by private corporations has already been proved in many instances. This policy will insure the equal enjoyment by all classes of people, of the advantages accruing from such public conveniences, and by taking them out of the hands of private individuals eliminate the elements of competition, discrimination and profit, and help to bring about the much desired condition of co-operative effort in industrial matters, and the equal distribution of wealth, which are the two grand features of nationalism. These features are doubtless the most objectionable and impractical to the minds of the opponents of nationalism. The average business man will say that it is not business, and that the maxim that "competition is the life of trade" is the only safe rule to follow, while the capitalist declares anything like an equal distribution of wealth a condition impossible of attainment and not right to begin with.

But what are we here in this world for anyhow? The policy now pursued in the industrial world shuts off all view of the destiny of man, and makes the only object of life to be the gain of wealth and fullest indulgence of the spirit of greed and avarice. Any party that has for its creed the overthrow and banishment of these characteristics from the political and industrial life of mankind, and the establishment of harmony, justice and right to all, must surely establish itself in the hearts of the people with a firmness which shall carry it to final victory and enduring power.

A. CONVERT.

New Bedford, Mass., February, 1893.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

WHAT DOES THE GRESHAM MOVEMENT MEAN?

The Kansas Situation. Note and Comment.

The selection of Judge Gresham for a seat in Mr. Cleveland's cabinet carries with it something more than ordinary significance. All men will agree that it is significant, but there is much doubt as to the respect in which it is significant. The tariff reformers assert that the tariff is the secret of the selection of Gresham. If that were so, how does it happen that the judge was not given the treasury department, which would have brought him in close relations with this issue. As secretary of state, Gresham would be effectually bottled up as a tariff reformer.

There is another class of men who maintain that Mr. Cleveland selected Judge Gresham for the deliberate purpose of catching populist votes. The Boston Herald expresses this belief when it says:

"Probably by far the larger part of the accessions which have converted the democratic party from a party of the minority to that of a great majority have no sympathy with what is termed 'traditional democracy,' and demand new policies suited to new conditions. Here in Massachusetts may be instanced men like Mr. Brooks Adams, with his strong utterances in the recent campaign, and Mr. Edward O. Shepard, with his notable letter stating why he proposed to vote for Cleveland and Russell. If Mr. Cleveland and the leaders about him can take advantage of the current which has given rise to the populist movement, adopting certain sound principles upon which that movement was based, and at the same time carefully weeding out the financial vagaries and erratic tendencies—and every reform movement has its full quota of crankiness at the outset—they will accomplish one of the most difficult tasks ever attempted in our political history. The selection of Judge Gresham for secretary of state looks as if the effort was seriously to be made."

If the Herald has the right of it, Mr. Cleveland intends to make democrats of the populists by kidnapping a quasi populist in the hope that after the Gresham populists are well in the fold their "financial vagaries and erratic tendencies" will be stripped off and their ballots retained for future use.

This plan is a characteristic one for democrats to adopt. Let us recall just what Judge Gresham has said upon those issues forced by the people's party. Here are two of them:

"With the exception of your sub-treasury scheme, which to me is visionary and impracticable, there is no difference between us, unless it be that many entertain a stronger hope than I do that we are to escape a bloody revolution before this plutocracy of wealth surrenders.

"I would say that the control of elections and legislation by the corrupt use of money more than anything else menace popular government and the public peace. If

these abuses are not speedily checked the consequences are likely to be disastrous. If the people are convinced that they cannot rely on the ballot as a means of expressing their choice of men and measures, there will be a revolt, the like of which the country has not yet witnessed. The most insidious of all forms of tyranny is that of plutocracy. Thoughtful men see and admit that our country is becoming less and less democratic and more and more plutocratic. The ambition and self-love of some men are so great that they are incapable of loving their country."

In this connection also let us call the attention of our readers to the fact that Hoke Smith of Georgia, who will also sit in Cleveland's cabinet speaking of the advisability of democratic politicians taking up the nationalization of the telegraph, telephone and railroads remarked recently to a newspaper man, "therein lies fame."

On the other hand, J. Sterling Morton, who has accepted Mr. Cleveland's invitation to sit in his cabinet as secretary of agriculture will oppose "everything that smacks of paternalism or has the socialistic features of most of the schemes of the Farmers' alliance."

The cabinet is also understood to be loyal to the Wall street dollar.

From our present lights it would seem that the democratic leaders are using Gresham as a stool pigeon. We do not expect to see the submerged classes under our industrial system rescued by the democratic party.

The supreme court of Kansas has handed down a divided opinion sustaining the legality of the republican house of representatives. Two republican judges sign the opinion and one populist judge writes a dissenting opinion. The majority of the report finds that only members holding certificates of election can engage in the preliminary work of organizing the House. It found that the republican House contained a legal quorum of members holding certificates. In other words, the court refuses to go behind the returning board and to investigate the reasons why the populists were counted out. The issue will be fought out on its merits in the next political campaign. Kansas populists will respect the decisions of the supreme court of course.

Judge Paxton, who recently resigned the chief justiceship of the supreme court of Pennsylvania to become a receiver of the Reading railroad, is a close friend of Banker Drexel and a large holder of railroad securities. It will be remembered that this is the Judge Paxton who charged the grand jury of Allegheny county on the indictments for treason against the Homestead strikers. He denounced the acts of the advisory committee of the amalgamated association as treason against the state. Militia officers who are railroad employees and judges who are owners of railroads are getting too common for the public good.

Note and Comment.

Eltweed Pomeroy was toastmaster at a dinner of nation-

alists held in Newark, N. J., February 24. Henry R. Legate was present from Boston and spoke on government telegraph and telephone. The Cold Cut club idea is spreading.

There was a people's party meeting in Johnson's building, Brooklyn, N. Y., on the 25th, Henry R. Legate delivering the address.

TOLEDO POPULISTS HAVE A WORD TO SAY.

A Toledo citizen writes to a Cleveland paper: "A mass meeting was held a few evenings ago, which was presided over by ex-Congressman Jake Romeis, the millionaire chairman of the mayor's citizens' committee. The latter committee had a nice little plan which it sprung on the meeting, modeled somewhat after the Cleveland federal plan. Now it happened that the Toledo people's party men wanted to have something to say about how the new government should be formed and they were at the meeting, demanding the insertion of a clause providing for the initiative and referendum. The politicians were hostile to the proposition and the populists retaliated by voting solidly against that part of the plan providing for a board of control, defeating it. This was the straw that broke the camel's back. The politicians quit in disgust, and the populists turned the meeting into an initiative and referendum pow-wow."

MONEY MAGNET IN THE LARGE PILE.

"For the three days last passed," so runs a Boston financial agency bulletin, "the sales of stocks have averaged over one million shares per day. Of this total Reading furnished very nearly two thirds, leaving an average of less than 300,000 shares per day for what would naturally be considered the market, since the Reading transactions were decidedly more in the nature of a slaughter-house. Fortunes have melted like a summer cottage under the breath of flame. One very sad instance comes to our knowledge here in Boston. A gentleman who on Monday week was worth \$300,000 told some friends yesterday with tears streaming down his face that he did not have money enough left to pay a week's board at the Quincy House. There is magnetism in money, but the magnet is always in the larger pile that continually draws the smaller into itself. Notwithstanding the denials of Drexel, Morgan & Co. that they know nothing about the decline in Reading, they were buyers all day long of the stock yesterday."

Lewiston Journal: Municipal right of way will finally have the road against all comers. Taxation in cities will ultimately be paid in no small degree from the income derived, directly or indirectly, from municipal ownership of all permanent works in, over and under the streets. The technicalities of constitutional or statute law invoked by corporate monopoly to prevent the will of the people becoming operative in such municipal sovereignty, will be swept away. The contest is an irrepressible contest, and, mark this prediction—it will never cease until the victory is with the people!

Pittsburg has organized a municipal ownership league. Its purpose is to have the municipality own and operate gas works, water-works, electric plant, street railways, telephones and all other public utilities that are, in their nature, a monopoly. Many of the best citizens in the town are in the movement.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Springfield is to send a strong committee before the legislative committee in favor of so amending the municipal lighting bill as to render it easier for municipalities to engage in the business.

Colorado.

There is a strong sentiment in Denver in favor of the city buying the private owned water-works and electric light plant. The water plant is valued by the company at over \$6,000,000, and those who are well informed say it can be duplicated for \$1,000,000.

Michigan.

Lansing has municipal electric lighting. A reduction of 10 per cent in the price of incandescent lights to private consumers has just been made.

Missouri.

The electric lighting question is again being agitated in Kansas City, owing to the inefficient service and extortionate rates of the private company. Another company has offered to light the city hall for about one third of present prices.

Indiana.

The Inlander (Portland): If the government has so successfully controlled the post office department, why not give it more of the great machines? We are so apt to jump at conclusions and say, that will never do. Just sit down by your fireside and ask yourselves why should not the government control the telegraphs, the telephones, the railroads as well as the post offices. Think of all the objections you can, and then think of all the benefits you can and compare them. You have seen the good effects arising from the control of the one, while you have not thought of the benefits on the same principle that might arise from the others.

Illinois.

The Chicago socialists have put a municipal ticket in the field upon a platform declaring for city ownership of public franchises, the building and equipping of a sufficient number of school-houses, free text-books, equal pay for male and female teachers and free public baths.

In editorially commenting upon the effort being made by the citizens of Chicago to get a bill through the Legislature to allow the city to engage in municipal lighting, the Inter-Ocean says: The gas and electric light monopolies may well be alarmed. The formidable movement of the municipal league upon the Legislature to secure legislation in favor of cities owning and controlling electric light and gas plants indicates that the league means business. An organization consisting of 5000 voters, and which has the sympathy of 150,000 more, can not be safely ignored by legislators. This explains the apparent eagerness with which many Chicago representatives expressed themselves in favor of the measure urged by the committee of the league. The water-works of Chicago are owned and managed by the city, and as a rule they have been faithfully and well managed. If so immense a business as building up and managing our great water plant has been successfully done for years without serious charges of corruption, why can not a gas plant and an electric light plant be built and managed in the same way and with equal credit to the city and its inhabitants?

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Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Haverhill.—First Nationalist, business meeting, 2d Wednesday of each month. Meeting every Sunday evening at 8 P. M., at 73 Merimack street, rooms 5 and 6. (Pamphlets solicited.) Rooms open every evening.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P. M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose. and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

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BOSTON, FEBRUARY, 1893.

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LESSON NO. 8.

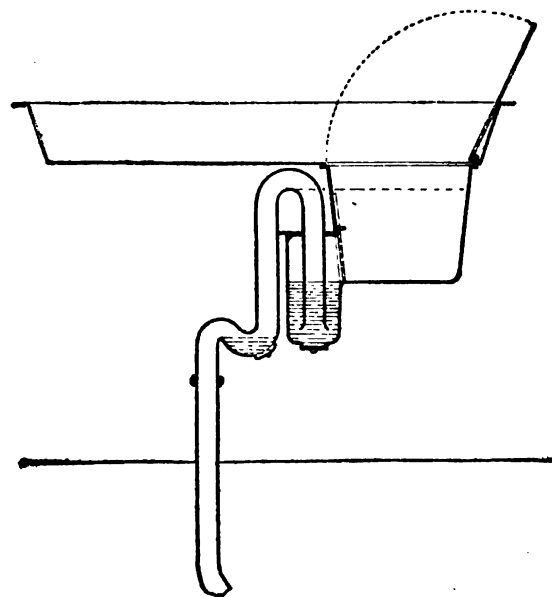
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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NOTICE.

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A bill has passed its first reading in the British House of Lords, placing the retail traffic of spirituous liquors in the hands of local boards, the profits to be devoted to the reduction of taxes.

We are personally sorry for the people in the inaugural parade at Washington whose fine clothes were spoiled by the blizzard, but we regard the blizzard itself with much

respect as a providential rebuke to a scene of pomp utterly repugnant to the "republican simplicity" which should characterize, and in former times did characterize, the inaugurations of our presidents. A purely civic procession on such an occasion might be tolerated, although much better omitted, but the military display which was the chief feature of the parade at last week's inaugural, was an offense to the genius of our institutions. On inauguration day of all days of the year, there should not be a bayonet allowed within a mile of the capitol.

The Boston aldermen have appropriated \$1000 for soup for the poor of the city. When Rome fell a majority of the populace were fed on public soup. About 1800 people practically owned the wealth of the Roman world. Today 32,000 people own one half the wealth of the United States. Soup did not save Rome, and it is evident enough that the poor people of this land are in the soup.

Why Workingmen Should Favor all Propositions for Public Operation of Business.

An Iowa subscriber writes as follows:

Will you kindly solve a problem in political economy for me? Where a city takes control of lighting, water-works, coal supply, etc., it means cheap gas, cheap water, cheap coal, does it not? How would this benefit the poorer class of laborers? Would not competition force wages down because John Workingman could live on less? Or even if wages were kept up by strikes or by law, would not the landlords demand greater rent and the gain go to their pockets? Please answer directly or through the columns of The New Nation and greatly oblige an inquirer.

This is a very intelligent and timely question and one on a point as to which it is highly important that we should all have clear ideas. Our correspondent is quite right in suggesting that reductions in cost of gas, coal, car-fares, rent and other incidents of living expenses, will not in themselves, so long and so far as the competitive system is preserved, be of any ultimate benefit to the workingman, whose wages would be forced down, by the interest of employers availing themselves of the competition of the unemployed, to the subsistence point; and what the em-

ployer did not take the landlord would. So long as competition is preserved, that is, so long as the use of labor by capital for its own profit continues to be the system of business, no cheapening in the conditions of life can permanently help the employee.

All this being as true as gospel, why should the workingman interest himself in advocating the public operation of businesses such as lighting, transit, coal-yards, etc., etc., at cost?

There are several reasons why he should so. We give the least reason first. Although the rate of wages under competition tends downward to cost of subsistence, it does not immediately fall in consequence of a reduction in the cost of living. Custom counts for something in wages and the workingman reaps a more or less prolonged benefit from any reduction in the cost of his living.

The second reason why the workingman should favor all proposals for the public management of any business is that it takes the business affected out of the competitive system and delivers those employed in it from the pressure of competitive conditions. Neither the salaries nor wages of public employees are regulated by competition, but are fixed by statutes which have only a general reference to outside wages and are invariably more liberal than the rates in the market, especially for the lower grades of work. For instance, a lawyer can usually make more in private practice than as public prosecutor, and it does not pay a clever man to be cabinet minister, judge or senator, but the workman and clerk in the public service are usually better paid than those in private employ. Not only as a rule in pay, but still more in the permanence and dignity of his position, does the worker benefit by being taken out of the competitive conditions through getting public employment. The day of the public employee is usually shorter than that of the private employee by at least one hour or two. Some sort of pension or accident provision moreover has come to be thought a very natural thing in connection with public employees.

All these advantages result from the fact that the conditions of public employment in a democratic state are determined, not by competitive conditions, but by public sentiment. The public as an employer is distinctly humane and abuses or oppressions in a public service can be corrected by public opinion and political action, while those in private service cannot be reached. Of course it is the lucky group which happens to be employed in the business taken over by the public, which gets these direct benefits of the change, but the whole body of workingmen get them in a measure by the fact that one more business is taken out of competition, and has adopted standards which instead of helping other employers to keep down the pay, hours and general conditions of labor, set them a humane example.

In this connection let it be added that all that is needed to make the lot of public employees still more favorably contrast with the victims of private employment, is the universal application of a sound classified civil service system, securing, as it would, employees against removal except for cause and promotion for merit. Some workingmen have a notion that a civil service system implies high educational tests for all positions. This is not generally so

and ought never to be. All the system properly means is fair play and no favor, and "hands off" to the politicians. Good character and a sound body is all that should be required of a candidate for manual duties, and when the candidates exceed the places to be filled the choice should be rigidly by lot. Of course when a business is taken over by the public, present employees should not be disturbed.

A third reason why workingmen who look for a better order of things should favor all propositions of public operation of business is that every such step puts public capital in place of private, and weakens by so much the plutocracy which threatens to gobble the whole country and which most of all is the enemy, always and everywhere, of labor. The nationalization of the telegraph and railroads will do more to purify our politics by putting an end to the most powerful of the Legislative and Congressional lobbies, than an ordinary civil war would accomplish. Organized capital on every hand is crushing organized labor and the only salvation of the latter is the smashing of organized capital with the club of nationalism.

The main reason after all why workingmen, like all other people, should favor the extension in all directions of public management over business is that it means in the end the establishment of a system of wealth production and distribution which shall be, as our political government nominally already is, a government of the people, by the people, for the people and for them equally.

Nationalism pure and simple, boiled down, means a system by which the economic equalization of the people may be made possible, and its method is the only possible one for that end, namely the operation of the entire industrial system by the people through their chosen agents. Every step in the nationalistic program of the extension of public ownership can be defended on account of its immediate benefits, but the most important argument for it is nevertheless its relation as a part to the general plan of getting the entire business of the country into the hands of the people to be administered for their common and equal advantage.

/ Bread and Milk and the Trusts.

"Bread and milk appear to be about the only things not cornered," remarks the Boston Record apropos of the purchase of 27 salmon canneries in Alaska by a San Francisco syndicate. We are not so sure about bread and milk. A man with a bowl of bread and milk before him can see trust prices stamped all over it. In the first place the price of the bowl is fixed by the crockery trust, which is capitalized at 15 million dollars. Then the flour mill combine exacts a fancy price for the material used in the bread. If crackers are used instead of bread, it will be after paying a tribute to the biscuit and cracker trust, capital 12 million. The price of the salt in the bread is fixed by the rock salt trust, capital five million, and the manufactured salt trust, one million capital. If he lives in Chicago he must settle with a milk combine before he begins his meal. Some people not being able to afford the luxury of fresh milk resort to condensed milk, and here again the consumer must pay the prices exacted by the condensed milk trust, capital 15 million dollars. Our monopolists have a very fair grip upon bread and milk with-

out even speaking of the spoon, whose market price is decreed by the silver-ware combine, a lusty organization with several millions behind it.

As bread is a staple article of food and as the final result of all trusts is to increase market prices, it may not be inappropriate to inform our readers that negotiations are pending for the consolidation of the spring wheat flour millers from North Dakota to the East. Each member of the trust is bound not to sell below quotations which will be sent out daily from Chicago to the various mills. The combination includes 90 per cent of the total spring wheat capacity of the country. We notice also that flour mills of Utah, 12 in number, are combining and will hereafter be controlled by foreign and American capitalists. Owners of flour mill certificates will not be compelled to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. This will not be necessary as the people — but why speak of the people? There is no provision made now-a-days for the interests of the people. One of the cardinals of Pope Paul IV. used to say: "The people wish to be deceived; then let them be deceived." The architects of trusts evidently entertain the same opinion and purpose when they elevate the banner of "free" competition with one hand and the advertisement of monopolized products with the other.

No, if a man wishes to study political economy he need not go beyond a bowl of bread and milk to find the vicious principle that is poisoning our civilization.

Mr. Foulke on Individualism.

Mr. William Dudley Foulke recently delivered an address in Indianapolis, upon the perils of the times, growing out of the concentration of wealth in few hands. He showed, as it is very easy to do, that it is by this means that all republics before our own have perished and that the tendency in question, unless met and checked, will doubtless soon destroy this republic also. There could not be a better statement of the situation than Mr. Foulke's, but when he comes to suggesting remedies he has none to offer beyond ballot reform, civil service reform and more equitable taxation.

The effect of this presentation of the case is depressing, for while the remedies proposed are very good things in their way they seem altogether inadequate to the severity of the disease and if that is the most effective treatment available, the patient had better lose no time in sending for the parson and notifying the undertaker. To make the outlook more discouraging, Mr. Foulke assures us that there is nothing to be hoped from the socialistic remedies, of which nationalism is the most radical. On this point he says:

As a remedy against these inequalities socialism is proposed. But it does not seem to me that the old argument against socialism has ever been answered. The highest incentive to labor, the strongest spur to the development of individual character, is the individual reward which comes from that labor. Great exertion, great talents, should have great reward. The idler must go the wall.

So? Wealth must be the reward of exertion, must it? and "the idler must go to the wall"? How then about the present generation of Vanderbilts, Gould, Astors and the generation which soon will inherit the wealth of the 31,000 men already past middle age who now own half the aggregate wealth of 65 million people. The class of millionaires by inheritance already includes most of the richest men in the nation as well as the greater part of the less rich, and in

another generation promises to include nearly all the wealthy. As this same speaker in another part of his address points out, the time is passing away in which poor men are going to be able, as in the past, to get rich. Nothing can now be done without capital. On the other hand, he tells us that we can no longer count upon the dissipation of great fortunes by the sons or grandsons of those who accumulated them. Only small fortunes now are dissipated; the great ones are maintained and doubled from generation to generation, and this is evidently to be more and more the rule as time goes on. The indications are that unless the plutocracy is overthrown, the bulk of the wealth of the country within a generation or two will not only be held by a very small class, but will be practically entailed and descend as titles of nobility do from generation to generation in the same families.

Far from depending upon talent or exertion of any kind, wealth, already largely an incident of birth, is likely to become more and more so, and to be less and less dependent for winning or losing upon the character or qualities of the possessors. Mr. Foulke's maxim, quoted as an argument against socialism, that recompense should be proportionate to energy and that the "idler must go to the wall," would work worse havoc with the present system of wealth distribution than anarchy itself.

Mr. Foulke proceeds to say that "Individualism, after all, must be at the basis of all permanent and healthy progress."

Now, seriously, Mr. Foulke, what kind of individualism is there an opening for, what chance is there for talent to win and merit to get its reward, when one man is born a pauper and another with 150 million dollars to his credit? It is the precise charge that we nationalists most of all bring against the present system, that it crushes out individuality by subjecting men to circumstances.

Developing this point about individualism still further, Mr. Foulke says:

Nature has written this law in all grades of organic life. It is the quick eye, the swift wing, the strong claw and the piercing talon which wins in the struggle for the development and growth of every race.

And does Mr. Foulke find "the quick eye, the swift wing, the strong claw and the piercing talon" illustrated among the gilded youth of the 400 set? Would he be willing to undertake to hunt up anywhere a more lazy, unprofitable, useless, vapid set of men and women in this or any other land than the average millionaires of the second and third generation? Their lawyers, the men who care for the estates of this worthless brood (not congenitally bad but spoiled by their circumstances) are indeed strong and clever men, but they contrast with the set they serve as the stout Swiss mercenaries did with the effeminate kings and nobles whose worthless bodies they guarded in the days before the French revolution.

We do not agree with Mr. Foulke's belief, expressed in the above quotation, that in hawk and vulture are the true ideals of humanity, the types we should emulate. We utterly and indignantly disavow and denounce this idea, but the point we have tried to make is that, even according to his own standard of what should be the social ideal, namely, recompense according to energy, wealth to the strong and a free play for individualities, the present system of wealth distribution, depending, as it more and more

completely does and is destined to do, upon hereditary title, must be adjudged more wroddg and false than it is easy to think any other system could be.

How much Longer Anybody can Afford to be Rich.

The Springfield Republican observes:

The Christian Inquirer thinks a rich man cannot afford to die in this country without remembering in his will the common charities. It seems to be becoming a question whether anybody can afford to be rich in this country.

Even so. We greatly misinterpret the signs of the times if it is not going before long to turn out very much as our contemporary anticipates. It is not going to be, as we believe, dynamite bombs and anarchist bullets that will chiefly render it uncomfortable to be rich, but the growing force and edge of public opinion as to the tremendous responsibilities of wealth and the brutal wickedness of complacent luxury in the midst of a throng of miserable fellow-beings. There is not a house in the splendid avenues of our great cities to whose inmates the characterization of Dives does not fit, who clad in purple "fared sumptuously every day," while Lazarus begged without. The scandal of any pretense by the luxurious wealthy to being regarded as followers of the author of that parable will be recognized more and more clearly, till the "heathen rich," as Phillips Brooks called them, seeing themselves at last as others see them, will be as eager as the rest of us for an order of things under which there shall be "neither poverty nor riches" but brotherly equality, and the mutual love and respect which can only flourish when rooted there.

The Eight Hour Law for Public Employees.

The most important bill recommended to the Massachusetts Legislature thus far in the session is that to make eight hours a day's work for state, county, city and town employees. It is a general rule and ought to be that the conditions of labor for public employees are more humane than those of private employees. It is fitting and proper that the people acting collectively as employer should set a good example to private employers and thus endeavor by moral influence as well as by coercive legislation to raise the standard of living for the workingman. The eight hour law for all classes of employees is something we hope soon to see, and meanwhile as a way for helping along its general introduction, it ought to be at once introduced in all public employment.

We have however an important amendment to urge to the bill, if indeed its text does not contain it, namely, that all public employments which the eight hour law is to affect, should be brought under the civil service system of the state, to the end that political influence in the giving of public employment may be eliminated. We are aware that the present civil service law of Massachusetts is defective, inasmuch as it does not entirely exclude the possibility of favoritism, under the name of discretion, in selecting from lists of certified names. This is wrong, for discretion in such cases is too often merely an excuse for favoritism. The certification of employees should be absolute, the candidates certified to be determined from among the equally eligible by lot, which is the only fair way proof against cor-

ruption. Meanwhile, however, pending an improved civil service law, all public employees should have the benefit of what measure of protection the existing civil service law gives.

Meet the Tannery Trust with a State Tannery.

The latest giant combination is the Eastern Tannery trust of 45 million dollars for the purpose of controlling the leather product and increasing the cost of manufacturing boots and shoes, and consequently their price to the public. Now we have a proposition to make. The boot and shoe manufacture is one of the main industries of Massachusetts, and this tannery monopoly is aimed directly against its prosperity, proposing as it does to raise the price of its staple. Why should not the state of Massachusetts protect this important business interest by establishing a state tannery to produce leather at cost for the use of boot and shoe manufactories with its borders? This step would have the effect not only to help the manufactories, but, by cheapening their staple, to attract manufacturers from other states, until such time as such states followed our example.

The interest of the general public which, as the consumer of boots and shoes, would ultimately have to pay the piper, would, it is needless to point out, be as greatly served as the manufacturer's by the results of a state tannery works. As to the tanneries, by forming this trust against the public, they have forfeited protection. State assumption of monopolized businesses is the only way by which, in the end, we can successfully fight the trusts, and is high time we began. Will some legislator deserve the thanks of all makers and wearers of boots and shoes and make himself immortal by introducing a bill for a state tannery in the Massachusetts Legislature?

That Infamous Treaty with Russia.

The ratification of an extradition treaty with Russia, by which political refugees who can be connected in any way with attempts upon the lives of any of the Czar's family are to be surrendered by our government, is the crowning infamy perpetrated by the last republican senatorial majority that will ever sit in Washington. If actual murderers only were to be surrendered it would be right enough, but the Russian refugees in this country believe and with good reason, that under the treaty the lives and liberties of every one of them who can be connected with the revolutionary agitation will be in danger. We have no doubt that the Senate was quite willing that this should be the result. The American plutocrats whose private clubhouse the United States Senate has come to be, have a great deal more sympathy with the Czar than with the democratic revolt among his people and would be glad to help him get the nihilists to Siberia. The mass of the American people, thank God, is still soundly republican at core, but our government has ceased to be republican save in name. This we will undertake to say — if any attempt is made under the treaty to extradite a Russian refugee, not actually and certainly a murderer, there will be the biggest sort of riot in the city where it is attempted, that is if all the old-fashioned Americans are not dead by that time.

DOES FARMING PAY?

It pays the road that hauls the grain,
 It pays the store that keeps from rain,
 It pays the agents when they sell,
 It pays insurance very well,
 It pays the banks that make the loans,
 It pays the man the mortgage owns,
 It pays the shops that make machines,
 It pays the merchant all his liens,
 It pays the tax, fed'ral and states,
 It pays the trusts to keep up rates,
 It pays ev'rybody so grand,
 Except the man who farms the land.

PEOPLE'S PAPER.

SOUND TALK FROM A PROGRESSIVE MAYOR.

Mayor Pingree of Detroit in his annual address to the city council of Detroit adduces the following important considerations, in addition to the argument of a cheaper service, in favor of city ownership and operation of public lighting plants:

"While the saving to the city through owning and managing its own lighting system, would approximate 50 per cent at the present time yet no one can safely undertake to predict or estimate what the saving may be, through discoveries and new and improved processes in the near future. A contract once made, all the advantages arising from inventions and improved methods will add to the profit and gain of the corporation or private persons alone controlling this natural monopoly. The cost may possibly be reduced to one fourth the present price by continued improvements in the next 10 years, yet there may be no means of exacting a reasonable price, based on that cost, if bound by a contract containing terms such as are common in these obligations. While in Chicago I recently learned that carbons which had formerly cost lighting companies \$62 per thousand were now purchased at \$7 per thousand.

"It is not alone in the needless extraordinary cost that the people may suffer through the private or corporate contract system. The power of regulation is an important consideration that may result not only in great convenience and comfort to the people; but in general business and domestic use prove of great economic value. In cases of fires or any disasters that interfere with producing the imperatively needed supply of light, there will be no contracts or private interests standing in the way to prevent the most prompt and energetic efforts being made to meet the urgent needs of the people. Disagreements over contract stipulations, threatened interruptions at the close of term contracts and the assertion of private rights at times questionable, and producing friction between the public and contractor, would be obviated, and the people best suited by the city owning and operating its own lighting system.

"The contract system has quite universally resulted in enormous profits to individuals and corporations, and the time has come when the people demand their own, free from undue exactions and needless private absorptions."

"The foregoing reasons for keeping the lighting system under the control of the city," continues the mayor,

"applies with greater force and urgency to the ownership of the street railways by the city. We have already seen charter privileges given away (so far as the city is concerned), that have enormously increased in value by the growth of the city, and with inadequate value rendered by the owners of these monopolies—lagging behind and refusing to keep up with the modern improvements, inadequately meeting the public needs, demanding valuable concessions as the price of progressive improvements desired by the people, retarding the city's prosperity by demanding long-extended, hampering and prejudicial contracts, give us a practical object lesson in the impolicy of contracting away the rights of the people without power of reduction or change, when future conditions and advantages would clearly demand a larger division of earnings with the people. In the certain and assured great growth of the city, every contract binding the people to a private monopoly of natural advantages, like furnishing light, water and transportation of the people, is in the nature of an endowment policy, running to the contractor, with premium and endowment sum paid by the people without adequate service rendered for the immensely valuable concessions practically given away. The street railway monopoly may be fixed at a price that may seem fair today, and in 10 years, through the growth of the city, the same privilege will exceed the present value by millions. To whom should this great enhancement be credited and made useful if not to the entire people who have added this growth and value?

"Under no circumstances would I recommend the hampering of the people's rights by extending any monopoly of natural rights, without limiting the power, and being able to in a degree, limit the earnings to an equitable sum of all such contracts or agreements."

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

✓A. E. L. of Wollaston, Mass.:—You have converted me to Nationalism, but unlike your correspondent, I cannot do without it.

✓B. F. H. of Philadelphia:—For the past six months a few Philadelphia nationalists have been distributing 200 copies of *The New Nation* weekly. During the last presidential campaign we distributed 400 copies weekly. In a very few instances the paper has been refused, but generally it has been accepted with courtesy and read with much interest. Persons frequently ask for extra copies. At a people's party meeting held in this city during the campaign the paper was almost greedily sought after. We have been making a systematic distribution of *The New Nation* to Philadelphia preachers, and the articles which have recently appeared have been quite appropriate for that purpose. Our custom is to send to a list of say 30 or more of the clergy for a number of weeks consecutively, and then address them with a circular letter which I have written, a copy of which is inclosed with this writing. Unless certain of the utterances which have been found in the columns of *The New Nation* are canonized as the scripture of this century, the Bible of the race will never be completed.

WHY NOT A METROPOLITAN TRANSIT DISTRICT.

The action of the selectmen of Shrewsbury, granting an electric street railway franchise to the State Central street railway company, practically settles the question as to a railway system in and about Worcester, covering over 60 miles of track under private ownership. This will be a great misfortune to the people of Worcester county. It appears that another syndicate of capitalists is maturing a similar system with Brockton as center and ultimately making connection with the West End system of Boston.

Our advice to the people of that section is to perfect a plan for a net of publicly owned street railways running from the Bridgewater through to Boston or Braintree. At the latter town an electric lighting plant has recently been put in by the public and it owns good wharfage facilities for landing coal from barges. The plan we suggest is to apply for the erecting of a metropolitan transit district to be composed of a dozen towns. This district would be administered by a commission composed of one man elected from each town. The commission would perfect the system, build the lines on the credit of the towns, apportioning the taxes just as is done in the metropolitan sewerage district of Boston and some 20 surrounding towns and cities. Such a system could be run by the towns, reduce the fares to three cents and put money yearly in a sinking fund to pay the debt incurred in building the lines. The public does not appear to realize how little it costs to run electric cars. They might infer as much from the way capitalists are stumbling over each other to secure street railway franchises. A car can be run over five miles for 40 cents for power used.

In New Hampshire there is a disposition to head off these railway combinations. During a debate in the House of Representatives last week on a resolution looking to a stricter control of electric car transportation, Samuel B. Page said that the "people are impairing their dearest rights in chartering these street railways. They should all be placed under a general law to protect the rights of the common people. These electrical charters are sought for personal and private gain under the guise of the public good. The public highways are for the benefit of the people to walk and drive in. They have been paid for by the people, and they should not be diverted to the private use of any individuals. We should judge from the course of debate upon this resolution, however, that it was inspired by the steam railroad companies in order to protect their interests against their latest rival. Indeed, Representative Mitchell of Concord is reported to have said in his speech that it is the duty of the Legislature to see that there is no interference with the vested rights of the steam railroad companies chartered 50 years or so ago, whose

stock is largely held by women and children, trustees and banks." Evidently Mr. Mitchell would protect these vested rights to the point of cutting off rival companies. In other words, he would keep competition out of the field of railroading in New Hampshire on the plea of protecting "vested rights." If the Legislature protects "vested rights" by killing the free competition, the people must consent to be ruled by railroad men. If, however, the Legislature should conclude to respect "vested rights" and at the same time secure a good transportation service, it will later own the whole business of transportation, paying for the established plants what is reasonable, and thenceforth perform by public agents a function which is as public a one as the carrying of letters or the maintenance of highways.

MUNICIPAL LODGING-HOUSE.

The New York Tribune in speaking of the establishment of a lodging-house in that city by a charitable organization says it is an indication of the low level of municipal administration when private philanthropy is compelled to undertake a work which the city authorities have persistently neglected and obstructed, although a bill was passed in 1886 enabling municipalities to engage in this important work. The only means provided for homeless wanderers has been police stations, and the only bed was a plank. Such free lodgings to the number of 150,000 have been provided in the course of a year.

The new lodging house just instituted will accommodate 200 men. Each person will be obliged to take a bath and have his clothing disinfected. He will be furnished with decent clothing while there and given a clean bed and a wholesome breakfast in the morning, when he will be made to perform some kind of labor as an equivalent for what he has received. The Tribune hopes to see this movement meet with such success that there will be no use for police station lodging-houses, and that a sufficient public sentiment will be aroused to lead to the putting in force the municipal lodging-house law.

A bill is before the Massachusetts Legislature which provides for lodging hours in Boston, but it is not broad enough in its provisions to accomplish what it intends. We have had a lodging-house in Boston for some years supported by private parties, where the unfortunate are given a bed for the night and a breakfast of bread, soup and coffee in the morning, to be paid for by sawing wood. It is fairly good so far as it goes, but it is wholly inadequate to accommodate all who are in need of such aid. A recent number of the Boston Herald contains a full description; by Arthur Warren, of a \$100,000 municipal lodging-house just established in London. It is proposed to make it self-sustaining by charging 10 cents for a stay of 24 hours. There is room sufficient to accommodate 324 men. Glasgow has seven of such houses — six for men and one for women, all of which furnish cheap though clean quarters for the needy, and are managed in such a way as to be self-supporting. Glasgow has also municipal tenement houses, with low rents for clean, well ventilated rooms, and these also are found to be self-sustaining.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.

Poverty, Private Monopolies and Public Ownership. [The Government Telegraph Petition.]

Under the heading "Starvation in Boston," the Boston Transcript prints an editorial which contains the following passages:

"Those whose special duties take them among the slums of this city have often pitiable tales to tell and misfortunes that rankle in the heart of the poor. The poor man is not the author of his own mishaps. Every winter makes it a bitter struggle for some worthy artisans to get along who are thrown out of employment by the dulness of a special market or by the continued inclemency of the weather. . . . Rather than have any help from any societies, many worthy poor are suffering in this city and willing to suffer, with the hope of an early spring and some dependence, to carry them over their difficulties, upon a few personal friends. It is not over two weeks ago when a man and his wife, in a certain locality in this city, were found at the last end of despair. . . . Suicide was proposed by the man, but the wife would not consent. . . . Both sought employment and both were capable of doing something, but nothing could be obtained. Living on bread and tea, and more frequently without the latter, was and is their lot. . . . There is a great middle class in this city who are willing to work, but yet have been near the verge of starvation the past winter. . . . Soup places may be erected all over the city, and yet never patronized by them. . . . It is those who are suffering in silence — men and women — who have answered every advertisement and sought every opportunity to get employment. . . . Here we believe, is the great work of the pastors and city churches. . . . There is a way, then, to keep the great middle class without making them conscious that they are objects of charity and subjects for observation."

Mr. Cleveland in his inaugural address puts in a good word for a "legitimate strife in business" and for a "wholesome competition" in trade. As competition is not "wholesome," and as strife has been made "legitimate" in the eyes of the law, it seems that the new president proposes to champion an economic system which leaves a trail of suffering like that referred to in the Transcript's article quoted above.

We regret this blindness to the signs of the times which makes Cleveland's famous "badge of citizenship" the warrant for selfish competition, and we regret also that papers like the Transcript should pick up two soup pails, one for the low wards for public dispensation and the other for the "great middle classes" for secret distribution through the charitable agency of church organizations and be content to drop the matter there. Free soup is the evidence of the shortcomings of the competitive system, and charity is at its worst when it takes the form of relief trains in the rear of the armies of private business.

What the times demand is not free soup, but a little sound political economy.

Mr. Cleveland has called about himself a class of men who are well equipped to defend the system of private

monopoly which causes such misery among the people. Mr. Olney, his attorney-general, may be called upon to prosecute railroads which are continually consolidating and conspiring against the good of the people. He is the counsel of the Boston & Maine railroad, now a part of the Reading combine. He is also counsel of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road which brought republicans to Topeka on free passes during the recent unpleasantness in that city. He is also counsel for the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. He is just the man to maintain Mr. Cleveland's "legitimate strife in business" in the field of railroads.

While there are 1785 railroad corporations in the United States, according to the last report of the interstate commerce commission, 42 of these companies own nearly one half the track mileage. While there were 4800 miles of railroad built during the year ending 1891, the number of railroad companies decreased, 92 of them being absorbed by other companies. The three systems for which Mr. Olney has been attorney these many years were originally built upon about 120 railroad corporations. If the capitalization and the rates decreased with these consolidations it might not seem so vicious. But it is not so. The commission reports that the increase of capitalization per mile was \$602 in the face of the remarkable consolidations of 1891. As a lawyer, Mr. Olney has done his part in maintaining "legitimate strife in business." He is now where he can continue the work in an official capacity.

Mr. Cleveland has called to his side another conspicuous champion of "legitimate" business strife, Daniel Scott Lamont, the man who combined the street railways of New York City into one corporation, the Metropolitan traction company, stocked at 30 million and selling at 150 in the market. He was able to do this with the aid of Payne, W. C. Whitney and the Standard Oil set. The money of the same men is also invested in the Whitney Nova Scotia coal combine, which expects to make money when the duty is taken off of coal and which is meantime amusing itself by raising the price of coal in Canada. Mr. Cleveland ought to get many valuable hints from Lamont as to the best way to maintain "legitimate strife in business." This strife has increased the price of coal alone to a point where it takes enough annually from the consumer to pay half the interest on the national debt.

W. S. Bissell, the new postmaster-general, is still another corporation man. He is one of the ablest railroad lawyers in the country. He has been at the head of two or three railroad companies of Western New York, and has been a director in several railroad and commercial corporations.

Hoke Smith, the new secretary of the interior, is a railroad lawyer, but like Judge Gresham, he has earned a reputation for opposing the aggressions of railroad corpora-

tions. As we said last week, these two members of the cabinet seem to be the men through whom Cleveland expects to catch populist votes. One will deal with affairs in foreign lands and the other the Indians. We see here no promise of reform which the new party cares anything about.

If Cleveland fights what he calls "paternalism" and stands up for the so-called honest gold dollar, he will ruin the democratic party before another year comes round. He ought to know that the systematic contraction of the volume of the currency which has been forced by Wall street money monopolists has been an element in the wrecking of the republican party, and it is in a fair way to wreck his party. Every debtor is to be robbed by a contraction of the currency, as the purchasing power of a dollar in a solvent nation depends upon the volume of the currency. No reputable economist has denied this. At the close of the war with a population of 25 million north and 10 million south, the volume of the currency was about two billion. Since that day the population of the Union has nearly doubled, but the circulation has been reduced to about \$1,600,000. The reason is that money is a monopoly in the hands of the money changers, and until the currency is nationalized, the people will be robbed. The control of the volume of the currency is where the railroads and the telegraph are, in the hands of the monopolists. Mr. Cleveland announces that he will stand by the monopolized gold dollar, and there is every indication that he will stand by the monopolized railroads. Mr. Cleveland is destined to figure as a tory in the history of politics and to be downed by the people who will raise the standard of public ownership and control of private monopolies as fast as they appear.

It is encouraging to see the Springfield Republican taking the position that "the ill-considered political actions of the Farmers' alliance deserve greater consideration from the people of the East than is embraced in the calling of hard names." When the people of the East come to realize that the populists were counted out by republicans in Kansas and that the courts refuse to go behind the returning boards and that republican militia officers refused to obey the governor of the state their superior officer, and that the populists have not resorted to deeds of violence though under terrible provocation, the East will have little to say about the "ill-considered political actions of the farmers' party."

"The Legislature," remarks Speaker Barrett's Record, "will be called upon to act upon resolutions in favor of a government telegraph in connection with the post office system. Inasmuch as about every man of brains, except the attorneys of the telegraph companies, who has ever given the subject thought, has declared that the govern-

ment ought to manage the telegraph, the resolutions are likely to receive favorable consideration."

The first hearing on the government telegraph petition was held last week Wednesday before the joint committee on federal relations of the Massachusetts Legislature, and the second hearing was held last Wednesday. Elaborate arguments were submitted and petitions signed by over 15,000 citizens of Massachusetts will be presented in due course. There is every indication that Speaker Barrett is right and that the Legislature of 1893 will follow the example of the Legislature of 1870 and favor a government telegraph. The telephone has been added to this resolution, as it has been developed since that time.

A populist daily has just been incorporated in Texas with a capital stock of \$50,000. Judge Nugent, Ex-State Secretary J. M. Moore, Ex-Lieut.-Gov. Martin and Evan Jones, president of the Farmers' alliance are among the incorporators. The paper will be called the Fort Worth Advance.

THE GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPH PETITION IS POPULAR.

To the Editor of The New Nation :

I send you by this mail under separate cover my final instalment of names for the telegraph and telephone petition. There are 12 names on this list, making a total of 1025. I have not had time to canvass, so had to leave the petitions in stores. I feel very much gratified by my success in the number of signatures obtained, for when I started in I had no idea I should get one third of the number obtained.

G. H. A.

New Bedford, Mass., March, 1893.

A DIRECT LEGISLATION LEAGUE.

There will be a meeting at Typo hall, 724 Washington street, Boston on the 20th, for the purpose of forming a Direct Legislation league.

DE LEON'S LECTURE COURSE.

Prof. Daniel De Leon is giving a course of 12 lectures on the "Social Evolution of Man" under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party. The lectures are delivered at Room 24, Cooper Union, New York, every Wednesday. The public is cordially invited.

The heroes of Cuttyhunk who lost their lives in the surf while rushing to the rescue of a sinking ship were certainly not impelled by love of money. The critics of nationalism argue that an industrial democracy cannot be a success until human nature is changed. It is our opinion that human nature does not have a chance under present industrial conditions.

The price of gas has risen in Nova Scotia. This settles one thing, — the coal syndicate has completed the conquest of the Nova Scotia coal mines. Now what is the use of taking the duty off coal? It would strengthen the Whitney combine and consequently would not injure the Reading combine.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

/ Massachusetts.

Municipal lighting was the subject at a public meeting at the town hall of Needham on the 3d. Henry R. Legate of Boston and I. W. Skinner of Waltham were the speakers. There was a good audience and much interest in a public lighting plant was shown.

Needham's electric light committee report in favor of a municipal plant. The report says: "The citizens of Needham are to be congratulated upon the fact that they have no private company holding a franchise of their streets, as is the case with most of the cities and towns which are desirous of availing themselves of the privileges of this act, and whatever action should be taken upon this subject no private electric lighting company should be allowed to obtain a location in our streets which would debar the town from entering into the business without first buying out, probably at an exorbitant price, the property and rights of the existing company." The committee advocate the establishment of the necessary poles and wires, and contracting with outside parties for the supply of power.

A whip trust was recently formed under the name of the United States Whip company, with a capital of \$3,000,000, and now five more of the leading concerns of Westfield have been gathered into the fold. This leaves a few large, and quite a number of small concerns outside the syndicate, but the promoters of the trust claim to have options on many of these, and that they will be taken in as fast as inventories can be completed. It is also claimed that many of the larger concerns outside of Westfield will be taken in at an early day.

The committee on street lights of the city of Everett have reported in favor of a municipal electric light plant. The report shows that the present annual cost for lighting the city is \$18,000, and it is estimated that if a \$46,000 plant was established, the same number of lights could be maintained at a cost of \$9,338.43, thus effecting a saving to the city of \$8,661.67 per year.

/ Maine.

The water-works fight played an important part in the municipal election at Auburn last week. The ticket favoring municipal water-works was elected by a vote of 1,632 to 344.

/ New York.

Representatives of several large manufacturers of wood-working machinery are engaged in forming a trust. The syndicate will purchase all the plants and issue to the owners thereof stock in the new organization, but the plants will continue under the present management. The capital proposed is 30 millions. The projectors admit their object to be the centralization of the business, and the preventing of wastes resulting from competition.

/ Ohio.

Westwood is to have a municipal electric light plant. An appropriation of \$25,000 has been made for its establishment.

/ New Jersey.

A syndicate of Boston capitalists have secured possession

of Orange Valley, Orange Cross Town and Bloomfield street railways. Applications have been made to the common council for franchises to operate through the principal streets of Orange to South Orange, and also from Orange to Newark. Capital, three millions.

/ Oregon.

Alliance Herald (Pendleton): If the telegraph system were owned and operated by the government, the people would not only get their news cheaper, but when they got it, it could be relied upon as true.

/ Indiana.

The nationalist club at Indianapolis is actively at work. It has entered an earnest protest against the granting franchises to private corporations for a term of years. The Progress club, another strong body, has followed the lead of the nationalists in endorsing resolutions requesting the common council to refrain from granting franchises to street railways, and advocating city ownership of the same. They have prepared an amendment to the state constitution, empowering cities to raise money to buy or construct their own public utilities.

/ Kansas.

The Free Press (Winfield): Whatever may be said for or against nationalism, the fact is very evident that it is rapidly gaining ground everywhere. Government ownership of railway, telegraph and telephones, the municipal ownership of light and water-works and street railways, is becoming a common doctrine. The drift is unmistakably in the direction of nationalism and the greedy corporations are responsible.

/ California.

In his speech at a recent banquet given him, Judge Maguire, Congressman-elect said: "You ask what course I am to pursue. I will not answer, but tell you to watch me, and my every action shall be governed by that rule of equal rights to all and special privileges to none. I care not where they are entrenched, I am in favor of doing away with them. If they have vested rights under false privileges, and the law of compensation applies, let them be compensated, but right must be established, for no man can ever have a vested right in the miseries and woes of a country."

/ Miscellaneous.

The latest, as well as the largest trust, is a sole-leather trust. Capital to the amount of 45 million is assured, but 75 million is the amount aimed at. It is proposed to follow quite closely the plan adopted by the sugar trust. Every tanner taken in will receive stock equal to the appraised value of his plant and the former proprietor will be paid a salary to superintend the purchased plant. It is claimed that in this way the business can be so concentrated that prices can be easily regulated. About three fourths of the sole leather interest is said to have been gathered in by the promoters of the scheme. For several months committees have been travelling from point to point, examining and appraising tanneries. The principle means employed to economize will be to shut up as many plants as possible in various sections of the country and thus regulate the output.

John F. Leech, a pronounced nationalist, came within four votes of a nomination for mayor at a citizen's convention held at Mt. Pleasant, Ia., February 22.

A public meeting was held at Endicott hall, Waltham, on Tuesday, to consider the question of public lighting. C. M. Wheaton presided and the speakers were Henry R. Legate and I. W. Skinner.

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Baltimore.—Nationalist club of Baltimore meets Thursday evenings, 8 o'clock, 508 East Baltimore street, Room 2. The public are cordially invited.

Boston.—First Nationalist Club meets the second Wednesday of each month at 630 Washington street. Public cordially invited.

Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P.M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

Altruist Meetings are held every Sunday at 8 p. m., in Rooms 55, No. 2 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo., for lectures and free discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare and improvement of society. All liberal and progressive men and women are invited. Seats free.

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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

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Edward Bellamy—Editor

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Persons who are unable to secure The New Nation at their local news-stands will confer a special favor upon us by promptly informing us of the fact, in order that we may see that they are supplied hereafter. At the same time we wish to call the attention of all our friends to the fact that the way to save money and trouble, both for themselves and for us, is by sending in their subscriptions, either for a year or a less period, according to our terms announced.

We don't understand why the corporation lawyers should profess to hate us nationalists. In point of fact, nationalistic propositions have made brisk business for them, with constant retainers and fat fees from their clients, the corporations, whom we have put upon their defense. If the nationalist cause lacked money or rather if it depended on money for its strength, the corporation lawyers could afford to chip in very handsomely to keep it going. Why

profess to dislike us, gentlemen, when you owe us so much? But of course that is all right. "It is business."

Railroad Men Declared to Have no Right to Resign.

Last summer the bloodshed at Homestead and the concentration there and subsequently at Buffalo of great military forces to overawe discontented workingmen and sympathetic populations, attracted the attention of the country and of the world to the magnitude and imminence of an industrial crisis in America.

Events have occurred within a few days at Toledo, Ohio, which while less spectacular in character, must be regarded as perhaps even more significant of the nearness of the crisis. The manner in which the plutocracy is forcing the fight indicates indeed either a feeling of desperation or an amazing over-confidence.

For a fortnight the engineers and firemen of the Toledo Ann Arbor and Northern Michigan railroad have been on strike. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers endorsed the strike and in accordance with the rule of the organization, the engineers of connecting lines have refused to handle Ann Arbor freight. Last week Friday, on application of the road, Judge Taft of the United States Circuit court, granted an order requiring President Arthur of the Brotherhood of Engineers to release the engineers from the operation of the above brotherhood rule by declaring it non-operative.

This was a sufficiently extraordinary step, but President Arthur obeyed. Friday night of last week several Lake Shore engineers and firemen at Toledo, having been ordered to take out trains containing Ann Arbor cars, resigned their positions, being careful not to state the ground of their action. Upon this the attorney of the Lake Shore telegraphed to Cleveland for Judge Ricks of the United States district court to come to Toledo and brought him there by special train.

The judge on arriving at Toledo Saturday, immediately had the eight engineers and firemen who had committed the crime of resignation arrested and brought before him. He then delivered an opinion, which by common account of the

press of the country is declared "unprecedented," to the effect that they must show cause why they should not be attached for contempt of court in resigning their positions, after the issuance of Judge Taft's order as to handling freight. The opinion, given elsewhere in this ~~issue~~ ^{the} consists in the ruling that railroad employees are engaged in a semi-public business and cannot cease work at will, but only at such times and places as in the opinion of the courts may not interfere with railroad service, which amounts to saying that they can stop working only when it suits the convenience of their employers.

Since then Judge Ricks has addressed a circular order to each one of the 200 engineers and firemen of the Wheeling and Lake Erie railroad running out of Toledo, personally ordering them not to refuse to handle Ann Arbor cars. The Ann Arbor officials declare that every man who leaves his engine will be arrested.

As might be supposed the action of Judges Taft and Ricks has produced tremendous sensation throughout the country. If their ruling prevails there is a large class of businesses to which it can be at once applied, as for example to all natural monopolies such as street railroads, lighting and water companies. The same law can be ultimately extended logically to all sorts of occupations on which the public service or comfort is in any way dependent.

If the ruling is good law, it is the death blow to trade-unionism and labor organizations of any sort. It ends the industrial struggle by striking from the hands of one of the combatants its only weapon, the strike, that is to say the concerted refusal to work until grievances are redressed.

There has hitherto been no move in the war of organized capital upon organized labor, at once so audacious in conception and so far-reaching in possible results as this ruling. If it holds good, involuntary servitude, abolished by Lincoln's proclamation in 1863, will again have been legalized in our land.

What is to be done about it? The answer is very simple and it is the only answer. The corporations want to be regarded as public businesses in order the better to get their employees under their thumbs. Very good. Give them their own medicine. Make them public businesses by bringing them under national ownership and operation, and thus under responsibility to the people as directors. When the employee can control his occupation by the ballot he can dispense with the strike. It is a poor rule that does not work both ways; there can be no such thing as public employees of private corporations. Judge Ricks' ruling points straight to nationalism. Its logic fully carried out means the elimination of the capitalist.

The first effect of the rulings will be, as already seems to be generally admitted, to convert all the railroad men in the country into intense believers in railroad nationalization. If they are going to be held to be public employees they are going to demand the advantages as well as the responsibilities of public employees.

That is what is coming, and it is coming soon. Nationalism is the only way out for any of us. The trusts, the militia and the courts are bound to drive the people into it, whether they will or no.

Time for an Independent Municipal Party to Protect Boston Interests.

Has not the time arrived when the interests of Boston demand the entrance into municipal politics of an independent party, having for its express purpose a resistance to further plundering and exploitation of the citizens through corporation control of the public utilities, especially with immediate reference to light and transit? Parties grow and are not made and their growth cannot be forced, but we ask serious consideration for the query whether the intolerable condition of the lighting and transit systems of the city and suburbs and the pressing necessity of adopting new systems and policies in both respects do not suggest sufficient occasion for a party pledged to a single-minded devotion to the public interest which it is vain to expect from either of the old parties.

Mayor Matthews has indeed proposed a municipal electric lighting plant for the public purposes of the city, for which, if he backs it up in a manner to show that it is not a mere sop to public discontent, he will deserve credit; but the gas corporation is the most important branch of the lighting monopoly here in Boston and the mayor shows no intention to interfere with that except in a roundabout, partial and perhaps wholly ineffectual manner, by trying to bring in a competing company from Brookline. The principle of competition is dead wrong in these natural monopolies as every one knows. There should be but one service and one plant and the only proper way to meet the exactions of such a service when it is a private monopoly is for the city to take it over.

As to the promise of a cheaper gas from the competing company, introduced by the mayor, the people do not seem to be intoxicated by it. It is not uncommon for companies to reduce the price of gas, but it is very uncommon as a consequence for customers to find their monthly bills reduced. It has been testified by competent authorities at legislative hearings in this state and so far as we have been able to ascertain is uncontradicted, that it is possible to make meters register any desired consumption although not a jet has been lighted, simply by alternately increasing and reducing the pressure in the mains, thus forcing the gas through the meters and back and taking advantage of the fact that it registers only one way.

It is painful to think that any one would take advantage of this immoral characteristic of the meter, but the theory certainly fills a long felt want in accounting for the persistent indisposition shown by meters to give practical effect to the benevolent professions of the presidents of gas companies. We trust that the Brookline gas people are altogether better than others engaged in that much suspected business, but the only way to make nominally cheap gas really cheap and to make the people believe they get what they pay for is for the city to furnish it. Mayor Matthews' attitude thus far gives little hope of any action from him on the lighting question at all adequate to the emergency.

As to the far more vital rapid transit question, the mayor's project, elsewhere editorially discussed, is discouraging to those who have been trying to think him a really progressive man. He proposes to turn over a 30-year franchise for rapid transit to a private company and in addition that the city shall spend 16 million dollars and give away a slice of

the common to furnish the company the opportunity to build its road and make its pile.

So much for the attitude of the local democracy, as represented by its supposedly most progressive man. As for the republican municipal party, no ground exists for expecting anything better from it, if anything as good.

The seriousness of the crisis in our transit system is intensified by the probability that the West End surface monopoly is about to be absorbed by the North Shore Traction company, a foreign syndicate. Now the West End is a pretty tough customer as a corporation, and its methods have been very bad, but the sentiment, thin as it is, of "home management" has helped it over many hard places. When the change to management by and for a Philadelphia combination shall take place, the personal popularity of President Whitney, which has done much to ameliorate the constant friction between the company and the people, can no longer be counted on. Instead of the suave and eloquent explanations of Mr. Whitney which, without really explaining anything, make his critics feel as if they were mean fellows, we shall have the coldly brutal relation of a foreign despotism exacting tribute from a dependent population, without pretense of any other purpose than to tax the traffic "for all it is worth."

Are we not then in presence of an emergency which calls for the organization of a new political body in Boston to protect the interests of the people at a juncture when policies are being decided upon, alike important to proletarian and property-holder and destined to vitally affect the welfare of the entire community for a generation to come?

The new party should represent no class and no "ism"; it should represent all classes and appeal to all. It should be a one-plank party and that plank should explicitly demand the public ownership and operation of public utilities for the public benefit, such ownership and operation to be municipal or metropolitan, by city government or special commission as most convenient, and under strict civil service regulation in all cases.

Such a plank, relating only to local matters and freed from implications with state or national politics or parties, would, we believe, if it could be presented today to the people of Boston on a referendum yes or no vote, command a majority of the people. It would be a proposition on which all bodies of social, industrial and economic reformers and all labor organizations and their sympathizers could heartily unite with the most conservative class of intelligent citizens, following the guidance of the soundest of modern political economists and the most approved precedents in other countries.

Such a party it is needless to say should be run by no organization or clique or set, or in any ulterior interest beyond the advancement of its single principle, and at its head should be men of solidity and standing whom the people can trust.

It should be neither a republican, a democratic or people's party, nor yet a nationalist or workingmen's party, but a citizen's party calling for common action in the common interest with a definite and distinctly understood program.

Is it not time for such a party? If so, we shall have it.

Mayor Matthews' Rapid Transit Scheme.

Mayor Matthews of Boston had a hearing last week before the rapid transit committee of the Legislature upon an elaborate plan brought forward by him for an elevated rapid transit system in this city.

According to this proposition the city is to make a way for an elevated line beside Tremont street, the net cost of opening this line in damages and otherwise being estimated at 15 million dollars. This the city is to pay. Is then the city to go on and build and run the road so as to get back its enormous outlay on the opening or at least interest on it? Oh, no! Not at all! That would be a step toward nationalism. The city having sunk 15 million dollars in preparing to run an elevated system, is to draw out just at the point when the remunerative part of the undertaking begins. The franchise for constructing and operating the road is to be sold to a private company. The cost of the construction and equipment of the road is put at six million dollars. That is to say the city is to pay three fourths of the total cost of the undertaking and get nothing (except the rental of the company, which we may be sure will be put at a very trifling figure), while the company, investing one fourth of the total cost will pocket all the profits.

It is true the mayor proposes that all the profits over eight per cent shall be divided between the company and the city, if not expended for improvements, but he is frank enough to admit that the city is not likely to get much this way, and he is right. If the managers of the company do not contrive to inflate their stock on one plea or another fast enough to swallow up all the profits, though they might reach 100 per cent, they will be a very fresh sort of corporation directors indeed.

Ah, but we have not yet mentioned one feature of the plan. This is the rich plum offered the people to induce them to consent to spend the money and get none of the profits. At the end of 30 years "or so," as the mayor lightly puts it, the entire plant of the railroad is to become the property of the city. Let us see what this proposal amounts to. Supposing the road is capitalized at just what it cost, instead of three times as much, as it certainly eventually would be, and that it earns not over eight per cent for thirty years. This amounts to 240 per cent, twice and a half the cost of the property. That is to say the people of Boston after paying by their car fares twice and a half the entire cost of the road besides all operating expenses and repairs meantime, are to have it delivered over to them at the end of a generation. Truly a dazzling prospect! For the sake of such an astonishing bargain as this, surely Bostonians ought not to object to paying the trifling bonus of 15 million dollars to be sunk in street opening as a preliminary to being let into the deal.

Nationalists are known to be very impractical sort of people and therefore we must be excused for being so visionary as to suggest that the people of Boston have long been of full age, and if they are going to be fit to run an elevated system 30 years from now, they are fit now, and if they can afford to pay twice and a half times the cost of the road in order to get it 30 years hence, they are able to pay its cost once now.

What Boston needs and must have is a transit system

owned and operated by the people for the people, and Boston is going to have it before this agitation is done with. If a company can afford to carry the people at a profit, the people can't afford to have it, for that profit represents precisely the saving in fares they would make by carrying themselves. There is the whole argument in a nutshell and there never was a corporation lawyer clever enough to get around it and never will be.

THE MINERS' WAY OUT.

The Pittsburg Kansan has this to say about the miners:

"The Kansan has more than once voiced the idea that the remedies proposed in this district and state for the evils under which miners suffer are wholly inadequate and insufficient.

"Screen and weekly pay bills, anti-truck store and anti-scrip laws would at best be mere palliatives, and mine owners would soon learn how to evade them, or they would invent new ways to maintain their present advantages.

"While our miners are wasting their money and energies on these doubtful reforms, the miners of Colorado boldly attack the very citadel of their grievances and demand unconditional surrender.

"They propose a remedy that cures, a solution that solves, and the only one that has ever been proposed that goes to the root of the matter — namely, state ownership and operation of the mines.

We have before us the Denver News, which contains a lengthy memorial from the labor organizations of that state to the Ninth General Assembly of Colorado, from which we clip the preamble and demand, which read as follows: 'The undersigned, your memorialists, acting in joint legislative committee, and under the authority of their various industrial organizations, petition your honorable body for the following legislation: First. — A law authorizing the state to operate its own coal mines; to transport the products thereof to market and to sell the output to consumers at a price not exceeding the cost of production by more than 25 cents per ton; the selling price above the cost of production to be turned into the internal improvement fund after the state has been reimbursed for the first cost of opening the mines.'

"There it is in a nutshell. State ownership is the only remedy worth considering, because when once secured it is final and complete.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

The Los Angeles (Cal.) Herald has interviewed Leon Flutener, a well-to-do Swiss merchant traveling in this country. Mr. Flutener does not think we Americans have much to brag of in the way of a free country, and we confess to sometimes feeling the same way ourselves. Mr. Flutener said:

"The United States is looked upon all over Europe with great admiration and respect. I find much here, however, that disappoints me. It is true that nine out of ten of your families find it hard to make both ends meet. Rents, interest, taxes, high-priced clothing and other necessities make it essential for your middle and lower classes to labor almost from the cradle to the grave. Your Rockefeller

gives a million dollars to a Baptist college and then raises the price of coal oil and gets his million back out of the pockets of the people. Your Mr. Stanford founds a university and follows Mr. Rockefeller's example by charging all the traffic will bear. In the eastern states hundreds freeze to death with mountains of coal in sight. You must admit you have a curious kind of a republic.

"In California I find thousands and thousands of acres of land uncultivated and unused. Under your fine system some old men and old women are able to keep the millions of land-hungry people from owning or even renting the broad acres which the monopolists have fenced in and neither sell, improve or use in any way. Los Angeles could support a half million people if the ranches north of you alone were broken up.

"As you gather from my conversation, I am not at all sure that Americans need to feel any great pride over their country. It is better than Europe, but it is drifting to class government very fast. My experience in my pedestrian tour South will show you how free your people are. Dressed in a rough suit and often dust and mud stained, I did not look very far removed from a tramp. I asked no favors, paid for what I got, and yet on four occasions I was halted by constables, rudely asked my business, and it was only too plain that they were eager to make a fee out of me as a vagrant. In this alleged free country of yours I find it is a crime to walk your highways and ask for work; and furthermore, it seems that the rural constables and justices, to use an American phrase, pool their issues and consider it a crime for a man to walk at all. In a little town in Ventura county a constable actually arrested me, and only gave up his prize reluctantly when I showed him letters from the Swiss consul and from influential friends of mine. As I walked away I said to myself: "And so this is the starry land of freedom — the home of the oppressed of all nations." I wondered as I saw an American flag flying over a California school-house if the children could grow up to respect an emblem which represents a government that protects land monopolists and sends men to jail for walking its highways and asking for work.

"My pedestrian experience is ended. I leave for Santa Fe, N. M., tomorrow, and after spending a few months in the southern states I shall visit the world's fair and return to Switzerland."

✓The Massachusetts Legislature has been having a dose of nationalism the past fortnight. The hearing on the petition for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone closed on the 15th with the argument of Henry R. Legate, a portion of which appears in another column. Hearings on the proposed amendment to the public lighting law were held on the 15th and 21st, and the hearings on the bill for the public conduct of the liquor traffic by eliminating the element of profit, through salaried agents, took place on the 17th, 20th, 21st and 22d. On the last named day Mayor Henry Winn of Malden supported the bill and explained the legal aspects of the question.

J. FOSTER BISCOE..

The First Nationalist club of Boston at its last regular meeting passed resolutions on the death of J. Foster Biscoe, one of the founders of the club and its fourth president.

"MAN'S NEEDS ARE GOD'S COMMANDS."

For truth and right we plead, and light for crying human need;
For wingless angels here in sight and famished earth we plead.
Columbia, not Jerusalem; for life this side the grave;
We kneel to touch the garment's hem of Him who died to save.

Ring out, ring out the fervent cry, "Man's needs are God's commands";

And putting strife forever by, unite with hearts and hands —
To free the wage slave; and — released — the Eden usher in,
Where each true heart is holy priest, and each true man is king.

REV. GEORGE VAUGHAN.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

[Henry R. Legate before the Massachusetts joint committee on federal relations on the memorial to Congress favoring the public ownership of telegraph and telephone services.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: —

In asking your favorable consideration of the memorial before you, I simply voice the sentiment of almost the entire community. Nor is this sentiment wholly of recent growth. For over 40 years there has been a demand for the utilization of the telegraph for cheaper, speedier and more accurate messages. Heretofore the demand has been for some method of governmental control, but the influence of the few who have made a monopoly of this useful service has been sufficient to defeat so reasonable and just a demand. Too frequent exercise of the subtle and dangerous power possessed by this monopoly, in thwarting the public will, has resulted in a demand by the people that the government shall own and operate the lines in the interest of all. It would be only a return to original conditions. The first telegraph line in this country was built with an appropriation of money from Congress, and was operated by the post office department. Postmaster-General Wanamaker truly characterizes it as an evil hour when it was surrendered into the hands of a private company.

In 1844 Henry Clay said of the telegraph: "It is quite manifest it is to exert great influence on the business affairs of society. In the hands of private individuals they will be able to monopolize intelligence and to perform the greatest operations in commerce and other departments of business. I think such an engine should be exclusively under the control of the government."

No less emphatic is the statement of Hon. Cave Johnson, postmaster-general when this surrender was made. In his report to President Polk in 1846, he said: "It becomes a question of great importance how far the government will allow individuals to divide with it the business of transmitting intelligence — an important duty committed to it by the constitution. The use of an instrument so powerful for good or evil can not, with safety to the people, be left in the hands of private individuals." Truer words were never spoken. Results have shown that his fears were well founded. Almost every postmaster-general since that time has favored a government telegraph. None of them, however, investigated the subject so comprehensively as has Postmaster-General Wanamaker. It is only fair at this time to say that he has gone no farther than to recom-

mend that the government contract with the private companies for the transmission of messages at certain fixed rates between post offices. The arguments he uses, however, apply with equal force in favor of complete government ownership and operation of the service. The following quotation from his report of 1892 is an admirable presentation of the case: "I am fully convinced that the government will never properly do the postal work committed to it until it uses electricity in some form; and therefore I advocate the utilization of both the telegraph and telephone at the earliest practicable day. To receive letters and other mail and store them away for shipment in bulk, more or less slowly, once a day or even every hour, when a wire and telegraph instrument might connect the major part of the post offices, seems an antiquated anomaly. It is true that a large part of the mails must always go by rail; but there is another considerable part that seeks quicker transit, that does not find convenient the 10,000 railroad telegraph offices, often distant from villages, that does not find the telegraph tariff within the reach of working people. The mail and the telegraph are the life currents of business, and to a large extent of social life, and the private monopoly of either system must result in creating a preferred class, to which high rates may not be objectionable. The humbler citizen must do without. It was said long ago that the telegraph must be a monopoly, and so is the postal system; but the difference is that one is operated for private gain and the other for public good. The government follows a settler across the plain and into the mines, and establishes a post office in order that his family may have letters and newspapers and be more content in a frontier home. The telegraph goes where it can find paying business only; and so it falls out that only a sixtieth part of the people of the United States, owing not to the need, but to the inconvenience and the charges, employ the telegraph. The post office helps to settle, serve and satisfy the country — literally to make the country — and of all its adjuncts the most important, that which would afford the quickest mode of communication between families near and far, apparently can not be made available in any way. The fact is that in some respects the telegraph seems to get farther and farther away as the capital and power of the corporation increase."

The facts in the case would warrant even severer language than he uses in his just arraignment of this monopoly. Let us briefly trace its growth to its present formidable proportions. In 1858 the capital stock of the Western Union was \$358,700. The stock dividends declared between 1858 and 1866, a period of only eight years, amounted to \$17,810,146, and the stock issued for new lines was \$1,937,950, making the capital stock on July 1, 1866, \$20,133,800. In that very year new stock was created to the amount of \$20,450,500, thus making the capital stock on July 1, 1867, \$40,568,300. The largest dividend declared by the company up to 1874 was 414 per cent. The largest amount of stock ever divided at one time was 10 millions, and for a period of seven years the dividends were about 100 per cent a year on its average capital. In 1874 the company bought up its own stock and the stock of other telegraph companies and accumulated a fund of 15 millions, which was held in the treasury of

the company. The following are some of the dividends declared: In 1862, 27 per cent; 1863, 100 per cent; 1864, 100 per cent. In 1878, six millions; in 1881, one of 15 millions and another of \$4,300,000. In 1886, 25 per cent. It realized 100 millions in 25 years by its extortionate charges. An investment of \$1000 in the Western Union stock in 1858 would have received up to 1890 stock dividends of more than \$50,000, and cash dividends equal to \$100,000, or 300 per cent of dividends a year. In 1890 its capital stock was \$85,960,000, but in October last there was another watery inundation which raised it to an even 100 million.

The above facts show that there has never been any change in the policy of the company from the beginning. It has driven every competitor from the field by absorption, watered its stock beyond all precedent, almost beyond belief, and stands today a monopolistic monument to the forbearance of a long-suffering people. In the postmaster-general's report of 1891 the average price received for messages is estimated at 31.6 cents, while the cost is but 22.3 cents, showing a profit of over 40 per cent.

"From the best information I have," says Postmaster-General Wanamaker, "I believe that a telegraph company could make a great deal of money on a uniform 25-cent 20-word message to all parts of the country. The increase of business on lower rates would be so large that the profits of the telegraph company, in my judgment, would not be diminished. It can not be questioned that the government, by reason of what it would save in the use of existing postal machinery, could easily by this time have afforded much lower rates than the present telegraph charges if it had continued to operate the lines it began. The people think more about these things than they are commonly supposed to do, and they are restive under conditions which they feel that the government should change."

His estimate is certainly a conservative one. Sixty-one per cent of the telegraph lines of the world are under government ownership. Excluding the United States and Canada, 95 per cent are so owned. The first telegraph company began operations in England in 1846. This was speedily followed by numerous others, and, as people became convinced of the great utility of this means of transmitting intelligence, the business grew to great proportions. Complaints of inaccuracies, excessive charges and a lack of adequate facilities soon began to be heard. In 1854, only eight years after its introduction, a plan was proposed for government ownership. This was followed by many others, each meeting with a constantly increasing public approbation.

In 1865 the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce presented a memorial to Parliament, which being widely supported by public opinion, resulted in the passage of an act July 31, 1868, to enable the postmaster-general to acquire, maintain and operate an electric telegraph. The telegraph and railway companies bitterly opposed the measure. The same objections were urged as are used in this country today. Well-paid attorneys made the usual arguments about guarding vested rights. They reveled in predictions of disaster to the government if it assumed this business. They contended that it was an arbitrary and unjustifiable interference with private interests. That the companies had inaugurated

at great risk and expense a new enterprise, the issue of which was doubtful, and now that it had become a success it savored of confiscation to take it from them. Could the public authorities, they asked, be trusted as implicitly as a private company with the innumerable secrets that were constantly passing over the wires; and was there not danger of the telegraph being used for political purposes? But their eloquence and ingenuity were of no avail. The demand of the people was heeded, and the lines passed from the control of a private monopoly for private gain, to a public monopoly for public good. The predictions of the opponents of the measure proved to be without foundation. The liberal price paid by the government for the lines disposed of their cry of confiscation. It has never been even whispered that the telegraph has been used for political purposes and the people look back with incredulity to a time when the claim was made that companies could be more safely intrusted than the state with the secrets of the wire. The secretary of the London chamber of commerce was asked for his opinion upon this point, and his answer was, "It is the general belief in Great Britain that the quickness, certainty and secrecy of the service have improved under the post office and that the overwhelming, in fact almost unanimous, feeling would be an opposition to return the telegraph to private management." Such is the opinion of a conservative business man. The result has justified every claim made by the most earnest advocate of a government telegraph. England today has the cheapest and best service in the world. There is a uniform rate of 12 cents for 12 words to any distance. The increased use of this valuable and important adjunct to the post office by the people is significant and instructive. The population of the United States is 63 per cent greater than that of Great Britain, yet for the year ending June 3, 1891, the number of telegrams sent was 66,400,000, nearly two for each inhabitant, while there were but 54,143,000 sent in the United States, not quite one for each inhabitant. In the year 1884-85, 33,278,000 messages were transmitted in Great Britain. In the year 1890-91, 66,400,000 an increase of 100 per cent in six years. In the United States in 1885, 42,096,000 messages were transmitted, in 1891, 59,148,000, an increase of only 40 per cent in the same six years. Now contrast the difference in the post office business for the same length of time. The increase in the number of letters and pieces transmitted in our post office was 65 per cent, while in Great Britain it was only 35 per cent.

Why has the telegraph business increased so much more rapidly in Great Britain than in this country? Simply because of low rates resulting from government ownership of the service in the former and its continuance as a private monopoly in the latter. It is claimed by those who oppose public ownership of services that the government never utilizes the latest inventions, and in consequence of their lack of energy or interest, better facilities for the carrying on of any business is always given by a private company. This is a stock objection. It is made to do service on all occasions when public ownership is advocated. The Western Union having a monopoly of the telegraph business has no incentive to use devices or inventions which would add to the efficiency of the service. Its aim is not to reduce rates, but to pay dividends to stockholders. In England any new

invention which will increase the efficiency of the service and thus lower the rates, is quickly made use of, and inventors receive a just remuneration for their work.

In an address before the British association for the advancement of science, in 1888, W. H. Preece, the best authority upon this subject in England, said, "The telegraph service of England has been brought to the highest pitch of perfection." He also mentioned the fact that the American newspapers heralded it as a great feat when 500,000 words were sent by our telegraph system over the wires in one night at the time of a political convention in Chicago in 1886, while 1,500,000 were sent from the central office in London in one night when Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill in 1886. While the manager of private owned telegraph lines in America are, according to general uncontradicted newspaper reports, buying inventions and locking them up lest they should benefit any one, wonderful progress has been made in the telegraph service of England. In a recent report the post-master-general of Great Britain says: "Under experimental conditions no less than 600 words per minute have been transmitted over a single wire, while a speed of 400 words per minute can be evenly and safely used in practical working. A very satisfactory result compared with a rate of 60 or 70 words in 1870."

There is another important consideration that should not be lost sight of. The managers of our telegraph object to putting wires under ground. In our cities they form a network that is not only unsightly, but a constant bar to the efficient working of our fire departments, and thus materially increasing the cost of fire insurance. Of the nearly 2000 lines of wire entering the central station in London, not one is open, and some extend underground from 12 to 23 miles from the office. Government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines would quickly settle the question of overhead wires which continues to vex the people of all our larger cities. All the countries of Europe own their telegraph lines. The rates for service are as follows: England, 12 cents for 12 words; Germany, 17 cents for 10 words and a discount of a cent and a quarter for every word less than 10; Italy, 18 cents for 15 words; Switzerland, 10 cents for 10 words; Belgium, 9 cents for 10 words. In France the rate is 10 cents for 10 words within the country, and 2 cents per word from the French-African possessions, a 10-word message from North Africa costing but 20 cents. Distance is not considered in making the rates. No more charge is made for 100 than one mile; the same principle being applied as that governing our postal system. Most of these countries derive a revenue from the service. This is effected by combining the telegraph with the post office. In Italy in 1890 the gross earnings of the lines was \$3,010,974; the expenses \$2,703,137, leaving a net profit of \$306,837. Germany receives a handsome yearly revenue from the service. We have seen the increased business that followed the lowering of rates in England. It has been the same everywhere. In Belgium when the rate was reduced to 10 cents the number of business messages sent increased over 200 per cent, and the number of social messages 1000 per cent.

[To be concluded next week.]

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE JUDICIARY AND REFORM MOVEMENTS.

A Broad Decision of the United States Supreme Court. The Lower Courts under the Influence of Monopollists. A Blow at Free Labor. Note and Comment.

It has been the history of reform in this country that great popular movements have advanced in spite of the judiciary. This is not necessarily a reflection upon the character or motives of our judges. Their function is to interpret statute law, while the function of reform is to amend it.

It is in the nature of things that the judiciary shall fall more and more under a cloud as the great crisis which now confronts us becomes acute. It may be said, however, that the state and lower grades of the federal courts show a greater disposition to be strict constructionists than do the judges on the supreme court bench. The supreme court, for example, made a distinct step upward when it decided in the New York grain elevator cases that the state had the right to regulate the conduct and market prices of any business "affected with a public interest." The first effect of this decision, however, from the highest court in the land has been oppressive to both labor and the smaller producer. It fortifies the position of the interstate commerce commission, whose power is used to keep up freight and passenger rates to a point desired by the railroads. The orange grower of Florida, the wheat farmer of the West, the fruit shippers of the Pacific coast and others know all about the despotism of the railroads now being backed up by interstate commerce commission.

Labor, also, is feeling the heel of a judiciary that interferes usually to fortify the privileges of private corporations. Under a dictum involving a broad principle, the country has seen a narrow interpretation that brings comfort to the very men who are conspiring against the industrial peace of the land. Witness the orders of United States District Judges Taft and Ricks in Ohio concerning the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers last week. Chief Arthur was ordered by the court to revoke the rule of the brotherhood which requires members to refuse to handle the cars of non-union or boycotted railroads. Eight members of the brotherhood who had refused to take out trains at Toledo were arrested. Before the men were bound over Judge Ricks said to them:

You are engaged in a service of a public character, and the public is not only interested in the manner in which you perform your duties while you continue in that service, but is quite as much interested in the time and circumstances under which you quit that employment. You can't always choose your own time and place for terminating the relations. If you were permitted to do so, you might quit your work at a time and place under such circumstances which would involve irreparable damage to your employer,

and jeopardize the lives of the travelling public. This court does not assume the power to compel you to continue your service to your employers against your will, but it does undertake to compel you to perform your whole duty while such relations continue, and does further claim for the purposes of ascertaining whether its orders have been violated the right to determine when your relation to your employer legally terminated and when your obligations to observe this order cease.

This is in strict accordance with the supreme court decision that the authorities can regulate any business affected with a public interest. Judge Ricks granted an order for all Wheeling and Lake Erie engineers to "refrain from refusing" to handle Ann Arbor freight. The names of the engineers were mentioned in the order, and the mere act of a locomotive engineer refusing to work would make him liable to imprisonment for contempt. Chief Arthur revoked a vital rule of his fraternity, therefore, in order to avoid the arrest of scores of his brother locomotive engineers. The effect of this decision and order of the court is to make striking on the part of railroad employees a prisonable offense on the ground that a strike is an assault upon the public, as it interferes with a function on which depends the regular transaction of business.

We do not see how the judges could have escaped the logic of this position. It is very oppressive so far as the employee is concerned, but the judges have now advanced so far in the field of interference with a private business that they have made it impossible for them to refuse to follow out this principle to its legitimate conclusion.

The courts imprison men for striking; they raise street rows of strikers, as at Homestead, from police offenses to treason; how then can they avoid considering the despotic and inhuman treatment of employees by corporations as assaults against the state? Why is not the unreasonable discharge of an employee as much a prisonable offense as the unreasonable refusal to work? A lock-out and a strike stand upon the same ground, and the courts cannot check one and ignore the other.

We are frank to say that the judges are attempting in various decisions to maintain, so far as they are able, the integrity of free competition in business. We however believe we see in the course of the judiciary the doom of competition. If the judges continue true to the doctrine set forth by the majority of the United States Supreme court that the state can regulate the prices and the conduct of any business "affected with a public interest," then in the language of a dissenting minority of that court, it will follow that "Looking Backward is nearer than a dream."

In the subordinate courts the battle from now on will wax hot. The Legislature of Minnesota is bent upon breaking the Siberian rigor of the coal combination which is robbing the people more than a score of tariff laws. The local courts have been appealed to to rescue from the

sergeant-at-arms of the House the books and papers of the general manager of the Minnesota bureau of coal statistics. The motive of the House is patriotic and high, and yet the law of the judge is sound in ordering the House to surrender the books. The judge would punish the sergeant-at-arms for contempt, and the House has summoned the judge to appear before its bar and show cause why he retains the sergeant-at-arms in his custody. Meantime the coal combine has notified the leaders in the Legislature that if they do not withdraw from the fight, the people of Minnesota will be compelled to pay starvation prices for coal hereafter. There is material here for trouble and the courts are fighting against the consumer.

It may be well to note here that the coal combine in Pennsylvania has already set in motion a system that will force other states besides Minnesota to pay tribute. A bill is now before the Pennsylvania Legislature with this enacting clause:

That from and after the first day of July, 1893, it shall be unlawful for any licensed miner or vendor of anthracite coal to sell any anthracite coal to any person or persons, natural or artificial, for transportation or use outside the state of Pennsylvania, for any less sum or price than \$5 per ton of \$2,240 pounds, delivered at the borders of this state.

The Pennsylvania courts, so far as we can judge from recent events, can be relied upon by the combine to lend aid to the aggressions of the coal monopoly. When the Reading road concluded to get time on its overdue obligations and asked for a receivership, a court having the interests of the general public in view would have appointed men versed in railroad affairs but not personally interested in paying dividends upon the well watered stock of that corporation. Instead of this, the Pennsylvania courts promptly appointed as receivers President McLeod of the Reading road, Mr. Wilbur, president of a road leased by the Reading, and Judge Paxton, who hastily resigned his position as chief justice of the state supreme court. This is the judge that instructed the grand jury of Allegheny county to indict Homestead strikers for treason, and he has long been understood to be holder of coal carrying railroad stock in Pennsylvania. The courts of the state have thus fortified a private monopoly and made it more difficult for the consuming public to get fair play.

Between the broad rulings of the United States supreme court and the narrow policy and vision of the judges in the lower courts, the questions of transportation and coal mines will become so involved that the public ownership of both the roads and mines will be a necessity.

Note and Comment.

The promotion of Henry Cabot Lodge from the House to the United States Senate has precipitated a political contest in the 7th Massachusetts district. Gov. Russell

has ordered a special election for April 25. The democrats propose to renominate Dr. Everett, and the republican machine favors William E. Barrett, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. The populists have concluded to make a fight, and the probability is that the whole district will be canvassed, meetings being held in every town. The notorious author of the force bill leaves his district a good deal demoralized politically, and the time and place are auspicious for instituting a new order of political discussion, — the popular consideration of laws that benefit all the people, rather than a few at the expense of all.

It is worth noting that a large percentage of the Minnesota towns in their recent local elections were lost to both the democratic and republican parties. The successful tickets were either citizens' or people's party.

A special election to fill a vacancy in the Georgia House of Representatives has gone populist. Many Georgia counties were carried by the people's party last month.

Boston Advertiser: Practical people laugh at Mr. Belamy's theories as wild vagaries of a dreamer, but some day those same practical people will be compelled to at least attempt to solve the problem that now vexes the world — the adjustment of social questions. Of course all that can be said has already been said in one way or another by able writers, but nothing has yet been done, and when one reads that the average wages of saleswomen in New York are \$3.50 a week, he must possess a stone in place of a heart if he does not at once feel and admit the horror of it.

There was a meeting of nationalists at 420 Fifth avenue, New York, on the 15th to consider methods of work. Thaddeus B. Wakeman, a member of the national committee for propaganda work, presided and explained the object of the committee. It was decided to hold a series of meetings at private residences, and to promote so far as possible, popular discussions of nationalism and public ownership. Persons interested in the cause throughout the state can address Thaddeus B. Wakeman, 93 Nassau street, New York.

A Cold Cut dinner of nationalists was held at Newark, N. J. on the 16th, when co-operation was the subject of the after dinner speakers. The date of the next dinner is April 13, the subject being the referendum. Persons desiring to attend may address Eltweed Pomeroy, Newark, N. J. There will be a Cold Cut dinner at New Brunswick, April 6.

J. W. Arrowsmith speaks on the referendum and Eltweed Pomeroy on nationalism before the Farmers' alliance at Three Rivers, N. J. this evening.

Mills County Journal (Glenwood, Ia.): One of the most effective planks of the people's party platform is that relating to the government ownership of railroads. Most people, irrespective of party, are beginning to realize the fact that only through the nationalization of railways will the public ever escape from the extortions and injustices inflicted on it by these soulless corporations.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Boston Herald: We cannot see any reason for changing the position which we have taken from the first — that, if the government is to enter on this large scale into canal construction, it should undertake the work on its own account, without the interference of a private corporation. There would then be no watered stock, no divided interest and responsibility, but the work would be a distinctly public one, undertaken with a single eye to the public good.

In an editorial upon the various plans for rapid transit, the Boston Transcript says: The point has at last been grasped pretty generally that private control of public monopolies doing public services is not strictly public spirited or consistent with any purpose but that of filling private pockets. The legislative committee will of course, be on their guard against committing the city of Boston to enormous expenditures for street making or widening chiefly for the purpose of turning the new streets over to the use and occupancy of a single corporation.

New York.

The companies in the northern part of the state engaged in producing mineral pulp are forming a combination with a capital of two million dollars.

A bill has been presented to the Legislature enabling municipalities to engage in the manufacture and distribution of gas and electricity. The bill has received the endorsement of the State Congress of the Knights of Labor.

Michigan.

The mines in the northern portion of the state producing Bessmer iron ore have entered into a combination for keeping up the prices of ore. The combine is said to be strong enough to dictate terms to the furnace owners.

Minnesota.

The Free Press (Duluth): If a vote were taken on the question of government ownership of telegraphs, there is no doubt but that it would result in a victory for the people by an overwhelming majority. With the telegraph in the hands of the people we may expect that the side of the masses will be faithfully given in the dispatches each day. The ease with which the sentiments of a public mass are distorted and misconstrued will not prevail under government ownership of the telegraph, and we may expect to read less exaggerated reports of public speeches.

Miscellaneous.

The capital of the lumber trust which seems destined to control the lumber business of this country is understood to be 32 million dollars.

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Baltimore.—Nationalist club of Baltimore meets Thursday evenings, 8 o'clock, 506 East Baltimore street, Room 2. The public are cordially invited.

Boston.—First Nationalist Club meets the second Wednesday of each month at 630 Washington street. Public cordially invited.

Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P.M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

Altruist Meetings are held every Sunday at 3 p. m., in Rooms 55, No. 2 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo., for lectures and free discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare and improvement of society. All liberal and progressive men and women are invited, Seats free.

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This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions.—Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation.—John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

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Edward Bellamy, Editor

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The New York Advertiser calls attention to the fact that although the price of flour has been for many years tending downward and is now lower than ever before, "superfine" being in fact quoted at \$3 a barrel in that city, and some grades at \$1.80, the price of bread has not changed in 20 years. The conclusion of the Advertiser is that the master bakers are making a great deal too much money. Somebody may say, why do not people bake their

own bread? But that is a lost art among the masses in the big cities. They have not the room nor the facilities for it. Home-made bread is a luxury for the well-to-do in the cities. The masses buy their bread, and the bakers in New York turn out 750,000 pounds of bread every day of the week except Sunday. There are 1500 bakers' establishments in New York, but they know too much to compete. They combine in keeping the price of bread where it is, and they have no notion either of sharing their profits with their employees, who indeed are among the hardest-worked of toilers. What is the matter with municipal bakeries to furnish bread at cost and provide employment on humane conditions to journeymen bakers? The price of bread will never be reduced in any other way.

The Two Ways of Looking at it and the Right Way.

In commenting upon the Ann Arbor ruling of Judge Ricks it is impossible not to be of two minds. On the one hand one must needs condemn and resent the animus and motive of the ruling as intended to put organized labor under the feet of organized capital. On the other hand it is equally impossible not to see in the logical implications of the ruling that businesses, which closely involve public interests are properly subject to public control, a great point for nationalism and thus a step toward the only possible and desirable solution of the industrial problem.

The trade-unionist who has no larger hope for the uplifting of the workers than the maintenance or slight increase of wages or diminution of hours to be obtained by strikes, naturally sees in the action of the court a blow at the interests of the worker which, if it cannot be avoided, is well nigh overwhelming. On the other hand, the nationalist, while fully sympathizing with the indignation of the trade unionist, would convince him that this seeming victory of capitalism may be used with fatal effect against it.

Prof. Gunton, a representative of the non-nationalistic, purely trade-union, anti-public ownership and operation view of the industrial problem, as might be expected, sees nothing that is not bad in the Ricks ruling. He bitterly condemns the "capitalistic newspapers which oppose Judge Ricks'

course and wants to know how they would like the boot on the other leg. He says:

It is generally admitted that factories have a right to stop work when it is unprofitable, but what of the thousands who are left in want by the stoppage? Would these same papers apply their rule the other way and say, "You must run your factory, for to stop it means suffering"?

No, these papers would not say so. They would make a great outcry at such an application of the principle. Nevertheless, that application of the principle would be good law and is involved in the Ricks ruling. That is why we nationalists smile, in spite of our sympathy with the railroad men who are just now inconvenienced by the course of the federal courts.

What are the factories going to do about it when the courts are called on to compel them to run for fear of injuring the public welfare represented by great bodies of employees and dependent tradesmen? They are going to kick awhile, and then if the pressure is kept up, they are going, after a good deal of painful experience, to draw out and ask the government to run the factories itself. Of course, before that result comes about, there is going to be an indefinite amount of contention and any number of points scored by the opposite sides; but the great gain is that the fight will be on the right and logical lines, namely, whether the industries on which the livelihood of the people depend are or are not public business, in fact the most strictly public of all conceivable sorts of business. The issue once joined logically, as it thus will be, between nationalism and the present industrial anarchy, we have no fear for the result.

That result will be the ultimate acceptance by all parties of the principle that the first object of organized society is to provide for the livelihood of its members seeing that this is their greatest interest, and to provide for it equally, seeing that the members in a democratic state are equal in the weight of their voice as governmental directors.

Under this system the people will not undertake to keep any particular factory always running, for that must depend on the course of demand; but it will undertake to provide every one with employment of some sort and a livelihood.

Cheer up, Brother Gunton, and sorrowing trade-unionist comrades, we are as disgusted as you are with the motive of these Toledo rulings, but we find in them ground for renewed confidence that there is a way out near at hand and infinitely more satisfactory than you have allowed yourselves to hope for.

The Sort of Thing That is Going On.

Joseph Klersey until a few days ago lived at 85 Myrtle avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. He was 35 years old, had a wife and four little children and no work. The family was threatened with starvation and had often been without food. The parents still oftener had eaten nothing of such small fare as they might have in order that the little ones could have more, the pangs of hunger being far easier for them to bear than the cry of their children for bread. Finally Mr. Klersey, in addition to their previous troubles, was taken sick, and becoming very bad his wife went for a doctor. He, realizing that he was of no use to his family and desirous at least of saving doctor's bills, rose up as soon as his wife

left the house and staggered to where the kerosene can was kept. Pouring the liquid plentifully upon his nightshirt and bare legs, he lighted a match and set himself on fire and lying down remained still till he was burned to death.

We do not often print these terrible illustrations from life of the operation of the economic system which we are combating. It would be easy to fill a paper ten times the size of *The New Nation* every week, yes every day, and thrice a day with these tragedies of poverty; but there is more need of method than of emotion in the work of bringing in a better order and we seek chiefly to teach that.

Nevertheless, it is well even for those of us most ardent in the work of reform, at times to consider the agony that is going on day by day and hour by hour, while we so slowly seek the remedies. The contemplation should not indeed make us through excess of feeling lose self-control and thus become valueless as workers, but it certainly should make the man who works for a better order of things only 23 hours in the 24 feel as if he were a loafer. As for the men or women who do not work at all, who do nothing to extinguish these fires of hell on earth, if there be a day of judgment, we do not envy them their interview with God.

Irish Home Rule and the Social Reform Question.

The second reading of the Irish home-rule bill, which was expected to be held March 19, has been postponed to April 6. This is interpreted as the result of a change of program necessitated by the unexpected force and bitterness of the opposition tactics. There is little doubt that Gladstone can put the bill through the Commons, but his majority will be but slight, not large enough to enable him to take high ground in denying the right of the Lords to throw out the bill, as they certainly will do. It has become clear, therefore, that another appeal to the country will be necessary before the bill can be forced through the Lords.

In order to prepare the way for this appeal by securing the support of the workingmen, radicals and social reformers, labor and electoral reform bills are now to be brought to the front by Gladstone. The batch will include a sweeping extension of the employers' liability laws and the abolition of numerous restrictions on the suffrage in the interest of the poorer classes. If the Lords reject these bills it will make Gladstone solid with the workingmen when upon the ultimate rejection of the home rule bill by the upper house, he shall appeal to the country.

These are the best tactics under the circumstances, but every delay is dangerous to home rule. Gladstone must needs die very soon and may die any day, and then the cause will lose probably the only advocate who could carry it through. On the other hand, the masses of the people, both British and Irish, are seeing every day more clearly that the causes of Ireland's misery, as of all mankind's, are far more economic than political, and that the way out lies in the line of radical changes of the economic system and not in modifications of the governmental administration. So long as the rich rule over the poor and the capitalist exploits the laborer, it makes mighty little difference whether these two classes are of different races or the same one. The question of the deliverance from oppression

of the Irish and the British nations is not divisible, but one and the same.

Economic issues have now everywhere the right of way and are the only live questions. We predict that unless the home rule issue shall very soon triumph, it will fall into the rear behind economic and social reform issues, not to be settled until after they have been, when, indeed, it will be found that all the venom of the question has gone out of it, that there are not two sides to it and that the only question left is one as to expediency in a detail of administration.

More Talk about "Individualism" and Common Sense.

A couple of weeks ago The New Nation printed an editorial commenting upon an oration by William Dudley Foulkes at Indianapolis. Our special purpose then was to point out how inconsistent it is to defend the present system as one which rewards men according to energy expended, in view of the fact that the greatest American fortunes and the greater proportion of small fortunes already represent inherited wealth, and that this tendency to the concentration of wealth in hereditary fortunes is increasing at a rate promising that the bulk of the monetary power of the nation will soon depend, as strictly as titles of nobility, on transmission by descent, and in no way upon effort of any sort.

We restate the theme of the former article thus carefully, because nationalists will find in it a very simple and complete answer to all attacks upon the economic equality proposed by nationalism on the part of defenders of the present system. The present system gives inequality of reward without regard to service. Nationalism, on the other hand, would secure equality of reward without regard to service actually rendered, but with the requirement that every one should render such service as he might be able to. Which is the more rational and just plan?

But this was not what we set out to say. There is a tempting earnestness about Mr. Foulkes' manner of stating a fallacy that leads us to take yet one more text from his very interesting address. We do so because the points involved are important to the moral basis of the issue between nationalism and "individualism." We use the quotation marks in no offensive sense, but because we claim that in the proper sense of the word, that is to say, defined as the completest possible personal independence, nationalists are the only intelligent devotees of true individualism.

What Mr. Foulkes says is in context with what we quoted on the previous occasion, and reads as follows:

The operative who does his work by the piece will accomplish more than he who works by the day. The man who works for himself will do more than he who works for another. He not only does more, measured by the objective result of his labor, but he does more in the development of his own energy and character. Individualism, after all, must be at the basis of all permanent and healthy progress.

As to the first statement here, it may be replied that if a man will do more at piece work than at day's work, the difference as a rule is more than made up by the worse quality of the work. Mr. Foulkes probably knows that it is common for real estate men, as a special inducement, to

advertise that a house has been built by "day's works." That tells the whole story.

As to the second statement, that a man will work better for himself than for others, nothing could better illustrate the prestige the devil has got under the competitive system than that a supposedly rational man should risk his reputation on such an assertion. Let Mr. Foulkes ask anybody that ever hired anybody, let him stop a moment and ask himself, and he will find out that no axiom is more axiomatic than that a man who under ordinary conditions does not do well in the service of another will not do well for himself. Does not Mr. Foulkes know that on this recognized fact all rational systems of promotion in private and public business are based? There never was an intelligent employer yet who would not be willing to insure the success of half of his employees and guarantee the failure of the other half in independent business, simply on account of the qualities they had shown in his service. In fact a man will very often work well for another who will prove very shiftless for himself.

Why is it then that intelligent men like Mr. Foulkes, who know so much better, are led to make such strange general statements as that quoted? It is simply because they have all learned to accept as a matter of course the first clause of the Devil's Catechism, namely, that the main object of man in life is to serve himself. This is a lie hot from the father of lies, a lie denied not only by philosophy, ethics and religion, but by practical experience at every step in this everyday world of ours. Men are not selfish in the narrow sense, except as they are forced to be. They have always before them a higher and wider ideal, family, trade, sect, regiment, shop, religion, race or whatever it may be. They are sick at heart of themselves and always hungering and thirsting for something more and bigger, or something, at least, outside themselves, to serve and sacrifice themselves to. When nationalism shall place all men's effort in the line of service to the nation and the race, instead of to self, we shall get a multiplication of the sum of human energy, which will make but a morning's "chores" of the present plodding day's work of the world.

As to Mr. Foulkes' conclusion in the above quotation, that the effects of devotion to self are useful in building up the character, it is needless to say anything. There is no more impossible way to build up a good character than the selfish method. You might as well try to build a house by working downward.

Small Help in a Good Education.

We have heard parents say that above all things they desired to give their children a good education. They have observed that to leave children money amounts to little, because that may be lost very easily, but an education, they argue, is an inseparable possession which will always enable those who have it to hold their own as against the less qualified man.

This is a delusion. The operation of the modern system of economics every year more and more makes mind the slave of money, the educated the lackeys of the rich. If you want your children to thrive, never mind their education; only leave them money enough, with a clever lawyer

to take care of it, and they will be able to hire the best brains in the country to do their dirty work. The competition among educated men for the patronage of the moneyed class is in all respects as sharp, as merciless and as brutal in its results as among manual laborers and becomes more so in proportion as the opportunities of the higher education are opened up.

In Germany, the land of universities, there are reported to be 7000 qualified architects without employment and a similar excess of supply over demand in the professions of engineers, teachers of classics and mathematics, lawyers and other departments calling for the highest training. There is a formidable list of university graduates on the list of those regularly relieved by the Berlin poor board, and there is sharp competition among the doctors of law and philosophy for places as waiters.

Another Knock-down Decision for Labor.

These United States judges seem to be laying themselves open in their turn to the charge of "conspiracy," by the rate at which they are turning out decisions, all of the same new and startling pattern, against the labor unions and the right to strike. Judge Billings of the United States District court of Louisiana is the author of the latest sensation in this line. Last November a general strike took place in New Orleans and owing to the strong sympathy of workmen with its ends, for a time it locked up business pretty thoroughly. An injunction was applied for to restrain the labor leaders from action tending, by producing cessation of business, to interfere with inter-state commerce. The strike ended, but the decision is just given, being of course intended entirely for future effect. It is declared to be especially based on the Sherman anti-trust law and is to the effect that a general strike, with the intent of producing such a stagnation of business as may incidentally interfere with inter-state commerce, is unlawful and exposes those engaged in it to criminal prosecution.

Of course this decision, like the Toledo rulings, has the purpose and, if it can be carried into effect, will have the result, of making the stopping of work by any considerable number of workmen, except by and with the consent of their employers, a crime to be punished by fines and imprisonments. The labor union, Judge Billings says, in effect and almost in terms, may be tolerated as lawful so long as it is careful not to do anything to inconvenience business.

This is not the only country which has been greatly disturbed and inconvenienced by strikes, of which, indeed, we have not had a tithe the experience of England, Germany or France; but it is safe to say that as no such sweeping decisions against workmen have been given in any constitutional monarchy of Europe in modern times, so none could be. It is only in the land of the free that such things are possible.

These decisions are capital's response to Homestead and Buffalo. What will be the rejoinder of labor? There is but one of which plutocracy is afraid, and that is a demand for the nationalization of business. With the business in which they are employed once made a branch of the public administration, workmen will be able to protect their rights and remedy their abuses far more effectually by their

ballot as citizens than they ever could by strikes, even in the palmiest days of trade-unionism.

It is interesting to observe that the inter-state commerce and anti-trust bills should be made the basis of the Toledo and New Orleans decisions. These laws were concessions to the popular demand that the railroads and trusts should be curbed. It has not been found possible to get a single important decision under them against either railroads or trusts, whose lawyers have simply laughed at them. When the railroads, however, want to crush the labor unions, against which the statutes were not supposed to be directed at all, the courts have not the slightest difficulty in finding in them a whole arsenal of legal thunderbolts against previously unquestioned rights of workmen.

Well, it is getting plain that if we do not get nationalism pretty soon we shall get something a great deal worse.

THE SYSTEM MUST BE CHANGED.

Rev. W. F. Cook recently delivered a powerful sermon at the Prospect street church, Salem, Mass., in which he took high and thoroughly Christian ground.

"The existence of national prosperity," he said, "does not mean the laborer is getting rich. It may mean the opposite. Retail tradesmen are having harder times to get along. Farmers are obliged to carefully economize, while clerks, salesmen, masons and carpenters find their wages growing less. The number of unemployed is growing larger. Before half a century shall pass, our commercial relations must be altered fundamentally. We are approaching a crisis in the history of our race. Co-operation must take the place of competition. By co-operation each man, woman and child must be their own shopkeeper and reap the profits of their business. The masses are overtaxed to keep a few in luxury, and this should be stopped in all Christian lands. Another thing to be accomplished is the management of public interests and owning of public trusts by the government. Railroads and steamboat lines, telegraph and telephone systems, electric lighting, water-works and the like should be managed by the state and not by corporations. Already the state manages the school system for the public good, as well as sewerage, the police department, highways and the like, for a public need should not be at the mercy of selfish individuals, but be managed by the people for their good. How much better it would be in this city if we had the management of the water-works and street-car lines. The time is coming when these and other things will be."

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

D. P. B. — I have read every number of The New Nation since its first issue, and I am free to say that there is more meat in it to the square inch than any other publication received at my house (and there are 19 others), and it is served in better style, covers the points of reform movements in better form than anything that comes to the table of a hungry reformer.

J. K. Harris, president of the Haverhill Nationalist club, spoke at West Acton on the 24th of March.

/ WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Master, what of the night?
 Child, night is not at all
 Anywhere, fallen or to fall,
 Save to our star-stricken eyes.
 Forth of our eyes it takes flight,
 Look we but once nor before
 Nor behind us, but straight on the skies,
 Night is not then any more.

SWINBURNE.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF THE TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

[Henry R. Legate before the Massachusetts joint committee on federal relations on the memorial to Congress favoring the public ownership of telegraph and telephone services.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: —

[Continued from last week.]

Facts enough have already been given to convince the most skeptical of the great advantages accruing to the people from government ownership of telegraphs. Before leaving this branch of the subject I wish to call your attention to some of the most glaring impositions practised upon the people by the Western Union magnates. This can best be done by quoting from a recent address delivered by a telegraph operator. He says: Careful investigation shows that the Western Union favors one class of business and wilfully neglects to do justice to another. Certain business, mostly brokers' messages, has special rights over everything else. The operator who is sending death messages, messages that summon children to the bedsides of dying parents, or transact legitimate business of merchants and manufacturers, is often obliged to lay them aside, in order that the wires may be used for the business of a trust, a monopoly, or a ring of speculators.

"Many broker companies hire wires for use during a few hours in the middle of the day. The leasing practice has grown to such proportions with the Western Union as to make it impossible for the regular volume of legitimate business to be handled readily, with the few wires retained for that purpose. What is the consequence. From 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. there is a large accumulation of business in repeating offices. The brokers' wires are then free, and they are mapped to handle the business which has been obliged to wait!

"Telegraphy is a profession. Ask any telegrapher in the Union if he believes the Western Union company has the power to secure his discharge and prevent his being employed by broker, railroad or other telegraph company, and he will tell you he supposed everybody knew it! Think of the thousands of telegraphers who must work for many more hours and for as low salaries as may suit the convenience and pleasure of this great monopoly, or suffer the loss of opportunity to practice their profession at all."

It is not often we get the operators' testimony. Every argument that can be adduced in favor of government telegraph applies with equal force to the telephone. It has already become a competitor of the telegraph, and the day is not far distant when it will, to considerable extent, supersede it.

In his report for 1891, Postmaster-General Wanamaker

says: "A year from next March the telephone patent expires, and unless Congress acts promptly to authorize its adoption for communication among the people, it requires no stretch of the imagination to believe that in the next two years one immense syndicate will control all the hundreds of telephone plants of the country, as the telegraph is now controlled, or the two will be united, and then for the next 20 years the most astute lawyers will be legitimately earning large salaries in indignantly opposing the so-called attacks of postmaster-generals upon defenseless vested rights." The fact that a new telephone company is now forming with a capital of 80 million dollars proves that a portion of his prediction, at least, was correct. It should also become an adjunct of the post office as it is already in Europe. The change is now being made in England. Germany has it already in full operation under the postal department. It is so arranged that every office can not only communicate with every other, but messages can be sent to the central office, from which they can be forwarded to their destination by special messenger, by mail or telegraph. For every telephone within a city postal delivery there is an annual charge of \$35.70. This means of communication is rapidly growing in public favor. In 1888 it was in use in only 158 cities. In 1891 the number has increased to 238, and the number of stations had increased in the meantime from 25,829 to 60,519.

The following facts relative to the telephone service of Switzerland are taken from the report of United States Consul S. H. M. Byers, under date of May 5, 1892. He says: "The Swiss telephone system being the best and cheapest in Europe, a few words as to its methods may be of interest. First of all, it is owned and managed by the general government in the same way the telegraph is, and is under the immediate control of the department of posts and telegraphs. This government ownership of telephones has proved to be to the public advantage, inasmuch as the service is better and cheaper: in fact the rates are lower here than elsewhere in the world. Telephones were first introduced into Switzerland in 1880 by a private company. In 1886 the government took control of them. The first year proved that the system in the hands of the state could be made to more than pay expenses, the net profits, even with reduced rates, being \$26,000. In 1887 the net revenue was \$51,701. The annual charge for a telephone is \$24 for the first year, \$20 for the second and \$16 thereafter. Calls to the number of 800 per year are allowed to subscribers, and for all over that one cent each is charged. Telegrams are received by the telephone and delivered to the telegraph office at two cents each." Mr. Byers says: "As many of the offices are combined, and as many of the telegraph operators are also telephonists, the advantages and the economy are very great. The employees are better trained than in private companies, because their positions are secured to them, and there is a consequent natural pride in having their service good. Government responsibility, too, assures prompt attention; and, as it is universally acknowledged in Switzerland, the management by the state has resulted in economy and a perfect service. Like the post and telegraph systems of the country, the

telephone system is owned by the people, and the state manages it with an eye single to the public good."

Compare the charge for government telephones in Switzerland with the prices paid to private companies in this country. <The charge for five minutes' use of the long distance telephone between New York and Chicago is \$10!> Is it not significant that those who have held positions that have required a careful study of this subject, have advocated public ownership? Hon. Alexander W. Randall, postmaster-general under President Grant, advocated a government telegraph, and made it the subject of a special message to Congress. In 1871 Postmaster-General Creswell devoted a large portion of his report to this subject, and in his report of 1872, said: "The post office is now prepared to undertake the organization and management of the telegraph in connection with its other duties." In 1873 he said in his report: "Improved processes are constantly being discovered, new instruments devised and new adaptations made; and in the near future the entire methods and machinery of telegraphic communication will be cheapened and familiarized to such an extent that the government will be compelled to assume their control, in order to protect the people from extortion, and to secure to them the most improved and extended facilities at the lowest possible cost. In this wide field of operation no money-making privilege should be tolerated. As well might a charter be granted for the exclusive use of air, light or water; as well might a price be set on the winds and waves, on rivers flowing to the sea, on seed time and harvest, and on the power which causes the seed to germinate and the fruits of the earth to grow, as to restrict for the sake of profit the use of electricity, that most subtle and universal of God's mysterious agents. The electric telegraph should be the common messenger of the human race, and no man or association of men should be permitted to burden it with excessive charges.

"Surely the great republic will not hesitate longer to follow kingdoms and empires in recognizing and protecting the rights of the people."

In his report for 1880, Postmaster-General Maynard says: "During my visit to the British post office I examined with much interest the system of telegraphy for several years past connected with the postal service. This method of correspondence is thought to have made a great advance since it was changed from the management of private corporations, responsible to nobody, hardly to public opinion, and placed under the control of the government. The business has increased many fold, the cost of sending messages has been largely reduced and the service is performed in many localities it never would have reached under the pecuniary stimulus of private enterprise. At the same time it yields a margin of profit to the royal treasury."

"After the fullest consideration I have been able to give to the subject," says Postmaster-General Howe, in his report of 1882, "I am forced to the conclusion that the time has fully come when the telegraph and postal service should be embraced under one management."

In his report for 1883, Postmaster-General Gresham said: "The same principle which justified and demanded the transference of the mail on many chief routes from the

horse-drawn coach on common highways to steam-impelled vehicles on land and water, is equally potent to warrant the calling of the electro-magnetic telegraph in aid of the post office in discharge of its great functions of rapidly transmitting correspondence and intelligence."

Postmaster-General Don. M. Dickinson urged its adoption. President Garfield was always its friend and advocate in the halls of Congress. President Grant advocated a government telegraph in each of his messages to Congress. Many other eminent public men have earnestly advocated its establishment. There is another important consideration that should be mentioned in a discussion of this subject. The press is an important factor in the social system. Favors should not be extended to one portion of it that are denied to another. Newspapers depend largely upon the telegraph for the collection and transmission of news. For mutual advantage and protection against competition, press associations have been formed, with agents at all important news-centres. Through such associations the papers belonging thereto are enabled to get messages at greatly reduced rates, which make the expense exceedingly low when it is divided among those co-operating in this manner. It is not uncommon for an agreement to be made by which these papers, on their part, promise not to patronize or encourage opposition lines, while the telegraph company, on its part, agrees to charge higher rates for specials to newspapers not belonging to the association. The effect of all this has been to repress newspaper enterprise. In some cases the associations require a unanimous vote to admit a new member, and the high rates charged for messages to papers not within the charmed circle, has limited the field of newspaper enterprise. It is a case where one monopoly renders another one possible. The special favor enjoyed by associated newspapers has induced many of them to join with their ally — the telegraph company — in opposing government telegraph. The assumption of this service by the post office would destroy these twin monopolies.

In England liberal provision was made for the press as soon as the telegraph passed into the hands of the government. Before the transfer the companies sent news to 306 subscribers in 144 towns and to 173 newspapers; within one year after the transfer the postal telegraph was sending news to 1106 subscribers in 365 towns and to 467 newspapers. Comment is unnecessary.

Numerously signed petitions from every part of the United States will be presented to the 53d Congress in favor of a government telegraph and telephone. Newspapers in every section of the country are earnestly advocating it. Almost every labor organization in the entire country has declared in favor of it. You are asked to give expression to the sentiment in Massachusetts upon this measure.

What is the sentiment? Only a few weeks ago the Boston Board of trade voted to send a communication to the chairman on post offices and post roads, of both Houses of Congress, in support of the views expressed by the postmaster-general, recommending that early action be taken towards adding the telegraph and telephone to the postal system of the United States, and requesting that the matter receive the early attention of their committees, and be submitted to Congress as soon as possible. The Boston Paper

Trade Association has also passed a vote recommending that the government purchase the telegraph lines and conduct them. The American Federation of Labor, at its last annual meeting at Philadelphia, Pa., unanimously passed a resolution in favor of government ownership of the telegraph. The Massachusetts State Assembly of the Knights of Labor, at its recent regular meeting, voted unanimously in favor of this memorial. The Central Labor Union of Haverhill endorsed it unanimously. A gentleman in New Bedford writes: "Send me two more petition blanks. I have at present writing secured 66 names to the one you sent and have had only one refusal." Another in Mattapan writes: "I am at work on the third petition. About three in 100 refuse to sign." One in South Lancaster writes: "I am surprised at the unanimity of the sentiment among those I have met, positively only eight refused to sign." "I believe that six out of seven would sign if they had the opportunity," says a petitioner from Whitman. A Lawrence petitioner writes: "I have asked 105 men and 104 signed it." Byron I. Haskell of Everett says that he has found but one man who refused to sign a petition.

The people have submitted to this monopoly long enough. At last they have become too familiar with its methods to longer submit to its rule. Is it not an imposition upon the public that a plant that can be duplicated easily for 35 million dollars is capitalized for 100 millions, and rates for service are sufficiently high to pay a dividend on all that watered stock! Do you think my estimate of 35 million dollars too low? Let us compare it with some others. In 1883 the cautious and accurate *Journal of Commerce*, said of the Western Union: "Its nominal capital is 80 million dollars, while all its present property could be replaced in better working order at a cost not to exceed 15 million or 13 million. It had issued large blocks of stocks partly to buy up opposing lines and partly by way of watering its own shares. Its rates have been to high and its treatment of its customers is arbitrary and insolent to the highest degree. It has fought off or purchased, as far as it could, all competition, and it has refused every reasonable concession to the demands of the press and the general public."

The United States Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, in its report of 1884 said: "If we assume every mile of wire owned by the Western Union is essential to its business of transmitting telegrams, viz: 431,228 miles, the value of the property, at \$70 per mile would be \$30,220,960."

In 1888 a syndicate of New York capitalists offered, for the sum of 25 million dollars, to build a telegraph system reaching every post office in the United States, and this notwithstanding the fact that there are somewhat more than three post offices for each telegraph office in the entire country.

Memorializing Congress in favor of a government telegraph is no new thing. It has been done before. In 1870 Massachusetts, Alabama and Nebraska all passed resolutions of a similar nature, and Nevada and Nebraska in 1873. Are not the people of this country as capable of conducting a government owned telegraph as those of all the European countries? Must we forever continue to lag behind them in a matter so closely concerning the public welfare? And who are the opponents of this proposition? The Western

Union, and a few newspapers that thrive upon the special advantages it gives them, and the telephone companies who are following in the footsteps of the Western Union in their charges for service. For five minutes use of the long distance telephone between Boston and Chicago you must pay \$10! These wonderful conveniences have hitherto been limited to the few. No wonder they have been called the "rich man's mail!" Let it be your privilege to aid in making it the poor man's mail as well. Help to bring within reach of all the speedy and convenient communication now enjoyed only by the few. (What sense is there in giving the government a monopoly of carrying messages to the Pacific coast that require days to deliver, and permitting a private company to monopolize the conveying of messages that can be delivered in a few minutes. The government has as much right to forward messages by wire as by mail. It is only a different form of the same service. As at present conducted it does not meet the wants of the people. There is also another important principle involved in this matter.)

Under the management and control of an avaricious and conscienceless corporation, the employees will always be poor and dependent victims of tyrannical petty officials. The company never fails to take advantage of every opportunity to reduce their salaries. To unite in an organization for mutual protection and support now invites discharge. Contrast the condition of the 17,000 employees of the Western Union with that of the employees of our postal service. Is their welfare of no importance? Under a government that is popularly supposed to make "an injury to one the concern of all," should not those who do the work be entitled to some protection against greedy employers who look upon them only as parts of an admirable machine for the turning out of dividends. The rights of men and women are far more sacred than corporations.

The thousands of petitioners whom I represent are but a small part of the people of this state who desire this change. There has been no well organized effort to secure signers. Petitions have been sent only to those whose name and address were easily obtained. You can best judge of how little effort and concerted action there have been in this work when I tell you that the whole amount paid for petition blanks, envelopes and postage is less than \$30. All the soliciting has been voluntary. Yet from the results of such desultory work, I am satisfied that if a complete canvass was made, at least 90 per cent of the adults of the state would ask for a postal telegraph and telephone system.

Public sentiment is aroused on this subject. A vast majority of the people demand that a business which touches the press, the public and private life, and the commercial operations of the entire nation at almost every point, should no longer remain in private hands. A free press is impossible under its rule. Its officers boast of influencing public officials.

"The franks issued to government officials," said President Orton in his report in 1873, "constitute nearly a third of the total complimentary business. The wires of the Western Union company extend into 37 states and nine territories. In all of them our property is more or less subject to the action of national, state and municipal authorities, and the judicious use of complimentary franks among them has been the means of saving to the company many

times the money value of the free service performed." This is certainly putting franks where they will do the most good. This method of bribery has not diminished since that time, but has, instead, increased each year. A list of the names of "national, state and municipal authorities" possessing the frank of this company would be both interesting and instructive. The upper branch of the Minnesota Legislature has passed a resolution similar to the one before you. I trust that Massachusetts may follow her example. Congressmen are seeking for means to prevent trusts and syndicates from oppressing the people. The Western Union was a pioneer in destroying all competition. It was also a pioneer in the watering of stock. The telephone companies are following in its footsteps. Together they control services that are essential to the public welfare. They have become burdensome to the people. The next Congress must deal with this matter. Let this resolution be the voice of the old Bay State raised in protest against this fair country becoming a mere hunting ground for monopolies, and the people their legitimate game.

A SUGGESTION FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

To the Editor of The New Nation :

Being confident that a large per cent of those who can be induced to read The New Nation will in time become subscribers and later on, nationalists, I present a plan for its larger circulation. Let every subscriber of The New Nation contribute 25 cents per month and send it to some friend for three months ; this plan kept up for 12 months will result in placing the paper in the hands of 12 times its present circulation for three months' time. Suppose The New Nation to have a circulation of 10,000, this plan will give it a circulation of 120,000 (additional) during three months. This plan kept up for the next three years would, I believe, result in so much good, that in place of a weekly we will have also a first-class daily. I commence the plan by enclosing 25 cents. Friends of the cause, let us go to work and raise up a circulation this present year of 100,000 and in three years make it 500,000.

F. G. R. GORDON,

Sec. People's Party State Cent. Com.

Manchester, N. H., March, 1893.

SOCIALIST LABOR CONVENTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The state convention of the socialist labor party for Massachusetts was held at Fitchburg, March 26, and nominated a state ticket with P. F. O'Neil of Boston for governor. The platform favors reduction of the hours of labor, public ownership of the means of transportation and communication, local franchises, etc., the exclusive issue of money by the United States, equalization of women's wages with those of men for equal service, regulation of child labor, state employment of unemployed, free education, universal suffrage, the initiative and referendum, etc. It is the best platform issued by the socialist labor party thus far, and bears upon its face the marks of having been written on this side of the water.

A STATE TANNERY PROPOSED.

The Haverhill Lasters' Protective union has voted to fight the leather trust by calling upon the Legislature "to buy, equip and manage a tannery which shall tan and furnish sole-leather to our fellow-citizens at cost."

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE JUDICIARY AND REFORM MOVEMENTS.

What the Papers say. The Populist Campaign in 7th Massachusetts Congressional District. Government Telegraph Memorial Passes Massachusetts House.

"Experience proves that the most effective force to oppose labor organization is counter organization," observes the financial editor of the New York Times. The 31 terminal railroads in Chicago have formed a compact organization to oppose labor organizations. Large manufacturers in California combined for this purpose about two years ago, and they have succeeded in beating the strikers in every case of labor trouble since that time. The Judge Billings decision in New Orleans carries on the work of subduing organized labor begun shortly after the strike in New Orleans last November, when an employers' protective association was formed.

The press of the country on the Judge Ricks' decision is a study. "The true question," observes the New York Tribune, "underlying the Ann Arbor case is therefore this: Whether the public has any right to protection in the courts against the orders of a labor organization where those orders are calculated to impose additional burdens upon all other laborers and all other citizens." The inference is plain from this that the Tribune stands by the decision of Judge Ricks that a railroad employee has no right to "give up his job" when he chooses.

"If the government is to interfere with railroad management in behalf of the railroads, it can surely interfere in behalf of the employees," observes the Hartford Post.

"The management gets behind the public for protection and the public, it must be confessed, grows more and more inclined to take the whole thing into its own hands." This from the Hartford Courant.

"The railroads have found a new weapon with which to prevent the sudden and disastrous suspension of their operations by their employees," thinks the New York Mail and Express.

"The proper course of labor," remarks the Pittsburg Despatch, "is undoubted obedience to the law, to eschew assaults on the legal rights of others, and to demand that combinations of capital shall yield obedience to the law."

The New York Press puts the same idea in this shape: "It is impossible to maintain the position that corporations are to have the privilege of dismissing those in their employ without giving previous information of their intention, unless their employees are also permitted to withdraw from their service without previous notification of their purpose to do so."

Indianapolis News: "The railway service is practically a

public service. The New York State board of mediation and arbitration, which is composed of men who were appointed as friends of labor, has repeatedly called attention to the need of legislation which should make it impossible for railway employees to quit work without giving notice according to contract. It has proposed that men in entering railway service should 'enlist for a definite period.'

A Populist Candidate for Congress in the Field.

The people's party convention for the 7th Congressional district of Massachusetts to nominate a candidate was held in Park hall, Lynn, March 24. Edward D. Priest called the convention to order and Levi R. Pierce was chosen permanent chairman and A. J. Ryan, secretary. The convention unanimously nominated as its candidate for Congress to succeed Henry Cabot Lodge, George H. Cary, who was sent for and accepted the nomination in a short speech in which he said:

The right of the people to self-government is being overshadowed by the influence of corporations, combinations and trusts that are selfishly trying to warp legislation to suit their own purposes. Among the first steps in governmental progress will be the control of the means of transportation and communication in the interest of the entire people. Then must follow national control of the natural mineral products as coal, iron and petroleum. These come nearly under the same head as the water supply of a country, being only a step farther removed on the scale of daily necessity. Municipalities and Legislatures have seen the necessity of setting free from the grasp of individuals and corporations the control of the supply of water that they were only too willing to appropriate. Our weapons are ballots instead of bullets, but impelled by the smokeless powder of an honest purpose they will prove quite as effective. There is nothing so conservative nor so timid as great wealth, and when it becomes evident that this nation has awakened from its lethargy and demanded its own, we shall surely get it.

Mr. Cary is a native of Nantucket and is 46 years of age. He served in the Union army and is a member of the Grand Army of the Republic. He has taught in the high and grammar schools of Massachusetts 21 years, being principal of the Lynn English High school for three years. He served three years as school committee man of Pittsfield and is now mathematical calculator for the Thompson-Houston company. He left the republican party when the people's party was organized in Massachusetts two years ago, and is a staunch defender of the principles upon which the new party is based. The district committee of the people's party has planned an active campaign. Public meetings will be held in every town and city in the district.

The Massachusetts House Passes the Government Telegraph and Telephone Memorial.

The resolution petitioning the Massachusetts representatives in Congress to favor a government telegraph and telephone service passed the House last week, and is now in the Senate. The indications are that the Senate will pass the memorial without material opposition. The old parties have evidently concluded to drop to avoid punishment.

The Public Liquor Traffic Bill Postponed.

A committee of the Massachusetts Legislature has reported referring to the next General Court the bill to put the liquor traffic into the hands of salaried state agents, the element of profit to be eliminated. John Brown of Fall River dissented.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The Waltham Tribune: Wasn't it Peabody which at its town meeting this spring was so pleased with the improved lighting service given by its public-owned plant that it passed a vote of thanks to those who managed it as agents of the citizens? Nobody said anything about "untried experiment" in that town meeting.

A bill is before the Legislature providing for the transfer of the Bunker Hill property from a private company and placing it in charge of the state. This action is in accordance with the charter incorporating the Bunker Hill association. If the state assumes the management it will doubtless result in a reduction of the fare now charged visitors who wish to go to the top of the monument.

Maine.

For three years past a legal fight has been going on between the citizens of Portland and the Portland water company, the former contending that the water rates should be lowered. The people have won their case, and the income of the water company is thereby decreased from \$232,250 to \$159,081, being a decrease of slightly over 31 per cent.

New Hampshire.

The Tribune (Concord): The town of Ashland has concluded to have a public water-works system, and do away with the necessity of depending on inefficient and costly private sources of water supply. Water, gas and electric lights are natural monopolies of the most conspicuous kind and must sooner or later be owned and controlled by the public as a whole and not farmed out to speculators to make money from.

Rhode Island.

The latest is a trust in crinoline. Three fourths of the crinoline used in the United States is made in Pawtucket and the American Haircloth Padding company of that city has voted to consolidate with the Pawtucket Haircloth company of Central Falls. The consolidation is effected for the purpose of doing away with the sharp competition that has been going on between the two companies, and thus insure better prices for their goods.

California.

Tulare Valley Citizen: One by one cities are calling for municipal ownership of streets, railroads, water-works, electric lights, etc., and it is only a question of time until all great industries upon which the public are dependent for service, will be taken from private corporations, and their power to cinch the public will be gone.

Miscellaneous.

In a speech before the New York Central Labor union recently, John Swinton said the tremendous trusts and combinations of this country were doing much good in driving the workers into organizations from fear of their enormous power as a means of resistance. He had seen some of the worst slums of Europe, but they were nothing to compare with the horrible squalor of the New York sweating shops.

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MEETINGS OF NATIONALIST CLUBS

Are held as follows, and all persons interested will be gladly welcomed at any of these meetings:—

Baltimore.—Nationalist club of Baltimore meets Thursday evenings, 8 o'clock, 506 East Baltimore street, Room 2. The public are cordially invited.

Boston.—First Nationalist Club meets the second Wednesday of each month at 630 Washington street. Public cordially invited.

Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P.M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909 1/2 Market street.

Altruist Meetings are held every Sunday at 3 p. m., in Rooms 55, No. 2 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo., for lectures and free discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare and improvement of society. All liberal and progressive men and women are invited. Seats free.

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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

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THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The British secretary of war recently announced in the Commons that the government had ceased to believe in "competition wages." A conservative leader recently moved in behalf of his party that in the opinion of the House no person be engaged in the British navy at wages insufficient for proper maintenance and that "the conditions

of labor as regards hours, wages, insurance against accident, provision for old age, etc., should be such as to afford an example to private employers throughout the country." This reminds the Record and Guide, the leading real estate journal of New York, of the declaration of a famous English statesman in 1877 that "the reign of numbers, if it endangered nothing else, endangered political economy." The Record describes competition under the reign of numbers and looks on the willingness of English statesmen to protect labor against competition wages as evidence that "the instincts of mankind are in rebellion against the savagery of competition, and we need not be dreamers or Bellamyites to believe in the coming of a new social order wherein there may perhaps be less political economy, so called, and more Christianity." And let it be noted that while American judges are clubbing labor unions for battling for living wages, the sentiment in England is toward a government guarantee of equitable wages. Before America and England have settled the labor question, they are sure to adopt a political economy which will not be endangered by "the reign of numbers." The encouraging part of all this is that papers like the Record are doing a "powerful deal" of reading between the lines of the day's doing.

Capital may Boycott Men, but Labor may not Boycott Property.

It is a cold day in these times when the courts do not give some new decision against the labor unions. The United Garment Workers of America, a New York union, demanded an increase of pay from their employers, the Clothing Manufacturers' association. This the association refused to grant, at the same time notifying the garment workers that unless they withdrew their demands they would lock out all the cutters in the union. The demand not being withdrawn, the cutters were locked out to the number of 1000. The union retaliated by declaring a boycott on the product of the manufacturers and sent circulars to all the clothing dealers relating the facts and appealing to them not to deal in these goods. Upon this the manufacturers summoned the leaders of the union into the

supreme court of New York and demanded of Judge Lawrence an injunction to prevent the locked-out men from interfering with their business. The judge reserved his decision in consideration of a stipulation by the representatives of the union that no more circulars should be sent out, saying that if the stipulation were broken he would at once grant the injunction. His action thus amounts to an injunction on the use of the boycott.

Now the boycott is not a pretty thing, and the only excuse for its use is that it is the only effective weapon labor has. Nevertheless there would not be so much ground to criticise the action of the courts if it applied the same logic to employers that it does to employees. For example, the action of the manufacturers in locking out the cutters was distinctly a boycott, a boycott not on goods but on men. The subsequent assertion of Mr. Mendelson, vice-president of the manufacturers' association, that no Federation of Labor man will ever again be employed, emphasizes this boycott and discloses the deliberate intention to make it perpetual. It was intimated to Mendelson that the lock-out by the employers was as much a boycott as the circular issued by the union, and that the declaration of an intention to discriminate against Federation of Labor men in future was an avowal of a "conspiracy" against a body of workers that would make the manufacturers amenable to the law. Mendelson in reply intimated that the manufacturers were not all afraid on that score, and from the temper the courts have shown, they have little cause to be. Nevertheless we hope that the locked-out men will carry out their reported intention of prosecuting their employers on this ground. They would not probably win their case, but if they did not they would at least bring out clearly the fact that it is legal in this country for employers to boycott men and take away their livelihood, but against the law for employees to retaliate by boycotting the goods of their employers.

This is precisely the meaning also of the Ricks and Taft decisions when boiled down. The railroads of the country are engaged in a systematic policy, openly avowed by many of them, and secretly pursued by most, of boycotting members of labor unions and refusing them employment, and there is no help for the men from the judges. But let the men in resistance to this policy of the railroads undertake to boycott a freight car, and United States judges hasten on telegraphic summons by special train to declare them in contempt of law. Is it any wonder that such injustice as this makes the workingman desperate?

Let us state the case again and carefully, for this is the real underlying issue of the fight that is now on: — Organized capital and organized labor have long been engaged in a bitter struggle, in which neither side is always right or always wrong. Each one finds the most effective weapon to crush the other to be the boycott. Organized labor seeks to conquer capital by boycotting its goods or property. Organized capital in return boycotts organized labor by black-listing its members and driving them out of employment. Now the question here is not whether it is right for either party to use the boycott, but whether if it is wrong for one it is not equally wrong for the other; whatever the law is, should it not be an equal law and not a one-sided one?

If organizations have no right to boycott corporations

have corporations any right to boycott organizations? In other words are, or are not, the rights of men in these United States as sacred as those of freight-cars and manufactured clothing? Shall it be law in America that the boycott on things is illegal and the boycott on men legal?

The shortest and easiest way for a policeman to stop a fight is no doubt to side with the strongest man and help him knock the weakest man out. That is much easier than to separate them and bring them before the court. Nevertheless the latter is agreed by common consent to be the better way. This perpetual quarrel between capital and labor is no doubt a great nuisance, but we respectfully submit that the proper way to settle it is not for the state to join with capital in jumping on labor, but to bring both parties before the court of public opinion to hear arguments, to balance claims and judicially to determine how a rational just and conclusive settlement of the age-long controversy may be reached.

We have that confidence in the fair-mindedness of the American people fully to believe that this is the way the industrial problem will be settled in this country, and we have not the slightest question as to the basis of that settlement. Nationalism will be found to be the only way out and as such agreed on at last by all.

Meanwhile, sharply as we are compelled to criticize and condemn the unfairness and partiality of the judicial rulings and decisions which are now startling the country, we recognize in them and the discussion and the resistance they are provoking, and will yet provoke, a most potent influence in hastening the consummation for which we work and hope.

— The America of Today not the America of Yesterday.

Goldwin Smith has published a letter in the London Times in which he tries to make a point against the Gladstonians by comparing the socialistic tendencies of the British electorate with the alleged "conservative" attitude of the American people, among whom, as he assures the Times, socialistic ideas have not as yet taken any root. Mr. Smith's facts are all wrong. There is no social reform element or tendency in England that can for a moment be compared, in radicalism or magnitude of following, with the people's party of America, which last year polled a million votes for presidential candidates standing on a strongly nationalistic platform and proposing equalizing measures more radical than are today put forth as the immediate program of any other reform party in any country.

The trouble with Mr. Smith is that his theory of the state of affairs in this country and the temper of the people, is based upon conditions that once indeed did exist but have now become historical. Speaking of the assumed conservatism of the American people, he says for instance:

The great safeguard, after all, is the general possession and the almost universal hope of property. Though socialism has shown itself, the American democracy as yet remains decidedly not socialistic. President Cleveland can still appeal in his inaugural address to the national love of self-supporting independence against the paternalism which bids citizens look for support to the state.

It was true before the war that the possession of a fair competence was common and the expectation of attaining it was pretty general among our people. So long as that was the state of things, it was in vain for the social reformer to

preach a new system of wealth distribution. He would have found none to listen. Within the last 25 years however, the most remarkable economic revolution that ever occurred in the same length of time has transformed the condition of our people. Instead of being as once the country where the greatest equality of wealth prevailed, America has become the country where the inequalities of wealth are most excessive. Plutocracy has arisen, a proletariat has developed and the farmers are becoming a peasantry. The greater part of the wealth of the nation has passed into the possession of a handful of people, and the current sets that way with ever increasing rapidity. The great agricultural class is crushed with mortgages, the artisan has lost all hope of ever being more than a hireling, and the small business man lives only from day to day waiting for some combination of capitalists to get ready to swallow up his occupation and reduce him to a wage-earner.

This is the America of today. It is the America of 1830, of de Tocqueville, that Goldwin Smith is talking about.

While it is sufficiently surprising that any intelligent observer of American affairs even from another country should be so far behind the times as Mr. Smith, he can scarcely be blamed in view of the fact that many Americans who assume to discuss politics and economics show scarcely more appreciation of the silent revolution which within a generation has transformed the social condition of the country. That a socialistic agitation and discussion of extraordinary depth and volume has sprung up in America within a few years is indeed generally admitted, but the prevailing method is to account for it as the result of this or that trivial and passing cause, a fad, a book, a bad crop, "the work of agitators," and as such destined to be but a temporary phase.

Why should we deceive ourselves? The pot boils not because of the ingredients that are put in it but by reason of the fire that is under it. The cause of the social discontent and industrial ferment with which the country is seething is the economic revolution that has in so brief a time practically expropriated the American people for the enrichment of a class. Until that revolution can be turned back and its work undone the propaganda of a counter-revolution in the interest of the people must daily grow more radical and formidable. The American people are the most intelligent high-spirited, democratic and daring race in the world. For a plutocracy to expect to be able to reduce them by main force to proletarians in one generation is too much. If they had taken more time to the job it might have succeeded, but they are in too much of a hurry.

Events are likely soon to take place in this country which will surprise Goldwin Smith, as well as the numerous Americans who with less excuse than he, seem to understand no better "where we are at."

The Railroads Slap the Country in the Face.

The railroads do certainly seem to be in an unconscionable hurry to get themselves nationalized. We do not really suppose that this is their object, but if it were they could not take a better course than they are pursuing in outraging or affronting every class of people and every class of interests. Not content with exciting the indignation of every workingman in the country by their attempts through

the courts to reduce railroad employees of all grades to a condition of involuntary servitude, they now announce to the American people that they will make no reduction of fares of any consequence or give any special facilities of any sort to persons visiting the Chicago fair.

The meeting which settled this policy definitely was held last week. The only concession which is to be made is a 20 per cent reduction on round trip tickets to go and come over the same line, no stop-over allowed, and these tickets are good only on the slow trains. Practically this amounts to no concession at all, for people going to the fair want to see as much of the country as possible and for that reason want to go and come by different routes and to stop over at divers places.

Look at the pure distilled gall of these roads. Here is a great fair made possible by a vast expenditure of public funds and of unpaid patriotic labor. Of the money that will be spent on account of the fair the railroads will get the largest share and be the chief beneficiaries. In addition to this, by their cold-blooded brutality toward their employees, they have provoked a state of feeling that will probably make it necessary to spend 10 million dollars more or less during the summer to protect them by militia from the workingmen. In return they propose to contribute to the fair — nothing.

Well, we nationalists can stand it. It will not be agreeable to spend the extra dollars it will take to go and come from the fair, but we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that everybody who has to spend them will be likely to come home a pretty good nationalist, at least as regards nationalizing the railroads.

How Judge Ricks Thinks he has Prevented a General Strike.

Judge Ricks is quite self-complacent over his Ann Arbor rulings. He is reported as saying:

I made a similar order once before, but the case was settled before it was delivered, and being a smaller affair, did not attract much attention. You would be surprised to know how many letters I have received from jurists and lawyers all over the country on this subject, and railroad men tell me it has undoubtedly been the cause of preventing a widespread strike throughout the length and breadth of the country. It has done that much good, anyhow.

The judge makes a mistake as to the effect of his action. If we have this summer the biggest and most disastrous railroad strike in American history, the Toledo rulings will be chiefly responsible for it. There have been all along, ever since the Buffalo switchmen's strike and earlier, numerous rumors of a great railroad strike in the summer of 1893. The general adoption by the main railroad lines of a policy of weeding out the organizations of labor from among their employees, has been a service of notice on the men that unless they proposed to abandon the principle of labor organization altogether, they must resolve to make a desperate and final fight for it, and the summer of 1893 has been discussed as a favorable time for this, as the railroads would then have their hands full of business. This has been common newspaper gossip for a long time, and it is also a matter of general intelligence that the Western railroad managements have taken the talk seriously enough to arrange on a large scale to have in readiness new men to put on in place of strikers in case of an outbreak.

Very possibly the strike might not have happened anyhow, or at least not have proved extensive, and possibly it

may not come now, but certainly Judges Ricks, Taft, Billings and Lawrence, by their recent rulings and decisions, have greatly increased the probability of a most disastrous summer. From one end to another of the country they have filled workingmen with a sentiment of indignation and alarm. If the railroad men, previous to the decisions, saw in the aggressive policy of the railroads a threat to their interests, they are certainly now justified in feeling very serious alarm for their rights and liberties. Moreover the various groups of railroad workers which were before disunited and at odds and especially out of sympathy with the engineers, are now, by a sense of common peril, united as one man. The plan for combining all railroad workers in one organization, which had hung fire for a long time, has taken a notable impulse since the decisions.

As if Judges Ricks and Taft had not already sufficiently endangered the industrial peace by thus exasperating and solidifying the railroad workers, we have Judge Billings' decision in Louisiana, declaring not only railroad strikes, but strikes in general to be illegal, and Judge Lawrence's action in New York, which is elsewhere described.

The effect of these latest steps has been to spread to workingmen in general the alarm and indignation of the railroad workers, and to raise a probability, that did not exist before, that an extensive railroad strike would be attended with sympathetic industrial disturbances in many directions.

The corporations which have procured these decisions and the honorable judges who have rendered them are playing with fire, and if they are not called off pretty soon will succeed in starting a conflagration in this country to which the world's fair will be a mere side show. For ourselves, we confess to a feeling of sheer amazement at the seeming recklessness with which the plutocracy is forcing a collision with the people.

Judges Tafts and Ricks Sustain their Rulings.

Judges Taft and Ricks rendered Monday their decisions as to the Toledo rulings against the railroad men which have excited so much interest. Judge Taft's original ruling was an order requiring President Arthur of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to countermand the rule of the brotherhood by which engineers are forbidden to handle freight from lines against which a strike, recognized by the brotherhood, is in progress. The decision rendered Monday, sustained the ruling and decided that the refusal of employees to handle freight going from one state to another was illegal under the interstate commerce law, which requires railroads to accept and transfer all such freight delivered to them. Judge Taft reasons that this law being obligatory upon the roads is obligatory upon their agents and employees, as indeed the interstate law expressly declares it to be. This is clear enough, but does not meet the point that by resigning their positions, the men cease to be employees and thereby cease to be any more bound than any other citizens by the interstate law. In this respect Judge Taft admits the right of the men to resign, as of course he must, but declares that they must not resign "with intent" to interfere with "interstate freight." If inferences as to intent are to make crimes

of otherwise legal acts, there has been opened a wide door for monstrous perversions of justice.

If Judge Taft's view of intent is to hold good, it simply will force the labor unions back into the secret methods which of late years they have been enabled, owing to a more humane public opinion, to mainly dispense with.

Judge Taft makes a broad distinction between a strike and a boycott. A strike, he says, instancing the concerted refusal of the Ann Arbor men to work for their own road, is a legitimate attempt to raise wages by inconveniencing employers, but when the Lake Shore men out of sympathy refuse to handle Ann Arbor freight, that is a boycott and illegal. (That is to say, selfishness is moral, but sympathy immoral.)

But it is not in this sentimental respect that we would chiefly criticize Judge Taft's distinction between strikes and boycotts. The distinction is not consistent with the specific point on which he condemned the Lake Shore men, namely that their action interfered with the transit of "interstate freight." So did the strike and so does any strike, for "interstate freight" goes on all lines. Both strikes and boycotts are equally illegal, if it is wrong by concerted action of employees to interfere with "interstate freight."

If this deduction were not clear enough from the text of Judge Taft's decision, the deficiency is supplied by the recent decision of United States District Judge Billings for the Louisiana district to the effect that a strike of any sort which interferes with "interstate freight," even though the interference is quite incidental to the purpose of the strike, becomes thereby illegal. Judge Billings' decision declares in terms what Judge Taft's decision logically implies, namely, that strikes of any sort as well as boycotts are illegal, if, however indirectly, they, in any way, interfere with the sacred interests of "interstate freight." It is difficult to see where the railroad employees under such decisions as these are to find a hole to crawl into.

Judge Ricks' decision, also, as was expected, sustains his previous ruling, under which eight firemen and engineers of the Lake Shore were arrested for resigning upon being ordered to handle Ann Arbor cars. He takes substantially the same ground as Taft, but shows less dignity. So far as he speaks out of the line of Judge Taft's argument, it is in the way of presenting, more like a corporation lawyer than a judge, the importance of the "business interests" which require that the railroads should be kept in steady operation. We quite agree with this, but we consider it better that all the wheels of all the roads should stop than that they should run over men. In view of the fact that the men were ignorant of the law, Judge Ricks says he will be lenient this time and discharges all but one of the engineers, but warns them to look out how they offend again.

In both cases appeals went up, from Taft's decision to the supreme court, from Ricks to the circuit court.

Meanwhile the final appeal is being taken to the people. We don't know what the so-called supreme court decides, but we are confident of the decision of the court of last resort — the people.

That decision will be, when all the facts are in, that the way to end the war between capital and labor is not to take either side against the other, but to take both sides at once and blend them in the indissoluble marriage of nationalism.

STANDING WATCH.

[Contained in a letter from Julia Merrill, Southington, Ct.]

We're standing watch the while our comrades sleep,
We watch by turns, and work and wait and weep.
We note each beam athwart the orient sky,
And, as it rises, man to man we cry —
Hail, coming Morn!

Base Cruelty sits nodding on her throne,
And little dreams that Love will claim his own;
False Superstition 'neath her altar hides,
While sordid Selfishness the land divides —
But ah, the Morn!

Some stars long since arose to give us light,
But made us doubly conscious of the Night;
Now — sweeping all things in his glorious way.
The Conquering Angel ushers in the Day,
O, wondrous Day!

MONOPOLIZED SUGAR.

"The sugar refining company," says the New York Commercial Bulletin of March 10, "has just made a statement, in connection with its declaration of a dividend of 3 per cent quarterly and 10 per cent extra, which is worth the attention of the people. This dividend on about 75 million dollars of stock amounts to \$9,750,000, and in addition a dividend of about \$1,750,000 was paid in January, and now it is officially stated that there is a further surplus of five million dollars on hand. Within something less than a year the profits appear to have been more than 16 million dollars, if these statements are correct and men of high character and excellent facilities for knowing assert positively that the sums divided have been actually earned.

"The quantity of raw sugar imported in the year 1892 was over 3,612 million pounds. Adding the Louisiana product and the production from beet and other sources, it may be roughly reckoned that not more than 4,000 million pounds were refined. The net profits actually divided by the refining company would therefore be at least four tenths of a cent on every pound of sugar refined in the country, whether by that company or by others, and as the production now beyond the control of the monopoly is not very large and the trust practically controls the selling price, it may be said that the clear profits for the year past have been not far from half a cent per pound, which is just the amount of the duty on refined sugar imported.

"The price of centrifugal sugar is about 3.37 cents and of granulated 4.56 cents and the difference, 1.19 cents per pound, represents all the costs of refining and of managing the monopoly, besides its profits. As the cost of refining is less than half a cent per pound, the net profits would seem to be somewhat more per pound than the company has been dividing for the past year, in part owing to the action of Congress in maintaining a duty which has no other reason or excuse except to swell the profits of a monopoly.

"It need not be said that the entire capital actually invested in this monopoly and in all the works, plants and materials which it possesses or controls, amounts to much less than the nominal capitalization, and could be borrowed without the slightest difficulty at five or six per cent per

annum, if there were no profits to be expected whatever beyond the bare cost of refining and managing the business. If the company realizes from 15 to 20 per cent or more on the capital actually invested, all beyond a reasonable allowance for the cost of refining and of management, and a reasonable charge for the capital employed, is simply extortion."

The Bulletin proposes that the sugar bounty law be repealed, that the tariff on sugar be reformed and that the anti-trust law be enforced. All this will not trouble the sugar trust people in the least. The history of monopolies and combines shows that the owner of a property controls the property. The officers of the law have succeeded in driving the Standard Oil company where it has no legal standing as a corporation, but the business is maintained at a profit with no difficulty. The sugar trust has been kicked from one state to another, stormed at by judges and an indignant public and yet its profits during the last twelve-month reach 16 million dollars. Let the people refine its own sugar and save this profit by reducing the retail price.

GOVERNMENT TELEPHONE IN FRANCE.

The French government acquired the telephones three years ago. This was brought about by a general public outcry against the rates of the private monopoly then conducting the business. In Paris, where the rates are higher on account of an extra expense of placing all wires underground, one can have the use of a private telephone for \$80 per year. In Lyons, with underground wires, the price is but \$60. The rates are much lower in cities where overhead wires are in use. Where the population is over 25,000, only \$40 is charged; in cities under 25,000, the charge is but \$30. M. Canbin, chief of the financial department says:

"Three years ago I was sent to examine the telephone system. I would rather not express an opinion regarding American rates, for that was not the subject of my investigation. I will say, however, that so far as France is concerned even at our rates the telephone administration is not a drain on the budget, despite the great expense of laying new lines necessary in the country where the telephone is now an institution. In due time with extension the habit of using the telephone will become general and the receipts will increase and possibly a reduction of rates might follow."

In commenting upon the matter editorially, the New York World says: "There was once a monopoly in France of this necessary adjunct of a business community, but the government took the matter in hand and the people are no longer robbed. In New York we must 'stand and deliver' for the benefit of the politicians and their owners."

FLORIDA ORANGES AND GOVERNMENT TRANSPORTATION.

There is no money in Florida because the railroads charge freight rates that take the cream of the business. Says a correspondent of the Jacksonville Times-Union: "Take up the catalogues of orange sales in the Fruit exchange's 'distributing centers' for the past two months, and I venture to say that of two thirds of those sales the

transportation men get the largest half. For two months oranges have been quoted in Atlanta and Chattanooga at from \$1.50 to \$2.25. Let us 'split this difference' and we have \$1.87. Now give the transportation companies 80 cents to Atlanta or 88 cents to Chattanooga, and put down 40 cents for the expense of preparing for market, and then let's see who gets the most—the grower or the transportation company. We see that the other man gets 80 cents, while we get 67, or he gets about 20 per cent more than we do. This muttering of distant thunder in the hearts of the laboring poor of the American people means that a storm is brewing." We have it from private sources that the sentiment in favor of government ownership of the railroads and express service is steadily growing in Florida as a legitimate outcome of the policy of private companies to charge as much as the traffic will bear.

THE PRINCIPLE BACK OF THE MOVEMENT.

"The Omaha platform," says Editor R. B. Hassell of South Dakota, "was a nationalist one—nothing more, nothing less. It declared for government ownership of railways, telegraph lines and banks. This is a time when every good citizen has his thinking cap on. He is determining for himself where duty calls. The great political struggle for which the armies are gathering is between the nationalist idea and that of the private monopolist. One million and eighty-four thousand voters have already arrayed themselves on the side of the people. Millions more belong there, if they but lay prejudice aside and follow conviction."

"PHILIP MEYER'S SCHEME."

"Philip Meyer's Scheme, a Story of Trades-Unionism," by Luke A. Hedd, published by J. Ogilvie, 57 Rose street, New York, is an account in the form of an interesting fiction of how some of the first steps toward nationalism were accomplished. As is implied in the past tense used, the book is written from the standpoint of 1920 and is retrospective in the form of the narrative. The author is a thorough nationalist and his narrative reflects especially the kindly and temperate spirit combined with uncompromising radicalism of purpose, which is the infallible mark of the true nationalist.

NATIONALISM AND THE COURTS.

"I consider this decision," says James N. Ashley, Jr., vice-president of the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan railroad, in reference to the Junge Ricks decision, "an acknowledgment of the power of the state to regulate the action both of railroad corporations and the employees whenever the public interests are affected. The railroads of the country must be nationalized, and I consider this decision only a step in the evolution toward that end. I have no doubt that the decision of Judge Ricks will be sustained, and that the decision of Judge Gresham in the case of the C., B. & Q. strike will eventually be overturned."

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE RUSH FOR ELECTRIC CAR FRANCHISES.

What the Papers say. The Populist Campaign in 7th Massachusetts Congressional District. Kansas Populists Misrepresented in the East. Note and Comment.

The chartering of electric railway companies in Ohio is going on at a rapid rate.

The West End railway and other local companies are asking the Massachusetts Legislature for power to combine and lease rights and franchises.

The Citizens' Street Railway company, the West End ring of Memphis, Tenn. is preparing to sell out to Jacob Seligman, the banker, and a New York syndicate. This is a step in a program to capture the railway franchises of Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Montgomery, Mobile and Atlanta.

The New York Central railway is interested in the electric street railway which is to be built from Bound Brook to New Brunswick, N. J.

The Pennsylvania railroad is understood to be interested in the projected electric street railway connecting Elizabeth, Plainfield and a dozen Jersey towns.

The New England street railway company recently chartered in New Jersey is in the market to take street franchises.

It is generally understood in Boston that the North Shore Traction company, controlled by the Philadelphia and New York capitalists are to buy out the West End road of Boston and the West End land company. This North Shore Traction company is the syndicate which recently bought out the Worcester (Mass.) Traction company and has its hands upon the New Orleans street railway system.

The Providence street railway system is in the hands of Albany (N. Y.) capitalists.

The street railway system of Lowell, Lawrence and Haverhill now being developed will comprise 89 miles of track under a common management.

The Buffalo, N. Y. and the Pittsburg, Pa. street systems have been cornered by speculators.

We return to the suggestion that possibly the Standard Oil people are behind many of these combinations.

Our readers do not need any aid from us to read between the lines. The consolidations above recorded mean so many monopolies. The Philadelphia Inquirer in a recent editorial utters a cry of distress over the despotism of the street railway monopoly of that city. It exclaims:

Philadelphia, bound hand and foot by the Traction company, is ready to revolt. As sure as the sun rises, Philadelphia will revolt in earnest if the city is to continue in the grasp of this corporation. The attention of the leaders of the republican party in city and state is called to the

grave state of affairs in this city. If they are wise they will go with the people, and to go with the people means simply to order the Traction company to keep its hands off the Legislature. This corporation has been a positive curse to the city. It has given us the worst street-car accommodations of any city on the face of the earth. It has grabbed everything within sight, and it has refused to allow other companies to secure even justice. It has fought off rapid transit. It has kept out elevated roads, and the patience of the people is about exhausted. The Traction company is now before the Legislature fighting against elevated roads.

Our feeling is that the appeal to the republican leaders will be fruitless. The Traction company is a political power in Philadelphia. There is another street railway ring in Pittsburg, and both are a part of the political machine. The Inquirer virtually appeals to the republican leaders to surrender the means by which they retain leadership. The appeal lies to the people and the people will remain unresponsive until some solution is proposed that will settle the matter once for all. We expect to see the city of Philadelphia owning its street-car system, as it owns its lighting plant. The gas ring was smashed when the city made lighting a public service; the Traction ring can be smashed in the same way. Public ownership is the thing.

The Populist Campaign in the 7th Massachusetts District.

The populists opened the Congressional canvass in the 7th (Mass.) district, March 30, in Park hall, Lynn. The hall was crowded. John T. Broderick presided and speeches were made by Mason A. Green of Boston, Levi R. Pierce, W. L. Ramsdell, A. H. Paton and others.

"The people's party is first in the field with its candidate for Congress down in the 7th district. 'And the first shall be last,'" saith the Boston Herald.

In commenting upon the political situation in the 7th Congressional district, the Everett Free Press says: What an opportunity for an independent movement there is at present in this district. Let the opponents to the present system of machine politics get together, and we are of the opinion that a candidate can be secured that will win, especially on the platform of government ownership of the telegraph, telephone and the railroads.

The republican convention to nominate a candidate for Congress in the 7th District was held Tuesday afternoon in Charlestown. It was composed of 109 delegates, that being the full representation of the district. The first contest between Speaker Barrett and Mayor Hayes of Lynn came upon the appointment of the committee on credentials by the chair, and this showed that Barrett had 57 delegates to 52 for Hayes. The friends of the latter claimed that the seven delegates from Ward 4 in Charlestown were not legally elected, and therefore were not entitled to a seat in the convention. The contest over this point finally became so bitter that 51 of the Hayes delegates bolted and withdrew from the convention, and nominated Mr. Hayes. The majority remained and nominated Mr. Barrett. The democratic convention met at Melrose in the evening and nominated Dr. Wm. Everett on the

12th ballot. There was much feeling exhibited in the contest. The prohibitionists at their convention refused to make the nomination of Rev. Louis A. Banks unanimous. The people's party seems to be the only harmonious one in the district and is spoiling for a fight.

Kansas Populists and New England Misinformation.

The New York Times prints a letter from Kansas which has created no little comment in the East. The correspondent declares that the populists are stronger than ever before and that the new party contains about all the worst elements of the state. The Boston Transcript cannot understand how the populists can grow "considering the anarchical proceedings of the populists during the late legislative session. They now threaten to take possession of the state government without regard to judicial decrees, so soon as opportunity offers." It is beyond us to conjecture what manner of excuse or palliation the Transcript will urge for such dismal inaccuracies. The populists do not threaten to take possession of the state government of Kansas for the simple reason that it is unnecessary, the state government being already in the hands of the populists. Moreover, "the anarchical proceedings" in Kansas referred to by the Transcript cannot be laid at the door of the populists. Certainly the populist returning boards did not reject ballots of an opposing party to the extent of changing the political complexion of the Legislature as the republicans did. The populist House did not break the furniture in the Legislature as the republicans did. A populist commander of militia did not refuse to obey the orders of a superior officer, as a republican did. And, moreover, when the courts decided that they had no power to go behind the returns and to examine the grounds upon which republican judges of election threw out populist ballots, every populist in the state, while knowing that a fraud had been practised upon them, quietly accepted the result. We would be willing to submit the bills passed by the "populist House," as it was called, to any intelligent jury for comparison with the bills passed by any New England Legislature this winter. Such a comparison would convince any unprejudiced man that there is a reason for the continued growth of the people's party in Kansas.

Note and Comment.

In the Cleveland, O., municipal election Monday, Gen. E. S. Meyer, people's party candidate for mayor, received nearly 5000 votes.

A Mrs. Weeks, employed in an Augusta (Ga.) mill, was recently arrested for stealing cloth. She admitted the offense, saying that her wages amounted to 40 cents a day, which was not enough to keep soul and body together. She added that it was a common thing for mill hands to steal cloth. The democratic papers are now defending the character of the employees. It is left for the people's party to force the fight against this wage slavery.

Prof. Chas. N. Levermore of Boston wants an endowed newspaper. Here is a specimen brick from his logic: "When newspapers are cutting close to the quick of nationalism in order to increase their circulation or fill up with debasing gossip for the same reason, they are degrading not only themselves, but generations of readers." The endowment which Prof. Levermore advocates is money.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Boston Advertiser: One suggestion of Mr. Bellamy has been put into practical use in Buda-Pesth. The citizens of that sleepy town are now at liberty to lie in bed all day if they wish, and, by placing two tubes to their ears, hear all the news from the office of the leading journal. They can hear it in German and Hungarian, as they prefer; they may have it of all kinds, commercial, political, social; they can learn how the stock exchange is going, or the details of the latest Viennese scandal; and all for about 50 cents a month.

North Attleboro has voted in favor of establishing a municipal electric light plant. It was also voted to appropriate \$50,000 for that purpose, and a committee of three was elected to supervise the work. In an account of the meeting, a local paper, the Chronicle, says: "No sooner had the matter been settled than a stirring old cheer was given, and the voters began to file out of the hall, it being evident that this was the question that was of the most importance."

Easthampton, at its town meeting, elected a committee of three to consider the expediency of buying the private electric plant. The report is to be made at a meeting to be held on the 17th.

At a recent town meeting Middleboro voted 252 to 97 in favor of a municipal electric light plant. A committee was elected to see what terms could be made with the private company for the purchase of its plant.

Connecticut.

Middletown has voted to establish a municipal electric light plant, to be run in connection with the water-works.

The Hartford Post: It ought to be remembered always in hearings in which the corporate creatures of the state are defendant parties in interest that the judges of the reasonableness of the requirement it is sought to impose, are the people, and not the company. A corporation seldom willingly concedes anything to the advantage of the public unless it sees its way clear to reap a corresponding, or a greater advantage than that which it surrenders.

New Jersey.

Bloomfield is still agitated over the subject of light and water. At a recent town meeting the committee chosen to investigate as to the desirability of a municipal light and water-works plant to be run in connection with each other, reported resolutions favorable to the proposition, and they were endorsed by a unanimous vote.

Virginia.

Virginia Sun (Richmond): Richmond, Va., owns her own gas works, while Nashville, Tenn., is supplied by a private corporation. Richmond is the larger city, and yet her gas costs \$60,000 per annum less than Nashville pays. In other words municipal ownership of gas works saves \$5 a year on every householder's gas bill, instead of making

fat dividends for a few select pockets. All public utilities should be owned and run by the government, municipal, state or federal, and the public be given the most efficient service at cost.

The report of the Richmond municipal plant shows a net profit of \$104,779.58 for the last year.

South Dakota.

Union Labor Gazette (Mitchell): Nationalize the liquor traffic. Put the sale into the hands of the government. Sell nothing but pure liquor and that at actual cost. Remove the element of a profit from the liquor traffic and you have taken away its main support and have put the business where it can be controlled which so far has not been the case under license or prohibition.

Minnesota.

The Progressive Age (Minneapolis): It is very encouraging to note the growth of public sentiment in favor of the government ownership and operation of the telegraph and telephone. Philadelphia recently, through both branches of its city government, petitioned Congress in behalf of this principle and policy. It is well known that throughout the republic a very large proportion of the people favor the government ownership of these two great monopolies. It is also encouraging that the advocates of this policy are among the most intelligent citizens of the nation.

Wisconsin.

The Advance (Milwaukee): Milwaukee's gas works have been sold to a Wall street syndicate. The capital was \$1,250,000 — the price paid at the rate of two dollars for one. The capitalization is six million dollars. Paying interest and dividends on six millions for what cost a little more than one million, must be a pleasant prospect for Milwaukee.

California.

Vallejo is to have municipal water-works. In commenting upon the fact, the Star of San Francisco says: San Francisco says: San Francisco, being a small village of limited resources, is obliged to depend on the Spring Valley Monopoly.

Miscellaneous.

The American Stave and Cooperage company has been incorporated under New Jersey laws. The incorporators are from New York, Boston and Morristown, N. J.; capital four millions.

The projectors of the leather trust are working their big deal so secretly that it is difficult to get at the bottom facts. It is quite evident, however, that things are moving to suit them. The price of leather has steadily decreased since 1854, reaching its lowest point last year. The purpose of the trust is to restrict production to such an extent as to insure better prices to large leather dealers. It is generally conceded that if successful in their efforts, it means an advance of the price of boots and shoes to the general public.

The combination of typewriter companies, which we mentioned some weeks ago, has been effected. It is incorporated under the laws of New Jersey and is capitalized at 20 million dollars. It includes the Remington, Caligraph, Yost, Hammond and Smith Premier machines.

Foreign.

The city council of Toronto, Ont., has voted to apply to the Legislature for authority to operate a municipal plant for both public and private lighting.

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provision	100	Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5			Music publishing and instruments		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical combine		Naval stores combine	1	Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	blne	2	Nitro-glycerine	10	Soda water apparatus	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Oatmeal	3 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Standard oil	90
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	2	Paint combine	2	Starch	10
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paper bag	2	Steel and iron	4
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill	15	Paper box	5	Steel rail	50
Boiler	15	Forge companies	1	Patent leather	5	Straw board	8
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Pearl barley	10	Structural steel	5
Brass	10	Fruit jar	10	Pitch	8	Sugar refiners'	75
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	2	Plate glass	35	Table glass and crockery	
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	50	Flow	2	Tin plate	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	12	Pocket cutlery	1 1-2	Tissue paper	10
Butchers' supply	5	General electric	4	Pork combine	20	Tobacco	35
Button	5	Glove	12	Powder	12	Tombstone	
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	1 1-2	Preserved jelly m'f'g	8	Tube	11 1-2
Canned meat and dressed beef		Green glass	1	Preservers' combine	18	Turpentine	
Cash register	10	Gypsum stucco mills	1 1-2	Pulp	2 1-2	Type-founders	9
Carbon candle	3	Harvester	50	Ribbon	5	Umbrella	8
Cartridge	10	Hinge	1-2	Rice	2	Vapor stove	1
Casket and burial goods	1	Hop	1-2	Rock salt	2	Wall paper	88
Castor oil	1-2	Hide dealers	10	Rubber General shoe	2 1-2	Watch	30
Cattle feeders		Illinois steel	60	Rubber trust No. 2	5	Water-works 'pumping machinery	
Celluloid	8	Indurated fibre	1-2	Safe	1	Wheel	1
Cigarette	25	Iron and coal	10	Safe No. 2	1	Whip	1-2
Colorado coal combine	20	Iron league	1-2	Salt	3	White granite	
Condensed milk	15	Jute bagging	3	Sandstone	18	White lead	30
Confectioners	2	Label printing	11 1-2	Sanitary ware	2	Window glass	20
Copper ingot	20	Leather board	2	Sash, door and blind	2	Wire	10
Cordage	15	Lime	2	Saw	15	Wire rod	
Crockery	15	Linseed oil	2	School book	2	Wood screw	10
Cotton duck	10	Lithograph	2	School furniture	2	Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton press	3	Locomotive tire	20	School slate	40	Wrapping paper	1
Cotton seed oil	41	Lumber	7 1-2	Screw	2	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cotton thread combine	7	Manilla tissue	25	Sewer pipe	2	Yellow pine	
Cutlery	1 1-2	Marble combine		Sheet copper			
Cut nail		Match		Sheet steel			
		Merchants' steel					

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service.

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

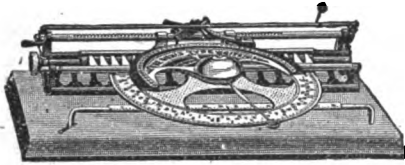
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atica, Kidney, Bladder and Liver ailments, can be helped or cured by this Magnetic appliance. Quickens blood, renews Youth and Vigor far more effectively than any medicine to be taken internally; indorsed by eminent physicians. Sent to any part of the United States on receipt of price, \$2.00.

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MEETINGS OF NATIONALIST CLUBS

Are held as follows, and all persons interested will be gladly welcomed at any of these meetings:—

Baltimore.—Nationalist club of Baltimore meets Thursday evenings, 8 o'clock, 506 East Baltimore street, Room 2. The public are cordially invited.

Boston.—First Nationalist Club meets the second Wednesday of each month at 630 Washington street. Public cordially invited.

Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Oakland, Cal.—The New Nation Club, business meeting, 1st Monday of each month. Public meeting every Friday at 8 P.M. 865 Broadway. (Reorganized from 1st Nationalist.)

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—Thé Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

Altruist Meetings are held every Sunday at 3 p. m., in Rooms 55, No. 2 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo., for lectures and free discussion on all subjects relating to the welfare and improvement of society. All liberal and progressive men and women are invited. Seats free.

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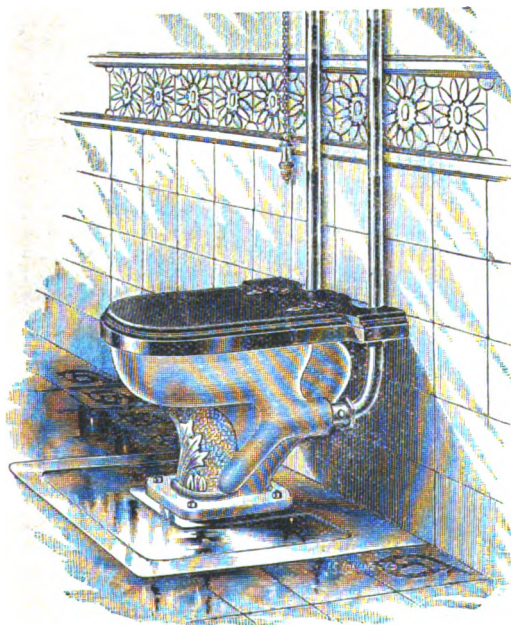


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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The tremendous turn out of the women voters at the municipal elections in Kansas last week was an eye-opener to those people whose main argument against woman suffrage has been that the women did not want the ballot and would not use it. No doubt in the past there has been a good deal of truth in this alleged indifference of women

to political equality, but this is an epoch of great and rapid changes and nothing is changing so rapidly as the attitude of women toward all the facts of life. Woman suffrage is coming soon and coming universally. A very few more years will see it general and unlimited in the United States. It will be a tremendous lift to nationalism when it comes, because women are greater sufferers than men from economic inequality and will be even greater gainers by the nationalistic guarantee of universal economic equality. The first great end for which women will use their suffrage will be to deliver themselves by the means of nationalism from economic dependence upon men.

Nationalism from the Bench.

The weekly contribution to the solution of the industrial problem which the people have got in the way of expecting from the federal courts was furnished last week by Judge Speer of the United States district court of the Southern Georgia district. The Central Railroad of Georgia is being run by a United States receiver. The former management of the road had a contract with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as to wages and other matters, but the receiver had refused to renew it, taking the ground that he would deal with the engineers individually and ignore their organization. The Brotherhood petitioned the court to compel the receiver to renew the contract. The judge thereupon decides that the receiver must recognize the Brotherhood and make a contract with it for the service of the engineers, and that meanwhile the old contract shall be in force, and furthermore that until the new contract is made the receiver shall not discharge any of the engineers for their action in the controversy.

Considering the fact that the issue of innumerable strikes has turned on the refusal of corporations to recognize labor organizations and their insistence upon treating with the men individually, this action of the court is startling in its suggestiveness. Judge Speer's requirement that the receiver shall recognize and treat with the organization is the more significant as it is based, not on technical grounds,

Prejudice must not be met with resentment, but with infinite patience.

As to the first point made above, it is precisely because our Legislatures are now owned by the railroads that we demand that the people shall own the railroads. That is the only way in which the people are to get back the ownership of their representatives. Or take it in another light: The reason the railroads at present bribe the representatives of the people is that the interests of the railroads, being under a different ownership, are not the same with those of the people and are often opposed to them. National ownership will identify the interests of the people with those of the railroads and there will be no opposition of interests to give occasion for bribery.

As to the second point, we may refer to the Omaha platform of the people's party which in declaring for government ownership of the railroads expressly provides that all the employees of the railroads should be placed under the classified civil service rules, absolutely excluding political control over them in any way. To add a practical argument, it may be well to say that in the several political divisions of Australia, in all of which the railroads are publicly owned, it has been found quite a sufficient means of putting an end to all complaints of abuse of patronage, merely to place the tenure of office of employees under control of a non-partisan board containing representatives of the leading political parties. If you want facts instead of theories, here is your fact.

As to the third point, that the railroads are only making a fair return on the capital invested, it may be remarked in the first place that this is not the nub of the question at all. The nub of the question is whether the state or nation can afford to permit private parties to control their highways. The question is not what the profits of the private proprietors are, but whether private proprietors of public highways can be tolerated by any self-respecting commonwealth. We hold that they certainly cannot be so tolerated and that the question whether they make more or less profit out of their usurpation has nothing to do with it.

But while making this demurrer to the introduction of the question of profit, we are quite willing to waive it for the sake of the argument. It is not true that the railroads "as a rule do not make more than a fair profit on the capital invested." It is true that they do not usually make an excessive profit upon the nominal capitalization of the roads, but this as everybody ought to know has no solution of any sort to the "capital invested." As a rule the stock of railroads represents nothing but "enterprise" for which the plain English is "gall." They do not commonly represent any money paid in at all, the roads being built on the proceeds of the bonds. The stock, usually representing nothing at first, has been reduced by successive waterings to a minus quantity of so many degrees of reduction that only algebra could express its infinitesimal relation to honesty. When the true facts and figures of our American railroad capitalization, already known to those who have inquired, shall become matters of common knowledge, we shall be confronted with a stupendous edifice of fraud which, if there be any virtue left in our people, will cause a complete revolution in our railroad system.

As to the last question in the above quotation, it is

enough to say that undoubtedly there have been abuses in the warehouse and elevator system, and that their public management would be included in the plan of nationalization of the railroads.

The Growth of Militarism.

If any one can tell us what good or useful end has been served by this gigantic naval parade in New York harbor last week, we should like to hear the explanation. For our part it seems a particularly expensive and otherwise objectionable piece of child's play. It is commonly supposed to have some connection with the Columbian celebration, but what has this great exhibit of killing machines in common with the spirit of a great civic festival?

<It may not be possible just yet to wholly dispense with killing machines, but why should they be pushed to the front as the proudest, most creditable results of our civilization? >We deplore the New York exhibition as another alarming sign of the rate at which militarism, step by step with plutocracy, is coming to the front in this republic.

Let us have Free Justice.

Few of the many reforms which have been advocated from time to time by The New Nation as being first steps toward nationalism, and at the same time as having such obvious utility as to command the support of non-nationalists, have seemed to us more immediately practicable and promising than the proposition that in criminal trials except for treason against the state, the defense as well as the prosecution be a public function and that no privately hired attorneys should be permitted to participate in the defense any more than in the prosecution.

The first result of this plan would be that before the bar of justice, in trials involving life and liberty, poor and rich should be on a par. It is a platitude of our campaign orators that if not elsewhere before the law, at least, rich and poor are now on an equality in America. This is a lie. Rich and poor are unequal everywhere, but nowhere so unequal in these United States as before the bar when on trial for their lives and liberties. Under the proposed plan the poorest man in the state would be sure of a fair defense without cost, and the richest man in the state would not be able to get anything more than a fair defense.

Secondly, we should have short trials, few or no postponements and prompt executions of sentences. We should have these results because the attorneys on both sides being public officials, paid by fixed salaries and not according to the amount of work they made, time they consumed, or results they secured, would have no motive to urge or consent to frivolous or dilatory measures. The proverbial delay and common defeat of criminal justice in this country is the cause and justification of the growing practice of lynching, and the only cure for it is to be found in thrusting the hired attorney out of the criminal court, where his presence is indeed but an innovation upon ancient practice.

We should thus put an end to the brutal and demoralizing spectacle now presented at every important murder trial by the rivalry of the prosecution and the attorney for the defense, the one asking to convict, the other to acquit, without regard to the interests of justice. In view of the

fact that a man's life is the stake for which the duelists are contending we maintain that compared with these daily exhibitions in our criminal courts, the Spanish bull fight is comparatively inoffensive show.

Nevertheless, under the present system of privately employed attorneys for the defense, these spectacles all will continue inevitable. The attorneys for the defense are directly stimulated by great fees and greater hopes, to raise heaven and earth to secure an acquittal without regard to guilt or innocence. The prosecuting officers, on the other hand, would be more than mortal if they were not provoked by these tactics to forget the judicial moderation which should mark the presentation of their case, and the shameful struggle it precipitated.

Eliminate the motive of profit by making both prosecutor and defender public officials, and it would indeed be a depraved person who in the place of either would deliberately seek to thwart justice. To incur a suspicion of trying to do so by taking any unfair advantage would indeed make the offending official the object of general odium. Prosecutors would not hush weak cases nor a weak defense seek to throw dust in the jury's eyes. Prompt convictions or acquittals would be the rule, justice would be done and the people would be satisfied.

The resolution in the Carlyle Harris and Buchanan poisoning trials in New York that medical can be hired to testify on either side in such cases, and to contradict anything the other side has said, caused a scandal, but the difficulty lies deeper than the experts. If partisan lawyers were not hired, partisan experts would not be.

Let the people's party and all reform organizations, and especially all labor organizations standing for the rights of the poor, nail to their masts the legend, "Free justice; no paid attorneys in criminal trials."

Mr. Astor in Mrs. Partington's Great Act.

It is doubtless known to our readers that William Waldorf Astor, the eldest scion of the Astor family, probably one of the two or three richest men in the world, recently emigrated from New York and settled with his family in London. He has not yet naturalized as an Englishman but he is expected to do so in good time. The belief that his change of countries was owing to a distaste for democracy and a preference for monarchical and aristocratic institutions has been confirmed by his course in purchasing the Pall Mall Gazette, and its conversion from an extreme liberal into an extreme tory paper. In addition to this it is announced that he is preparing to start a new periodical called the Pall Mall Magazine to advocate the same politics and principles. He is also seeking to buy a big London daily. It is stated in last week's cable despatches, apparently from Mr. Astor's own outgivings, that he has become deeply alarmed in view of the incoming tide of radical and socialistic ideas, and he believes that it is his mission and duty to resist it. To this end he will freely devote a part of his millions as the only way of saving the rest. Mr. Astor has shown a grade of intelligence quite beyond that of the average hereditary millionaire in rightly estimating the magnitude and force of the socialistic or we might much better say the democratic tide that is on, and its thread of disaster to millionairism in general. On the shrewdness of

his foresight in this respect he is to be complimented. But in thinking that he can do anything appreciable to check it by founding any number of tory papers or magazines, he shows the same miscalculation of relative potencies which marked Mrs. Partington's celebrated attempt to brush back the Atlantic tide with the broom.

Mr. Gladden Attacks the Principle of Economic Equality.

Rev. Washington Gladden has recently published through Houghton & Mifflin an interesting collection of lectures on social economics under the head of "Tools and the Man." In a chapter on socialism he discusses the difficulty which socialists of those schools, which still really hold to the wages system (although professing to reject it), find in settling, on grounds of pure justice, what different kinds and quantities of work are respectively worth. He says:

It is the stupendous difficulty of making any such computations and reductions that has driven some of the socialists, Mr. Bellamy for example, to adopt the communistic principle of distribution—giving to every person an exactly equal income. But that principle violates the eternal law of justice—"to every man according to his work." I do not believe that any society will very long endure which ignores this law. To say that the veriest idler and shirk, who spends most of his time in evading work and in sponging upon his neighbors, shall have exactly the same reward that is given to the most industrious, the most skillful, the most public-spirited citizen, is to confound every principle of equity and turn the moral order upside down. The universe is not built on that plan.

Mr. Gladden's "law of justice," namely, "to every one according to his works," may be, as he shrewdly qualifies it, an "eternal" law, but it certainly is not a temporal or earthly one. All considerable social organizations in this world find and have always found that the only practicable way of getting along is to adopt, more or less absolutely, an "average" method of settling the duties and the dues of individuals in their relation to the organization of which they are members.

Take the modern nation, for instance, the largest and most signal illustration of this statement. A nation is composed of men, women and children, lame, halt and blind. No two citizens pay the same taxes, and some pay a thousand times more than others. Half the nation is always incapable of rendering military duty, and a large part of the other half is for various accidental reasons incapacitated. Nevertheless all the members of the nation share equally the advantages of all expenditures of the taxes which have been so unequally paid in, and have the same equal and indefeasible title to claim the fullest service of the army and navy.

Why do nations adopt this policy? Is it because it is morally beautiful? No doubt it is so, but this is not the reason it is adopted, which is simply because that is the only practicable working plan for an organization of human beings on a large scale.

Take another illustration, namely, the actual method on which the industrial system of the world is, even now, carried on. Of course we do not now have economic equality or guaranteed support to anybody, but on the other hand still less do we have a prevalent recognition of Mr. Gladden's theory of reward according to individual merit.

The principle of standard rates of wages in trades and occupation, the standard being fixed either by customs or by trade union law or by agreement, is the general rule in in

dustry. There is any amount of difference in the general quality of the workers, but it is only in cases of quite exceptional excellence that anything over the minimum wage fixed by custom or "the union" is paid. The theory that closet economists still seem to cherish that wages are to any considerable extent fixed by "haggling" between employers and employees as individuals, and vary with the special qualifications of each worker, is entirely out of joint with the facts of the actual world.

Why is it, let us ask again, that the trade union and the trade without a union and dependent on custom so generally has a standard wage ignoring personal differences among workers? It is the same reason wherefore the nation in its relation to its citizens is no respecter of persons, namely, that a simple formula is the only practicable way of dealing with a large problem. It is because any sort of organization of human beings is only possible on the basis of the law of averages.

Did Mr. Gladden ever reflect that there is not a law on the statute book or a custom of society that does not weigh more heavily on some constitutions than others? Did he ever consider that the whole history of human progress is but the history of a series of arbitrary equalizations suppressing the effects of natural differences?

Mr. Gladden may be right in saying that "the universe is not built on that plan," namely, the plan of equalizing natural inequalities by force of law or custom. We hazard no opinion as to the "universe," but most certainly the social structure of this world, in so far as it has developed beyond barbarism, has been built on precisely the plan condemned by Mr. Gladden.

One point we would guard. Mr. Gladden speaks of "the veriest idler and shirk who spends most of his time in evading work." Nationalists do not contemplate the persistence of that species. No doubt there will be great differences in the efficiency of workers, which will find recognition in honor and in relations of leadership and subordination, but those who wilfully refuse service will be dealt with just as those now are who refuse to pay their taxes or perform other civic duties. Nationalism will simply add a fixed requirement of industrial, meaning any useful service, to other civic duties already recognized.

We have spoken thus far chiefly of the principle of equal sharing as the only method of a social, industrial organization, shown by experience to be practicable. Let us briefly refer to the purely moral aspect of the subject. Mr. Gladden speaks of his law "to every man according to his works," as a moral principle. Is it a moral principle? Not if Jesus Christ knew anything about morals. His whole work and word, so far as they are recorded, were one protest against that idea. His doctrine was that the sufficiency of the strong should make good the insufficiency of the weak, and that the greatest should not take advantage of their greatness for self-aggrandizement but rather seek to serve the weak.

"Hopes as Substantial as Fears."

In the debate on the second reading of the home rule bill in the British Parliament last week, John Morley, chief secretary for Ireland, in replying to the tory attacks on the bill used words which might as well be used by

nationalists in answering the opponents of our great bill of human rights now upon its first reading, that we are fain to quote them. The cable report of the debate reads thus:

Mr. Morley, chief secretary for Ireland, replied to Lord Randolph Churchill. The opposition had answered arguments for the home rule bill, he said, almost exclusively with prophecies. To all these predictions of evil there was one adequate reply, "I do not believe you." No safeguards within the compass of human ingenuity would suffice to restrain the evils which the imaginations of the opposition had conjured up. He could not perceive why liberal hopes were not at least as substantial as unionist fears. Only those who hoped, not those who feared, saw into the future of civilized communities.

Government Telegraph and Telephone Petition Passes the Massachusetts Legislature.

The memorial to Congress for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone, with the Senate amendment asking a strict civil service provision, passed the lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature last week. Reformers in this state have every reason to rejoice over the high ground taken by Massachusetts upon this important issue. The petition sent throughout the state was readily signed by all classes. Let the good work be pushed in every state in the union, so that at the opening of the next session of Congress our lawmakers will be made to understand that the monopoly of the transmission of news must be broken up and the service be made a public franchise. Send to The New Nation office for blank memorial papers.

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

"Please send 100 copies of blank government telegraph petitions to Congress with bill including postage," writes a subscriber from Brooklyn, N. Y. "The 50 you sent us are used up. There will be a regular stampede within a year toward municipal ownership and toward government telegraph and telephone. Conservative papers here are edging over. The cause is prospering here."

Writes a Connecticut minister: "The historical school of political economists has determined that ethical laws must be the basis of a nation's political and industrial life. The New Nation applies those laws and therein displays true and eminent statesmanship of which it contains more in one week than any of our prominent dailies does in a year."

Everett (Mass.) Free Press: If our citizens desire to keep posted upon the advance of the age along the line of municipal ownership of the lighting plants, railroads and telegraphs, they should take The New Nation, a weekly journal published in Boston. No better paper of its kind exists.

"I am convinced that we must have direct legislation before the people can loosen their chains," writes Charles E. Randall of Chicago. "A vote for the people's party is vote for the referendum and initiative, as the Omaha platform and resolutions show. Along with this great reform also should go some practical measure like the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. With a nationalized telegraph system the work of agitating for direct legislation will be materially facilitated, for it would free the press from the grasp of a heartless monopoly. Let every reformer circulate the government telegraph and telephone petition."

We earnestly request our subscribers to look on their address label and to renew without delay if they wish to continue the paper.

THE CRY OF THE TOILER.

We are worn, — worn, — worn, —
 With weary hand and head;
 Some of us cursing the day we were born
 To slave for daily bread!

All the bright summer time
 Men have not sung or smiled;
 And women, — wrinkled and old in their prime, —
 Even the little child. —

Toiling, toiling all day,
 Just for our scanty bread; —
 Some of us steal the night for play,
 When we should sleep instead.

How long, O God! how long
 Shall we waste our lives in moid?
 Thou madest our hearts for play and song
 As well as for earnest toil!

There's plenty of joy and bloom;
 And for all there should be mirth,
 But rich leave to poor bare standing-room,
 While their own hands grasp the earth!

They promise our patient souls
 The eternal joys of heaven,
 If we'll only grant them little scrolls
 To all that earth has given.

Up, brothers, up! and ask,
 With a mild but firm demand,
 That they have their share in life's proper task,
 And we our part in the land!

KATE WYE GARDENER.

MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY AND STREET RAILWAYS.

The eye of the country is fixed on the judges, and every week intensifies the gaze. We notice that the supreme court of Nebraska has just handed down a decision which is of great significance. One Bush boarded a street car in Lincoln, Neb., and, offering 25 cents, asked for six tickets. The company had recently changed its horse-car system to an electric system, and at the same time it adopted a rule of selling 24 tickets for \$1.00, the tickets to be bought at the company's headquarters. A city ordinance prohibited the company from charging more than 5 cents for one fare or 25 cents for six fares. The conductor, following his instructions, refused to deliver Bush six tickets for 25 cents and put him off the car. Bush secured the arrest and conviction of the conductor for assault and battery and an appeal was taken, the company claiming that the city has no right to regulate fares. The judges in their opinion say:

"The assertion that the ordinance in question is without a parallel in the current history of municipal regulations is not borne out by the cases cited. On the contrary, street railways are constructed for the convenience of the public. The cars necessarily pass over a certain prescribed portion of the streets occupied by their tracks. Every street corner is a station where passengers may be received and discharged. The streets are for the benefit of all the public generally, as well as the portion represented by the

street-railway company. Now, as the company is permitted to use the public streets, and along their tracks have a right of way on which it is entitled to preference over other vehicles passing along the streets, it necessarily follows that the general regulations and control of such railways are under the police powers in the city government, and the municipality may enact all reasonable rules for that purpose. *Railway Co. v. Berry*, (Ky.) 18 S. W. Rep. 1026; *State v. inhabitants of Trenton*, (N. J. Sup.) 20 Atl. Rep. 1076; *St. Louis v. St. Louis R. Co.*, 89 Mo. 44, 1 S. W. Rep. 305. It will be observed in the case at bar that on page 457 of Municipal Code of Lincoln it is provided that 'said railway company shall be subject to all reasonable regulations in the construction and use of said railway which may be imposed by ordinances.' The constitution of \$875, to prevent favoritism and fraud, required the consent of a majority of the electors thereof of any city, town, or incorporated village to the construction of a street railway. This, therefore, was the proposition submitted to the electors, and accepted by them and the street-railway company. In addition to this, paragraph 18, §67, art. 13 of the statute, grants the general power to regulate and prescribe the manner of running street cars, to require the heating and cleaning of the same, and 'to fix and determine the fare charged.' It is claimed on behalf of the company that the power 'to fix and determine the fare charged' does not confer the power to require tickets to be sold at all, and therefore that no authority for that purpose exists in favor of the city. This is begging the question. The power to fix the rates of fare necessarily carries with it all incidents necessary to carry the power into effect. Thus, for a single passage the fare is 5 cents. If 6 trips are to be made, the price is fixed at 6 for 25 cents. A street railway has no depots. Its stations are the street corners, and its business with the public is conducted on its cars. Is it unreasonable to require the company to sell its tickets at its place of doing business? We think not. The plea that it is liable to be defrauded by its employees if it sells tickets on the cars, we believe, does injustice to many faithful, reliable, and diligent persons, whose integrity is above question, and is a mere pretext to evade the ordinance requiring tickets to be sold on the cars, as it will readily be seen from the stipulation of the facts that it is for the interest of the company not to sell tickets, but to collect fares in cash. But, even if the claim on behalf of the company is true' — which we do not believe, — it must comply with the ordinance. The question is one of power, and the power of the city over the street railway is full and ample, and the requirement is reasonable, and the company must perform on its part. Mr. Bush therefore had a right to demand six tickets of the plaintiff in error on offering to pay for the same, and the plaintiff in error was guilty of a wrong in ejecting him from the cars. The judgment is right, and is affirmed."

Christian Union: That the United States government should forbid warehousemen and truck-drivers of New Orleans from stopping work because they are at times employed upon inter-state commerce involves the correlative duty on the part of the federal government to protect the rights of these men while they remain at work. This is an extension of nationalism for which few even of Mr. Bellamy's followers are prepared.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE SPECIAL ELECTION IN THE 7TH DISTRICT.

People's Party Hold the Balance of Power. More Returns from Kansas. Note and Comment.

The populists hold the balance of power in at least one Congressional district in this state.

The people's party comes out of the 7th Congressional district fight in this state with flying colors. George H. Cary of Lynn, the populist candidate, polled 1051 votes, as against 339 votes for Henry Winn, populist candidate for governor last November. We give below the full vote so that our readers may judge of the significance of the result:

	EVERETT. Dem.	BARRETT. Rep.	CARY. Peo.	WINN. Peo. 1892.
Lynn	2602	2784	723	223
Nahant	66	18	2	0
Saugus	210	194	34	14
Everett	626	664	32	13
Malden	1378	1031	64	36
Melrose	507	822	13	10
Stoneham	330	507	18	4
Wakefield	481	556	17	5
Boston, Ward 4	718	747	16	6
Boston, Ward 5	842	576	28	8
Chelsea	1404	1537	94	18
Revere	341	255	10	7
Totals	9705	9691	1051	339

If the people's party had kept out of the fight, Wm. E. Barrett, republican, would have been elected easily. He challenged Mr. Cary to a joint debate at Charlestown and the story of that discussion meant defeat for the republicans. While admitting that eventually the republican party might be called upon to deal with the great issues presented by the populists, and while he looked with favor upon some of the third party propositions, he sealed his own fate by declaring: "I want to say that this talk about the evils of money monopoly and of commercial trusts is largely a fiction of the imagination." The hall was crowded and not a man cheered. Every one in the hall knew that he was wrong, but that he was talking good republican party doctrine.

The plurality against Barrett is 14 and there will be a recount.

The campaign of education carried on in Lynn has made an impression upon the voters of this city. Every eighth voter that walks the streets of Lynn is a populist. We shall now select some other city in the district and continue the work, holding meetings every week. The congressional canvass is an incident in the campaign of 1896.

The prohibition vote fell off from 851 to 693. The

Herald remarks in this connection: "In the minor parties there are cross changes, the prohibition vote marking a decrease of 158, while the people's party, which last year was covered in the trivial scattering vote, now jumps to the formidable exhibit of 1051."

Fuller advices from Kansas support our assertion that the recent municipal elections in Kansas do not justify the claim of the republicans that the people's party is going to pieces. On the contrary, the republicans have lost ground. We quote a few passages from Wichita Commoner upon this point:

"The result of the recent municipal elections in Kansas is a great disappointment to the republican leaders in the state. Orders were sent out to republicans all over the state that where it was possible for the party to carry a city or hamlet a straight republican ticket was to be placed in the field. When it comes to organization republicanism has no place in Kansas except in the cities. In the country and among the farmers they are so few and far between that in many localities club organizations are unknown — in fact in many townships are they so scarce they find it difficult to find committeemen. But what is the result? In not a city in the state can there be shown a single instance of a republican gain over the vote of last fall, but on the contrary in every city where elections were held upon partisan lines the figures show republican losses. This statement is clearly demonstrated in the votes cast for justices of the peace and constables, the women taking no part in their election, but confining this vote to the male electors. The fact that no gains can be counted as favorable to the republicans where party lines were drawn, and the great lack of interest manifest, in the face of the effort put forth and the appeal of the republican state league causes chagrin and disappointment to be clearly depicted in the countenances of republican leaders."

Out of 33 towns and cities in Kansas, the populists won 29 and they elected a portion of their ticket in four of the remaining cities.

The simple truth is that in the western states the local returns show that the republicans have not carried a town or city where the populists were victorious in 1890, 1891, 1892. On the other hand, the populist vote has materially increased even in the cities. Five Wisconsin cities were carried by the people's party. At La Crosse Dr. Frank Powell, populist, received a larger vote than the old party candidates together.

The populist vote in Denver, — 2398, is considered a triumph for the new party. In the interior of Colorado the two old parties fused to down the people's party. The populists made a clean sweep in Leadville, Crested Butte, Ouray, Salida, Como, Central City, Telluride, South Canon,

Florence, Dillon, Nevadaville, Montezuma, Red Cliff, Louisville, Coal Creek, Montrose, Lake City, Pitkin and Fort Morgan.

Economic Questions in the Field.

A resident of Brockton, Mass., calls our attention to the disintegration of party organization going on in that part of the state, and the formation of clubs and associations devoted to the study of economic questions, especially the public ownership of the means of communication and transportation. He continues: "Call it socialism, Georgeism, Bellamyism, if you will, it is here, and what is more it is here to stay. A few of the thinking men in this busy industrial centre devoted to the manufacture of boots and shoes have banded together under the name of the Progressive Reform club, for the purpose of studying all phases of the social and economic questions of the day. Believing as they do that the condition of the masses is due more to ignorance than any other cause, they propose, so far as it lies in their power, to make this club a source of education, and with this end in view have invited several prominent speakers and writers to address them on various questions. The club has already a membership of about 50 and earnestly invites the readers of *The New Nation* in and around Brockton to join. A new paper, the *Brockton Diamond*, edited by E. Gerry Brown and devoted to the cause of reform, has been recently started and is deserving of the support of our citizens. We hope Bro. Brown and the *Diamond* are here to stay. The club meets Wednesday evenings in Cutter's hall, 36 Main street, at 8 o'clock, and the public is cordially invited."

Public Ownership in Jersey.

The Bloomfield (N. J.) Record gives the citizens of that locality something to talk about when it says editorially: "The ownership and control by the people of the lighting and water supply plants in our midst, instead of surrendering the control of these matters to corporations, is awakening much interest. While it may be true that the ideas broached in that widely-read book, *Looking Backward*, have taken root in the public mind and are to be credited for much of the progress that has been made practically in the direction of nationalism, yet it is at the bottom not so much a question of principle as it is of progressive public and private economy. As the old-time stage coaches, and many other very useful things in their day, have gone out of use, so the private corporation, small or great, is destined to go out of business just as rapidly as the people can by intelligent appreciation and co-operation supersede them. The 'manifest destiny' of our corporations is that they shall be wiped out—not in a violent, revolutionary way, but relegated one by one to the past, as other institutions have been when their usefulness has departed. The writer can recollect a time when there was no public school, but several very excellent private schools and seminaries. These were once the pride of the town, but they disappeared. The free school system has been established in their place. There was no revolution, but an orderly evolution of things. If as a community we can build school plants and furnish intellectual light so successfully, what is to hinder us as taxpayers from doing as

well in supplying electric or other lights, and wholesome water?"

Note and Comment.

Cleveland Citizen: The decisions of Judges Ricks, Taft and Speer will inevitably lead to the government ownership of railroads. This is the only thing that will give railroad employees the rights enjoyed by public servants, and they should join hands with others who are agitating for that reform. It is just as proper that the government should own railroads as canals. Government ownership would go far toward purifying legislation, for the railroads will control legislation until the government owns them.

A committee of the Massachusetts Legislature has reported a bill for what is called the North Union Station of Boston. Two railroads are so well entrenched in the old party camps that they seem to have smothered the bill. This provokes the *Boston Herald* to remark: "If two railroad companies can defeat a project of this kind, it is made manifest that the time is fast coming when the possession of the railroads by the state authorities will be the only way in which the people can obtain proper treatment."

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN INDIANAPOLIS.

"If certain things can be done in Toronto," says the *Indianapolis News* in a discussion of a publicly owned street railway system, "why can they not be done in Indianapolis? We fancy that every one who loves the city and has faith in it will hesitate long before he says they cannot be. The street railways of Toronto have almost exactly the same mileage as the system here. They fall short a few miles. The gross earnings of the Toronto system during 1892 were \$815,493.50. Out of this the owners of the system paid into the city treasury, \$120,378.48. The gross earnings of our street-railway system last year were certainly as great, probably greater, than the Toronto figures. Our system paid into the city treasury—nothing." The Municipal Reform league of Indianapolis, which we referred to last week, to discuss the street railway matters, was presided over by Otto Stechhan. Mr. C. Vincent spoke in favor of immediate ownership of the plant by the city. He estimated that the total dividends and receipts of the street company for the 30 years to come would be \$41,012,900; that the city could buy the plant and pay for it in 10 years, and have left at the end of that time a net profit in sinking fund, of \$5,500,000. Mr. Vincent was confident that the road would buy itself in three years. James Buchanan indorsed the remarks of Mr. Vincent. He declared that there was no need of keeping in this city a standing cow to be milked by foreign capitalists. The meeting, he said, must go to the point of demanding city ownership. James Deery doubted if the city was able to own the plant at this time. He was in favor of a franchise and three-cent fares. D. F. Kennedy also opposed the idea of immediate public ownership, not because he did not favor city ownership, but because public sentiment must be educated on this point. A resolution was adopted asking the board of public works to withhold action on the franchise until the people of the city had an opportunity to discuss it in all its bearings.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The Citizens' Trade Association of Cambridge decided to discuss the following at its next meeting: Resolved, That in our opinion it is expedient that the city of Cambridge should own and operate its own plant for furnishing the electric lighting of our streets. It was also voted that the committee on public affairs be authorized in the name and in behalf of the Citizens' Trade association, to petition the city council to exercise the authority conferred in Section 1, Chapter 370, of the Acts and Resolves of the year 1891, being an act to enable cities and towns to manufacture and distribute gas and electricity.

The demand for cheaper gas has reached Holyoke. The Transcript has come out in favor of a reduction in price, and it is expected that the mayor will favor it.

Rhode Island.

At the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Woonsocket Rubber company, held last Monday, it was voted to sell out to the trust known as the United States Rubber company. The sale also includes the plant of the Marvel Rubber company and the Lawrence Felting company. Joseph Banigan is president of the three companies, and says that the offer was such an advantageous one that the stockholders felt they could refuse. The capital of the Woonsocket Rubber company was two million dollars. The trust is capitalized at \$27,373,600.

New York.

Buffalo Times: "The Times has urgently advocated for years the city ownership of the street railway system and the lighting system, but there is such an enormous profit in these businesses that private capitalists, by the sweetening of legislators and the public press, have stifled any movement looking to the co-operative management of these systems of necessary supply and service. It would be much easier for the people to pay three or four per cent on the bond issued for the purchase of such plants than to pay the private owners 25 to 100 or more per cent. If a private corporation owned our water system it is more than likely that the water rates would be doubled. By the same reasoning we reach the conclusion that our gas bills would be cut in two and our street car fares greatly reduced. Let us be socialists at least to the extent of owning these natural monopolies."

Iowa.

The students of the Iowa Wesleyan University have challenged the students of Parsons College to a debate, May 12, on government ownership of railroads. Charles Lander, Max Babb and Scott Powers will speak on the affirmative for the Iowa Wesleyan.

Indiana.

The Nonconformist (Indianapolis): "The remarkable feature of current events is the progress towards nationalism in the public opinion of Indianapolis. A cloud no bigger than a man's hand, a few weeks ago, has expanded into a great wave which promises to embrace every thinking man and woman in this capital of Indiana. People are

beginning to ask them seriously why the invaluable franchises of this city should continue to be donated to companies of capitalists to be used in their own benefit. Why, for instance, should the right to run street cars, which brings millions to private corporations, not be made to yield something to the city, but for whose population and necessities they would not be?"

Washington.

The city council of Puylup is considering the building of a municipal electric light plant.

Ohio.

Ashtabula has voted \$150,000 with which to establish a municipal electric light plant.

Minnesota.

People's Press, Duluth, Minn.: The coal combine has 160 members of whom 27 belong to Duluth. Now is a splendid time for the people and the council of this city to consider the matter of getting rid of this combine by starting a municipal fuel yard, where coal can be retailed to the people at cost. The People's Press, ever since it was started, has advocated this reform. Please bear it in mind while studying the coal problem.

Michigan.

Hillsdale has voted in favor of a municipal electric light plant.

California.

San Diego voted nine to one in favor of issuing \$665,000 in bonds for water-works. The service is now in the hands of a private company, which the city will buy if it can be secured at a fair price, otherwise new works will be built.

The Ventura Unit says Santa Cruz has tried the experiment of municipal water-works, and the result has been that the rates charged for the water are from 40 to 60 per cent less than those charged by the private company. The Unit urges the people of Ventura to do likewise, predicting equally beneficial results to them.

Miscellaneous.

"As soon as I get up a good thing, say in chocolate," says a merchant, "some rival would imitate it in quality and put it on the market at a lower rate. To hold my own I've to cut his price, but as I can't do that and make a profit, I must adulterate the article a little. He knows the dodge and he will do the same thing. So we go, cutting at each other, until both of our articles are so cheap and poor that nobody will buy them. Then I start the pure goods again, under another name, and the whole circus has to be gone over again."

The Nebraska railway companies assert that they will ignore the new railway law, and that no attention will be paid to the provision reducing rates. The legal department of the Union Pacific is preparing to contest the law on the ground that, being government property, it is exempt from state legislation.

Foreign.

"The Toledo division," says the London Chronicle, "gives a great stimulus to railway nationalization. The American railway monopolists, anxious to escape the Scylla of workmen's dictation, have fallen into the Charybdis of public control, for the decision can be defended only on the principle that the railways are practically public property."

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provi-		Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5	sion	100	Music publishing and in-		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical com-		struments		Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	2	Naval stores combine	1	Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Nitro-glycerine		Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2		Oatmeal	3 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paint combine	2	Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill		Paper bag	2	Steel and iron	4
Boiler	15	Forge companies		Paper box	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Patent leather	5	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	1	Pearl barley		Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	10	Pitch	10	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel		Plate glass	8	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	35	Plow		Tin plate	
Butchers' supply		General electric	50	Pocket cutlery	2	Tissue paper	10
Button	5	Glove	2	Pork combine	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	12	Powder	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed		Green glass	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	12	Trunk	3
beef		Gypsum stucco mills		Preservers' combine	8	Tube	11 1-2
Cash register	10	Harvester	1 1-2	Pulp	5	Turpentine	
Carbon candle	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	18	Type-founders	9
Cartridge	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Casket and burial goods	1	Hide dealers		Rock salt	5	Vapor stove	1
Castor oil	1-2	Illinois steel	50	Rubber General shoe	2	Wall paper	38
Cattle feeders		Indurated fibre	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	7	Watch	30
Celluloid	8	Iron and coal	10	Safe	2 1-2	Water-works pumping ma-	
Cigarette	25	Iron league	60	Safe No. 2	5	chinery	
Colorado coal combine	20	Jute bagging		Salt	1	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Label printing		Sandstone	1	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Leather board	1-2	Sanitary ware	3	White granite	
Copper ingot	20	Lime	3	Sash, door and blind	1 1-2	White lead	30
Cordage	15	Linseed oil	18	Saw	5	Window glass	20
Crockery	15	Lithograph	11 1-2	School book	2	Wire	10
Cotton duck	10	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	15	Wire rod	
Cotton press	3	Lumber	2	School slate		Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Manilla tissue	2	Screw		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Marble combine	20	Sewer pipe	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Match	7 1-2	Sheet copper	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Merchants' steel	25	Sheet steel	2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service.

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

NAME.

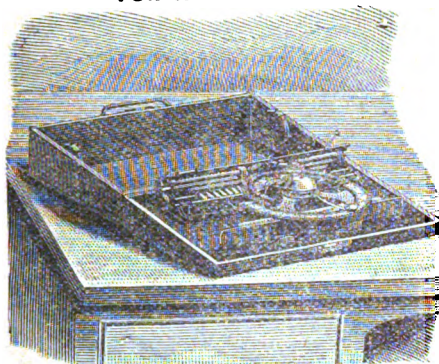
STREET.

TOWN.

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**PERFECT ALIGNMENT.
HANDSOME TYPE. PLAINEST PRINT.**
Work looks better than that of the most expensive machines.

WORLD TYPEWRITER \$15 WRITES 77 CHARACTERS.

WALNUT CASE, \$2.00.

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274 Post Office Square, Boston, Mass.
164 La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Wonderful Discovery!!



Dr. Ransophier's Electric Magnetic Appliance. An instant relief for all pain. Can be applied to any part of the person easily; never gets out of order. Stops headache in 2 minutes, relieves nervousness and produces sleep, stops neuralgic pains; relieves Rheumatism. Heart troubles, Sciatica, Kidney, Bladder and Liver ailments, can be helped or cured by this Magnetic appliance. Quickens blood, renews Vigor far more effectively than any medicine to be taken internally; indorsed by eminent physicians. Sent to any part of the United States on receipt of price, \$2.00

Descriptive circular and agents' terms sent on application, Address,

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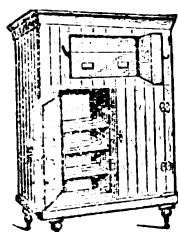


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Vol. 3. No. 19.

Boston, Mass., May 13, 1893.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The secretary of the United States treasury has been authorized by a recent act of Congress to obtain designs for federal buildings by competition among architects at large. As the designs alone would cost at least \$500, the chances are that many of the foremost men in this profession would not take the time and trouble to submit designs. The

rivalry, also, would be unhealthy, even under the best conditions. We would suggest that a better plan would be to select a board of architects chosen on their record to meet and mature designs, as the beautiful World's Fair buildings were planned, the architects, however, being paid a stated sum for their services. This would be better for the profession and better for the public.

The National bank of Australasia makes the seventh out of the ten large Australian banks, which has failed within a few weeks. The cause is not difficult to find. Russia and Austria as well as England are in the world's market as purchasers of gold. The withdrawal of gold from Australia decreased the volume of the currency and depressed values. The banks demanded more security for their loans and refused credits. This disturbed confidence and people began to withdraw their deposits. As a gold standard, with not gold enough to go round, requires popular confidence for undisturbed transaction of business, it follows that a panic at almost any time is possible. In other words, gold is no standard at all unless people believe in it. It is not in itself an honest measure of value. The government of Victoria has decided to gather all the private savings banks into one system and attach them to the postal savings banks to be run by public officials. This marks the growing distrust of private banking institutions.

The Facts and Causes of the Growth of Nationalism in the West.

We reprint elsewhere portions of an article by Mr. F. B. Tracey in the May Forum, which we commend to our readers generally and especially to any who may have thought us over-sanguine in our frequent assertions as to the wholesale way in which the population of the trans-Mississippi states is coming over to nationalism. The fact that the writer is an opponent of nationalism and views its spread with deep alarm, makes his testimony the more conclusive. For those nationalists who by their attendance at the St. Louis or Omaha conventions or otherwise, have been brought in touch with Western sentiment, it will, however, need no

corroboration. When the history of this epoch shall come to be written, the account of the process of the conversion of the population of the far West to radical socialism will be one of its most interesting chapters. It would be hard to suggest where a parallel is to be found for a moral and mental revolution, of consequences so far reaching, in so brief a time, on the part of so great a population.

To those especially who, having made some study of European socialism, had expected the socialistic revolution in this country to follow European lines, the phenomenon has seemed unaccountable. In Europe the modern socialistic movement has been proletarian in character; it has its strength in the cities, among the wage-earners. The agricultural class has been almost invulnerable to its propaganda.

Intelligently regarded, however, the fact that the American revolution for social and industrial democracy has, contrary to old world precedent, begun among the farmers and not among the artisans, is very easily to be explained. In Europe the artisans, the town laborers, are the most intelligent class of workers. It is therefore inevitable that new ideas should first appeal to them. The agricultural class in all old world countries, on the other hand, is a peasantry, stupid and embruted in the extreme, the immemorial tools of priestcraft and toryism and the despair of reformers. Wholly different conditions exist in America. While we would not say that the American farmer is more intelligent than the American mechanic, he is certainly his peer, while on the other hand, the vast numbers in this class of work, aggregating the total of all other sorts of workers, provide a basis of fellowship giving extraordinary facilities for organization and action for common ends. In the West this is especially true. Not only has the West been filled up by the most energetic and intelligent elements from the East, but agriculture has been the main and till of late the most honored and most profitable employment of its population.

Under these circumstances when the screws of economic distress began to be put on and the many felt the yoke of the few closing about their necks, which class of the American people was likely to lead the revolt? Was it likely to be the artisan as in Europe? No. For the same reason that it had to be the artisan in Europe it had to be the western farmer in America.

But on the other hand, let us be thankful that the artisan and the city worker, are not likely in America to lag behind the agricultural class in the popular uprising, as in Europe the peasant lags behind the mechanic. The western alliance-man and the eastern Knight of Labor and Trade Unionist are already found, and day by day more completely will be found, marching shoulder to shoulder in the common fight of the many against the few.

Mr. Tracey apprehends a split and secession as between the western and the eastern states on account of a socialistic sentiment in the former which does not yet appear in the latter. He need not be distressed. If the sentiment does not yet appear in the East quite as evidently as at the West, it is, among other reasons, on account of the greater delay necessarily incident to the work of organizing the workers in many different industries for common action, as compared with the task of organizing workers in one occupation. We, however, assure Mr. Tracey that very encourag-

ing progress is being made and that the next general election will show that there is no danger of the split he apprehends.

We mentioned the fact that Mr. Tracey writes as an opponent of nationalism, and deplores the state of western opinion which he so truthfully describes. It is a pity that he has not seen fit to account for his position on this point. He says that "it is not within the limit and scope of this paper to discuss the merits of socialism or to point out the disasters which must result from a government of paternalism. These disasters ought to be too well known to require extended exposition." On the contrary we must beg to assure Mr. Tracey that no proposition is in more urgent need of exposition than just this one which he shirks. It is precisely because nobody can make any argument that will hold water against the merits of nationalism as a whole or the various socialistic measures that lead up to it as a culmination, that the propaganda he deplores is going on so rapidly.

If Mr. Tracey can really furnish any even half-way reason why we should not immediately introduce nationalism, a reason we mean that will appeal to any class except railroad presidents, trust and syndicate managers, coal barons and corporation attorneys, he would fill an aching void by giving it at once. But we fear he can furnish no such reason. He might as well indeed try to convince a hungry man that bread was unhealthy or a freezing man that fire and shelter were undermining to the constitution, as to try to prove to the average poor man and woman that nationalism with its pledge of brotherhood and equality is not good for them.

Mr. Tracey's theory as to the possibility of combating the spread of nationalism by education, indicates a refreshing innocence in keeping with his assumption that there are any valid arguments against nationalism. Why bless your heart, Mr. Tracey, there is nothing in the world that we nationalists want to promote so much as popular education upon just these points. All we need is agitation and ventilation, and the only thing we fear is "the conspiracy of silence," though now matters have gone too far for that to be possible. The best terms we ask are for our antagonists to meet us and our arguments on the forum, in the schools and in the press. No, Mr. Tracey, your suggestion of a campaign of education to resist nationalism, betrays ignorance of the moral and intellectual poverty of the cause you have too hastily undertaken to champion. The one thing the present economic system which we attack cannot endure is discussion, and therefore it will perish, for discussion is here.

Railroad Nationalization in England.

Nationalization of the railroads is coming to the front as a live issue in Great Britain also. The freight rates charged by the British roads have long been more extortionate than even those of American lines. In response to public complaints that could no longer be put off, the last Parliament considered a scheme for the regulation of rates. The companies, however, pleaded that if Parliament would let them alone they would prepare a fair schedule, and they were permitted to do so. This schedule has just gone into operation and is found to be even more oppressive than the old ones. It is stated that under it the rate for

freight from the nearest English city to London is more than from Minneapolis to London, and this is but an illustration of a system of extortion which even a Nebraska farmer never dreamed of. The new schedule has been in operation only a short time, but has already excited a universal popular outcry which seems certain to force the railroad regulation issue into practical politics at the present session. It is said that the ministry will not be able to refuse to bring in a bill for reducing rates as soon as the home rule bill has passed the Commons; and some of the measures already discussed by the radical press are more drastic than anything our Western Legislatures have yet attempted. Good for John Bull.

The "Actual Investment" and "Earning Capacity" Theories Harmonized.

It is probably safe to assume that public opinion is tending with daily increasing force to favor the public conduct for the general benefit of a large class of municipal and interstate businesses which have hitherto been carried on for private profit by individuals and corporations, for example the municipal conduct of lighting, water-works and local transit, state management of forests, etc. and national ownership and operation of telegraphs, railroads and canals. Nationalism has become a practical question.

Among the points raised by any proposition to substitute public for private ownership and operation, one of the first and most important is the basis for estimating the rate at which the people should pay for the existing private plant. That is to say, if gas-works, railway or water-works are to be bought up by the local or national government, what ought to be paid, and by what rule shall the sum be determined?

Suppose, for example, the city of Boston is going to buy up the Bay State gas syndicate's property—shall it pay the four million dollars which represents, perhaps, what the owners of the company have expended on it, or shall the city pay 17 million dollars, which represents the total of watered securities upon which its extortions have enabled it to pay dividends? Shall the actual investment or the "earning capacity" of the plant be the basis of estimate? This is a question which must arise more or less in the above form in almost all cases of public acquisition of private or corporate property, and there is no point in the practical application of nationalism on which right and clear thinking is more important.

In the case of the Boston gas syndicate, Mr. Dillaway, attorney for the corporation in the present investigation before a legislative committee, has met the assertion that the plant is worth but four million dollars because that is all that has been invested, by the assertion that the worth of it is based, not upon the investment, but upon the "earning capacity," and that it is therefore worth the highest sum it can earn dividends on, without any regard to the amount invested. In support of this position he quoted the recent decision of the United States supreme court in the case of the Monongahela Navigation company vs. the United States. The government had condemned and taken a lock of the company under an act of Congress, which provided that only the actual value of the property should be paid, without regard to the value of the franchise of the

corporation permitting it to collect tolls. It appeared that the property itself was of moderate value, but the profits of the tolls great; and the company suing for them, the supreme court decided that they should be taken into full consideration and allowed for, thus making the earning capacity and not the amount of the investment the basis of estimating the valuation in this case.

To what extent this decision would be applicable generally to corporations operating businesses under legislative franchises, we do not discuss, but are rather interested in pointing out that there need be nothing necessarily alarming to nationalists, even were it to prove generally applicable. Perhaps that is as easy an end as another to tackle the valuation problem by. What fixes the earning capacity of a business? Naturally the rate of charges. Very good. The rates chargeable by monopolies holding their privileges by legislative franchise, are as a rule controllable by legislative action, and can be made "reasonable" by law. A "reasonable charge" is such a charge as yields not more than a fair average business remuneration on the actual investment, and to that point the Legislature may rightfully reduce it. As soon as the charge has been reduced to that point the "earning capacity" bugbear disappears, and the valuation of the property for acquisition by the public becomes, as it should have been always, its duplication cost.

For example the Monongahela Navigation company could only charge such rates as the Pennsylvania Legislature permitted. Had the Legislature done its duty in keeping those rates down to, say 6 or 8 per cent on the investment, instead of letting them become extortionate, there would have been trouble about a settlement when the government took the lock.

Just so likewise in Boston. If the Bay State gas syndicate earns dividends on four times its investment, it is because the Legislature has not done its duty. Let a statute be enacted reducing the rate per thousand to such a point as shall yield say eight per cent dividends on the four million actual investment of the corporation and we shall have beautifully harmonized the "earning capacity" with the "actual investment" theory.

Does any one hesitate lest so drastic a method may infringe justice? Businesses not having franchises are exposed to competition and kept down thereby. Shall the people fare better at the hands of these ordinary business enterprises which owe them no gratitude in particular, than at the hands of monopolies which they especially guarantee and protect against competition? Surely there can be no two ways of thinking about this.

A general law should be introduced in every Legislature for taking an assessment of the actual investment (exclusive of repairs) in every business enjoying a public franchise, and fixing the rates charged at a point calculated to yield not over 8 per cent on that investment. Then we shall know "where we are at."

Rev. Dr. King Seconds the Sentiment of Hon. "John P. Robinson."

According to the Providence Telegram, the Rev. Dr. King, in a recent "talk" on "Christianity and Communism" at the First Baptist church in that city used the

following expressions: "Mr. Bellamy's book, dreamy and cloudy as it is, would create a system of imbeciles in the land. It was God's intention that in the wise and discriminating use of wealth should be found one of the most helpful means of Christian character." It will be interesting to compare with Mr. King's teaching as to the helpfulness of wealth to a Christian life, the doctrine of one Jesus Christ, to the effect that "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

In the Bigelow papers it is related that on a certain occasion somebody made an awkward quotation from the New Testament, whereupon:

John P. Robinson, he
Said they didn't know everything
Down in Judee.

Evidently Rev. Dr. King of Providence, R. I. agrees on this point with the Hon. John P. Robinson.

THE YOUTH'S COMPANION LEAGUE.

The Lyceum League of America which the Youth's Companion is conducting with such marked success serves the very useful purpose of directing the minds of young debaters throughout the country toward subjects which are destined to confront them in the near future. The manual of the league is particularly happy in laying down rules and methods of debate which tend to put the special pleader in the background, and magnify the importance of honest conviction and clear reasoning. We transcribe specimen questions for debate given in the manual:

Should municipal government be organized on the plan of a state government, or of a business corporation?

Ought cities to own and operate the public lighting system? The street railway system?

Ought cities to maintain municipal coal-yards to supply coal to the people at cost?

Will profit-sharing benefit the capitalist?

Is there a better method than the wages system for paying labor?

Is co-operation practicable under the competitive system?

Have strikes benefited labor?

Should government regulate the number of hours making a day's labor?

Would an eight-hour day improve the real wages of labor?

Are trusts and monopolies unjust?

Ought trusts to be checked by law?

Will trusts lead to socialism?

Should all "natural monopolies" be in the hands of the people instead of corporations?

Is the competitive system now beneficial to the people?

Where woman is paid less than man for the same work, is her work equally efficient?

We would suggest to young men interested in nationalism that it would be well to organize lyceums in this league and thus secure an arena for the discussion of questions like the above. The majority of the lyceums already in existence, we understand, are composed of people mature enough to give these questions serious consideration. We shall be pleased to pass over to the lyceum league department any requests for information regarding the management of one of these lyceums and also to furnish material for debate to any young man concerning nationalism and public conduct of business.

We earnestly request our subscribers to look on their address label and to renew without delay if they wish to continue the paper.

A VISION OF THE OLD AND NEW.

'Twas in the slumber of the night —
That solemn time, that mystic state —
When, from its loftiest signal height,
My soul o'erlooked the realm of Fate,
And read the writing on the wall,
That prophesies of things to be
And heard strange voices rise and fall
Like murmurs from a distant sea.

The world below me throbbed and rolled
In all its glory, pride and shame
Its lust for power, its greed for gold,
Its flitting lights that man calls fame, —
And from their long and deep repose,
In memory and page sublime,
The ancient races round me rose
Like phantoms from the tombs of Time.

I saw the Alpine torrents press
To Tiber with their snow-white foam,
And prowling in the wilderness
The wolf that suckled infant Rome.
But wilder than the mountain flood
That plunged upon its downward way,
And fiercer than the she-wolf's brood,
The soul of man went forth to slay.

Kingdoms to quick existence sprang,
Each thirsting for another's gore,
The din of wars incessant rang,
And signs of hate each forehead wore.
All nations bore the mark of Cain,
And only knew the law of might;
They lived and strove for selfish gain
And perished like the dreams of night.

I woke; and slept, and dreamed once more, —
And from a continent's white crest,
I heard two oceans seethe and roar,
Along vast lands by nature blest;
All races mingled at my feet,
With noise and strange confusion rife,
And Old World projects — incomplete —
Seemed maddened with a new-found life.

The thirst for human blood had waned;
But boldly seated on the throne,
The grasping god of Mammon reigned,
And claimed earth's product for his own.
He gathered all that toilers made,
To fill his vaults with wealth untold.
The sunlight, water, air and shade
Paid tribute to his greed for gold.

He humbly paid his vows to God,
While agents gathered rents and dues.
He ruled the nation with a nod,
And bribed the pulpit with the pews;
Yet over all the regal form
Of Freedom towered, unseen by him,
And eagles poised above the storm
That draped the far horizon's rim.
At length, the distant thunder spoke
In deep and threatening accents; then
The long roll of the earthquake woke
From sleep a hundred million men.

I woke; and slept and dreamed again:
A softened glory filled the air,
The morning flooded land and main,
And Peace was brooding everywhere
From sea to sea the song was known

That only God's own children know,
 Whose notes, by angel voices sown,
 Took root two thousand years ago.

No more the wandering feet had need
 Of priestly guides to Paradise,
 And banished was the iron creed
 That measured God by man's devise;
 No more the high cathedral dome
 Was reared to tell His honors by;
 For Christ was throned in every home,
 And shone from every human eye.

No longer did the beast contról
 And make the spirit desolate;
 No more the poor man's struggling soul
 Sank down before the wheel of Fate;
 And pestilence could not draw near,
 Nor war and crime be felt or seen —
 As flames that lap the withered spear,
 Expire before the living green.

And all of this shall come to pass —
 For God is Love, and Love shall reign,
 Though nations first dissolve like grass
 Before the fire that sweeps the plain;
 And men shall cease to lift their gaze
 To seek Him in the far-off blue,
 But live the Truth their lips now praise
 And in their lives His life renew.

JAMES G. CLARK.

"MENACING SOCIALISM IN THE WESTERN STATES."

Under the title at the head of this paper, Frank B. Tracey, a citizen of Omaha, Neb., sounds an alarm in the May Forum against "paternalism," and calls upon the public to "roll back the tide of communism and repel the dangers which follow in its wake." We reprint liberally from Mr. Tracey's article, which will serve the double purpose of giving our readers an insight into the workings of a mind pledged to support the competitive system and, secondly, of affording our eastern friends another bit of testimony to the depth of the political revolution which is rolling over this country:

"No intelligent man could sit in that audience at the Coliseum building in the city of Omaha on July 4 last," says Mr. Tracey, "and listen to the wild and frenzied assaults upon the existing order of things, without a feeling of great alarm at the extent and intensity of the social lunacy there displayed. And when that furious and hysterical arraignment of the present times, that incoherent intermingling of Jeremiah and Bellamy, the platform, was adopted, the cheers and yells which rose like a tornado from four thousand throats and raged without cessation for thirty-four minutes, during which women shrieked and wept, men embraced and kissed their neighbors, locked arms, marched back and forth, and leaped upon tables and chairs in the ecstasy of their delirium, — this dramatic and historical scene must have told every quiet, thoughtful witness that there was something at the back of all this turmoil more than the failure of crops or the scarcity of ready cash. And all over the city during that summer week brooded the spectres of nationalism, socialism and general discontent.

"Such a party could not have arisen without a deep-seated cause. It is not the writer's purpose to portray the

West in a condition of volcanic socialistic fury, nor to create the impression that property and person are not entirely safe there. On the contrary, the West is peaceful; it is in a degree happy and, on the surface, contented. Yet the observation of patent and multiplying facts during the last 10 years has proved only too clearly that the principles of socialism are already a part of the life of vast numbers of citizens of those states. In the minds of the people are the half-developed germs of pure socialism, and there is little hesitancy in voicing its doctrines.

"The socialists of the West may be divided into three classes. First are the members of the people's party, whose underlying principle is socialism, so recognized in its platform. The second class is composed of laboring, business and professional men, and farmers, who are in favor of government ownership of railways and other like monopolies, but who are not populists and are not aware of the inevitable outcome of those ideas. They are as yet rather afraid of the word 'socialist,' but a little more time and thought along that line will place them in the third class. This class is composed of much the same sort of men as the second. Many of them are intelligent, educated and prominent in business, society and the church. They are avowed paternalists and are not ashamed of their belief. There is no gingerly handling of the word 'paternalism.' They freely advocate paternalism as a remedy for all the ills of the body politic. They are democrats, republicans or prohibitionists, but consider that holding socialistic doctrines in no way conflicts with their party principles. These three classes constitute, in the deliberate and conservative judgment of the writer, a majority of the citizens of the West; and if the question of government ownership of railways were submitted to them today, the proposition would be carried by a handsome majority.

"In Omaha, a typical Western city, there are more than 2000 populists, comprising one eighth of the voters. But these 2000 do not by any means include all the socialists in Omaha. Debating clubs, during the last winter, decided the question of government and municipal ownership of so-called natural monopolies in the affirmative. The sentiment is indorsed in the clubs and on the streets, and the press indirectly lends its voice to the demand. Here is a branch of the Christian Social union of England, composed almost wholly of members of the Anglican church. This union has been studying 'Social Aspects of Christianity,' by Prof. Richard T. Ely, the founder of the American union; — and the prevalent connection of socialistic ideas with Christianity is an interesting phase of the subject. Dean Gardiner, of Trinity Cathedral, is president of this union and all the other rectors of the city are members. Paternalism is not a necessary doctrine, but in some of its forms it is the belief of nearly every member. A prominent banker of Omaha said recently, 'Yes, I believe in paternalism. I believe that a government should be ruled and constituted like a family.' In the opinion of the Rev. John Williams, rector of St. Barnabas church and a man of earnestness and of practical ideas, 'Paternalism is the only relief for the present terrible social and moral conditions. This government will become paternalism unless it goes to the devil first.'

"In the rural districts and in the less educated quarters,

for apparent reasons, paternalism is much stronger. Copies of *Looking Backward* are in every community. Probably every village has at least one man who is a thorough nationalist, while hundreds of his neighbors are in sympathy with its principles. Observe the records of state Legislatures. . . . Hundreds of bills are introduced into these Legislatures at every session which are ultra-socialistic in character. Western colleges are filled with the sentiment and their lyceums often decide affirmatively socialistic propositions. The article on the Gothenburg licensing system in the December Forum has been widely read, copied into newspapers and discussed in the West with comments almost wholly favorable. Many cities of the West own their own water-works, some own their gas and electric-light works and many more are taking steps to acquire these works, together with the street railways. In no section of the country are trades unions so strong as in these western cities, and no business can be successfully conducted without their recognition. Co-operation is rapidly gaining ground in theory and practice, and there are even yet a few 'grange' stores surviving from the socialistic movements in the early seventies.

"The members of the second and third classes of socialists are not as yet insistent or demonstrative. With them it is more a hope and belief than a demand. They wish to reach the ends sought by a peaceful means. And while many of these men would demur if classed with the populists, the difference between them is simply in degree, and not in kind. This is the central fact which sheds a great light on the rise of the populists, who knew and know that joined to them in sympathy if not in name are thousands of their brother citizens. And it is this feeling which lay behind and was the impelling force of the Omaha convention. These populists appreciate the fact that they are a few steps in advance of the others, that they differ only in being more logical, and they believe that in a very short time these others will cross the narrow boundary lines and become of their party and name. It is the thorough and full understanding of this condition and these facts which furnishes to the student his gravest apprehensions of the future when the adherents of this socialism, with which the West is honeycombed, shall have become united, logical and therefore aggressive.

"In searching for the cause of these conditions, the investigator must recognize that they have been effected by some force, widespread in its action, of supreme power and of conceded authority. . . . No one can deny that one of the great distinguishing features of the national legislation of this generation has been its tendency toward the absorption of extraneous functions. More and more has government taken into its care affairs formerly controlled by private corporations and companies; more and more have the people been taught to look to the government for assistance, for support, for punishment upon their enemies, for the righting of individual wrongs. . . .

"Each Congress has been more lavish and reckless in doling out the millions to feed the people by the erection of useless public buildings, by the creation of sinecures, by river and harbor wastefulness and by other schemes, every one of which has been an instant, distinct and direct preacher of the doctrines of socialism. And yet the chief

justice of the Iowa supreme court said to the writer only two years ago that in his judgment the United States government ought to engage in more public works, improve the roads, build canals, and thus furnish employment to the thousands of idlers in this country and put a stop to this murmur of discontent. Think of such an astonishing socialistic statement from such a source! . . .

"Having comprehended the social condition of the West, the reader can easily perceive how some immediate cause, some local circumstance, might become a match flung into a powder magazine. Farmers' alliances were organized all over the West with the original aim of discussing measures beneficial to farmers. The alliances took on more and more the proportions of socialistic gatherings as they discussed their poverty, and the obligation of government to aid them as it had done in the past. . . .

"Nothing can so clearly illustrate the part played by the government in propagating the seeds of socialism as the free-silver lunacy in the West. No stranger can comprehend its extent. Every populist, nine tenths of the democrats and one half of the republicans are devoted to this heresy. There is not one democratic newspaper of importance which is a bold advocate of honest money. There are not many republican papers of that sort. Every democratic Congressman living West of the Missouri river is pledged to free silver. There is now not one eminent or noted democratic leader in the West, since J. Stirling Morton went into the cabinet, who combats this heresy openly. . . .

"In regard to the single taxers, it might be well to correct, parenthetically, the idea that the growth of single tax sentiment in the West has been connected with the socialist party. The connection is purely accidental. The 'collapse of the boom' in the western cities chanced to occur about the same time as the birth of the populist party. There are many single-tax men in the West. It is claimed that there 2000 in Omaha alone. But they are confined to the cities, and the progress of the idea, in the West as elsewhere, is almost wholly due to the unwise booming of these cities by the excessive and unwarranted inflation of property values. An effort was made by the single-taxers to secure a recognition of their principles in the populist platform. Hamlin Garland came to Omaha for that purpose; but the convention was consistent and being thoroughly y communistic, could not indorse a scheme so purely individualistic.

There are some believers in the single tax who are also in favor of governmental control of monopolies, but these men are usually those who are ready to accept any panacea for the hard times cast upon them by fortune or indolence. The single-tax movement is significant in comparison with the spread of socialism and arises largely from the just indignation of intelligent people because of the greed and selfishness of property-owners during 'boom' periods.

"It is not within the limit and scope of this paper to discuss the merits of socialism or to point out the disasters which must attend a government of paternalism. These disasters ought to be too well known to require extended exposition. Every intelligent student must realize, however, that unless the spread of socialism is checked, one of two conditions will certainly appear in time. One is the thorough paternalism of our government; the other is the

political separation of the West from the East. It would be idle to assert that there is now any sort of feeling of hostility in the West toward the East such as prevailed in the South toward the North in ante-bellum times. But a strong feeling of unfriendliness exists which will grow powerful enough in time to array the West against the East unless the East also shall become inoculated with the virus of paternalism."

THE DANGERS FROM RAILROAD CORPORATIONS.

"If a dozen of railroads," says the New York Voice, "can secure the ownership of an industry so essential to civilization as the coal industry, can then crush out all or nearly all individual owners, can then restrict the production irrespective of the needs of the people of a bounty furnished by Providence, and can combine to increase the price to an enormous degree, the question that stares the nineteenth century squarely in the face is this: What is to prevent the railroads from extending their operations in a similar manner to other important industries? Indeed they are doing so, for they are securing control in the same way of the timber and iron lands. When they have secured possession of the coal, the timber and the iron industries, we see no obstacles which they can not under the present system overcome to their securing possession of the wheat fields and the cotton fields. In sober truth, what is to prevent the railroad corporations under present conditions, from gradually acquiring the virtual control of all the more important industries of the nation, the exacting a tribute upon the necessities of life limited only by the ability of the people to pay? Will some earnest student of the problem answer that question? for we confess we can not. Some of our readers have thought the Voice was unduly radical and unduly swayed by popular clamor in advocating the public ownership of the railroads. But as surely as God lives and humanity suffers we can see no alternative to that in the not-distant future but ownership of the public by the railroads. The industrial future of the country is most fatefully wrapped up in this question. Motley tells us that the Dutch republic was overthrown by the rapid consolidation of wealth in the hands of a few corporations, which became more powerful than the government itself. The American republic is no more exempt from physical and moral laws than the Dutch republic was. Already there are state Legislatures that are little else than mere puppets in the hands of railroad corporations. 'It is condition, not a theory, that confronts us,' and as surely as cause precedes effect and effect follows cause there must come a radical change in the relations between the public and railroads or a radical change in the republic."

A citizen of California: "I send 107 names embracing most of the leading professional and business men of our town for the government ownership of telegraph and telephone petition, including 7 lawyers, 35 merchants, 5 editors, 2 ministers, 4 teachers, 4 physicians, 6 public officials, 19 skilled mechanics, 12 ranchers. Only one person (a lawyer) expressed opposition. The number of signatures obtained in this region would be limited only by the population."

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE CHURCHES AND THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Recent Flurry in the Stock Market. Reform Papers. Note and Comment.

The Church of the New Era was recently organized in Los Angeles, Cal., and we are informed that the society is rapidly growing. Rev. W. C. Bowman is the pastor, and, like Rev. A. Kent of Washington, D. C., he is making the attempt to square political economy with religious principles. The Church of the New Era might properly be called the First Nationalist church of Los Angeles. Its members are nationalists who believe there must be a church as well as a state of the new era. They hold that "human welfare in the social state depends upon the wisdom, justice and righteousness of the law, and administration based on the principles of love, brotherhood and co-operation." We do not expect to see the revival of true religion apparent inside of present church organizations die out, but along with it will come efforts like those at Washington and Los Angeles to abandon the old organizations and start upon a broader basis.

That there is a growing inclination to carry the essentials of religion into practical affairs goes without saying. The topics of discussion at the meetings of ministers' clubs show this plainly enough. The Central association of Congregational ministers in session at Topeka, Kan., the other day, discussed this question: "To which political party in the United States would Jesus Christ belong if he were a citizen?" It is unnecessary to add that the speeches of the ministers will not be reprinted by the campaign committees of the old parties for distribution as campaign literature.

"No politics in religion means no religion in politics," is a remark recently made by Rev. J. M. Cruickshank of Glasgow, Scot., in reference to W. Herbert Hill's new book entitled "The Political Economy of Jesus." This book, by the way, reaches the conclusion that "the kingdom of heaven which Jesus lived to found on earth is equality in social conditions." Economic equality as a necessary expression of true brotherhood is thus touched upon in an article contributed to the Boston Traveller, April 8, entitled "Nearer than a Dream":

"The principle upon which nationalism rests is at least as old as Christianity. We are told that the early Christians, when they comprehended the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, 'held all things in common.' That is, they expressed the doctrine of the kinship of the race in terms of property. Paul urged this common ownership upon the churches so that 'your abun-

dance may be a supply for their (other churches) wants, that their abundance, also, may be a supply for your wants; that there be an equality.' The equality in property which was an essential part of the religion which Paul professed, has never been accepted by Christendom; while its theological and sentimental side has been given great prominence. The plain duty of men to love their neighbors as themselves has been largely confined to benevolent practices which cast a subtle reproach upon the poor and needy. Charity has been gradually debased to the questionable function of alms-giving. Nationalism is a palpable return to the economic test of human brotherhood which it has thus far pleased Christendom to neglect."

The financial world has been pretty thoroughly shaken up by the sudden decline in the market price of industrial securities, that is, the stock of trusts that are listed on the exchanges. We are now told that Wall street is recovering itself. Sugar made a terrible plunge and some financial writers tell us that the trust is broken. However, it is strong enough this week to advance prices for refined sugar one fourth of a cent on all grades. While the stock was kicking about the street speculators were quietly picking it up, and the result will be that the business of sugar refining will come into the hands of a still smaller number of people. Let it be observed that whether it is peace or commotion in the exchanges, the price of sugar to the consumer gradually climbs higher. Such is the political economy of private competition.

It will be observed that the flurry in the market was in industries which have become monopolized; that is, disaster and distress follow close on the heels of private monopoly. But monopoly is unjust and despotic. We cannot believe that intelligent men are ignorant of this, and it is significant that a paper like the New York Commercial Bulletin should recognize this fact at this critical period of our history. It begins an editorial with the remark that "Dreamers like Mr. Bellamy tell us that such schemes as his have come to public favor wherever men have become sufficiently civilized and unselfish to give thought to their fellowmen." And its editorial closes with the flat declaration that "the best economists have taken the broadest view of the relation existing between ethics and economics, and have recognized the fact that man's highest conception of duty involves the effort to advance the material welfare of men."

Reform Papers Multiplying.

One of the encouraging signs of the times is the number of nationalist and populist papers springing up in various parts of the country. The public is fast getting a taste for reform literature. Among the latest in the field is the Coming Nation, edited and owned by J. A. Wayland,

formerly editor of the Coming Crisis, Pueblo, Colo. The Coming Nation is published at Greensburg, Ind. It is a four-paged paper printed in large clear type and gives every evidence of becoming a power in the ranks of reform. Mr. Wayland is a nationalist and people's party man, a student of affairs and a vigorous writer. We trust the Coming Nation has come to stay.

We notice also that J. Heron Foster, a Philadelphia nationalist, has started a little weekly called the Pennsylvania Nationalist. It is printed at 1312 Filbert street. Nationalism has secured a firm foothold in Philadelphia, and Mr. Foster's paper will serve not only as a medium for local agitation, but will give other states a notion of what is going on in that city.

Note and Comment.

The people's party of Ohio holds its convention at Columbus, July 4 and 5

The people's party of Pennsylvania will hold a convention at Williamsport, June 14.

Plow and Hammer, Tiffin, O.: "The author of the famous force bill resigned his seat in Congress. A special election has just been held in the 7th Congressional district of Massachusetts to fill the vacancy. The contest was a hot one and resulted as follows: The democratic candidate received 9705 votes, the republican 9601 and the populist 1051. The vote for the populist ticket in this district last fall was 339 votes. If Massachusetts keeps up that gait she will soon be counted with the people."

The Christian Union (New York): There should be an end to the cant of calling the gold dollar an "honest dollar." When nation after nation permits a single class to manipulate its value in its own interest, it becomes a dishonest dollar. The conscience of the country demands that the public regulate the value of the unit, keeping in mind debtor as well as creditor. The ideal is that the unit of value should be kept as constant as the unit of weight.

THE MOVEMENT GROWING.

A paragrapher in the New England Farmer is moved to write: "The nationalist movement is growing, particularly in Boston, and includes some of the brightest, brainiest men of the city. A meeting of a nationalists' club brings one into the company of gentlemen whom he is both pleased and proud to know. With the present tendency to immense aggregations of capital, I often think we shall all be driven to become nationalists. In olden times, when the nation was full of small industries, there was a contest of man with man and the survival of the fittest was the result. This rule which controls in the lower orders of life is sometimes called cruel and unchristian when applied to man; but even that is better than the present order of things. For as I recently heard it stated, when one man has to stand up against one thousand, or one hundred or even ten, it is possible that the fittest will be the very one who won't survive."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Waltham has now petitioned the state gas commissioner for a reduction in the price of gas.

Methuen has voted, 404 to 69, in favor of water-works built by the town, rather than by a private company.

In commenting editorially upon the mayor's proposition for a receivership for the Bay State gas company and municipal ownership of the plants if the several companies cannot agree upon a plan for honest reconstruction within six months, the Boston Herald says: What should be done, is to reconstruct the company or companies that supply Boston with gas upon a strong, honest basis, as Massachusetts corporations, or as one corporation, and, if this cannot be done, and the possessors of gas securities will not take part in the change, then the only course is to grant to the city, under proper conditions, the right to undertake the work of supplying its citizens with gas in the same way that it now supplies them with water.

New York.

Buffalo pays \$127.75 per light per year for 1743 arc lights of 2000 candle power. The city chemist has tested 23 of them and finds that they average 786 candle power, 39 3-10 per cent of what has been paid for.

Illinois.

The profits to Chicago from its water works for the last fiscal year was \$1,389,854.

At the annual convention of the International Association of Machinists held at Indianapolis the 3d inst., resolutions were adopted in favor of government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines.

Indiana.

The Municipal Reform league of Indianapolis is taking steps to start a paper. It will be opposed to all special privileges, and in favor of municipalization of natural monopolies.

The street railway franchise of Indianapolis was recently sold by the city. The old company refused to put in a bid, claiming its charter was perpetual. The city is to receive 10 per cent of the gross receipts for the first five years, 12 1-2 for the second five years, 13 1-2 for the third and 14 1-2 for the rest of the period.

Oklahoma.

The Road Builder (Oklahoma City): It is surprising the way nationalism is growing. A few days ago Independence, Iowa, voted to build and operate its own electric light system by a majority of 527 in a total of 827 votes. The people are beginning to see the point.

Michigan.

The common council of Detroit has voted in favor of a municipal electric light plant. This was helped along by

an attempt on the part of the manager of the private company which now has a monopoly of the lighting, to bribe one of the aldermen to vote against city ownership. The alderman took the money, but turned it over to Mayor Pingree, and the latter produced it at a meeting of the board and stated how it came in his hands. It is charged that other members of the city government were bribed, and there is to be an investigation.

West Virginia.

A combination has been effected between the Davis Coal and Coke company, the H. G. Davis Coal company, the Davis-Elkins Coal and Coke company, the Henry Coal and Coke company and the Fairfax Coal and Coke company. The combine will be capitalized at three million dollars and controls 50,000 acres of coal land, with an output of one million tons a year. The companies interested have over 400 coke ovens.

Washington.

George W. Carey of Spokane, Wash.: "Of course ridicule will be heaped upon those who first advance the idea that money and competition are evils, and therefore unnecessary, but ridicule is not argument. Under nationalism there will be but one corporation, and that will be our country. Nothing is impossible for 65 millions of people to accomplish when they work together. A railroad can be built across the continent in 60 days when we become one corporation, or as soon as each county or township can build across its section."

Kansas.

When the populists came into power in Kansas the governor removed Railway Commissioners Mitchell and Anthony. The latter refused to surrender their positions on the ground that their terms had not expired. The issue was carried to the supreme court, which has decided that the executive council had the right to remove Anthony and Mitchell. A populist and a fusion democrat have been appointed railway commissioners.

Free Press (Winfield): Say, have you noticed how rapidly city ownership of water and gas and electric light works as well as street railways is gaining ground? Nationalism seems to be rapidly coming to the front, abuse it as we will.

California.

A memorial to Congress in favor of government ownership of railroads, passed the lower branch of the Legislature with but one dissenting vote.

Miscellaneous.

At the Trans-Mississippi Congress held recently at Ogden, Utah, the sentiment was practically unanimous in favor of the building of the Nicaragua canal, and nearly as unanimous against government aid without government ownership.

Another typewriter trust is being formed. It will be composed of the leading concerns that were not taken into the first trust, and includes the Hammond, Brooks, Williams and Sholes machines.

Foreign.

The savings banks of Victoria, Australia, now in private hands, are to be united with the postal savings banks, and the government is to have full control of them.

The city council of London has bought about four miles of tramways under the compulsory powers given by the original act of Parliament. The price paid was \$630,000—\$2,385,000 less than the private company claimed.

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provision	100	Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5	Dye and chemical combine	2	Music publishing and instruments	1	Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Electric supply	10	Naval stores combine	1	Spring bed and mattress	1-2
Axe	15	Electrical combination No.2	2	Nitro-glycerine	3 1-2	Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Envelope	5	Oatmeal	2 1-2	Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	12	Flint glass	8	Oil cloth	2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	15	Flour mill	1	Paint combine	2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	10	Forge companies	1	Paper bag	5	Starch	10
Bolt and nut	15	Fork and hoe	1	Paper box	5	Steel and iron	4
Boiler	2	Fruit jar	10	Patent leather	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	10	Fur combine	2	Pearl barley	8	Straw board	8
Brass	2 1-2	Galvanized iron and steel	1	Pitch	10	Structural steel	5
Broom	2	Gas [New York]	35	Plate glass	8	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	5	General electric	50	Plow	2	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Glove	12	Pocket cutlery	1 1-2	Tin plate	
Butchers' supply	5	Gossamer rubber	4	Pork combine	2	Tissue paper	10
Button		Green glass	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gypsum stucco mills	1 1-2	Preservers' combine	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed beef	10	Harvester	1	Pulp	12	Trunk	3
Cash register	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	8	Tube	11 1-2
Carbon candle	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	5	Turpentine	
Cartridge	1	Hide dealers	50	Rock salt	18	Type-founders	9
Casket and burial goods	1-2	Illinois steel	1-2	Rubber General shoe	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Castor oil	8	Indurated fibre	10	Rubber trust No. 2	2	Vapor stove	1
Cattle feeders	25	Iron and coal	60	Safe	2	Wall paper	38
Celluloid	20	Iron league	1-2	Safe No. 2	7	Watch	30
Colorado coal combine	15	Jute bagging	1-2	Salt	5	Water-works 'pumping machinery	
Condensed milk	2	Label printing	3	Sandstone	1	Wheel	1
Confectioners	20	Leather board	18	Sanitary ware	1	Whip	1-2
Copper ingot	15	Lime	11 1-2	Sash, door and blind	3	White granite	
Cordage	10	Linseed oil	2	Saw	1 1-2	White lead	30
Crockery	8	Lithograph	2	School book	5	Window glass	20
Cotton duck	41	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	2	Wire	10
Cotton press	7	Lumber	20	School slate	15	Wire rod	
Cotton seed oil	1 1-2	Manilla tissue	1-2	Screw		Wood screw	10
Cotton thread combine		Marble combine	2	Sewer pipe		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cutlery		Match	25	Sheet copper	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cut nail		Merchants' steel		Sheet steel	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
					2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

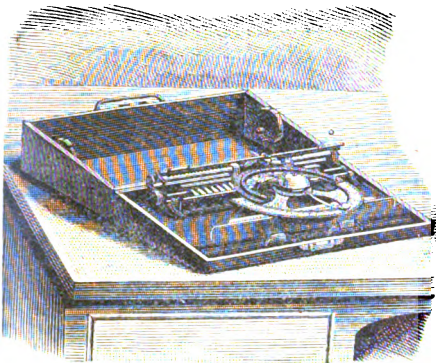
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Boston.—Second Nationalist will meet every Sunday evening in William Parkman Hall, 3 Boylston place. The public are cordially invited.

Needham, Mass.—Nationalist Club holds regular meetings the third Monday in every month. Additional meetings for outside work, as desired. E. P. Washburn, Sec.

Philadelphia, Pa.—First Nationalist meets 1st and 3d Friday evenings, at Earley's hall, 1321 Arch street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The Pacific Club holds weekly Sunday evening propaganda meetings, at 909½ Market street.

South Dakota.—Milbank Nationalist Club meets the second and fourth Saturday evenings of each month at the Review office. A cordial invitation extended to all to attend and participate in the discussions.

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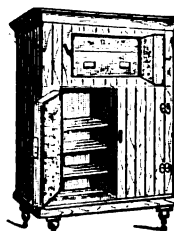
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

Vol. 3. No. 24.

Boston, Mass., June 17, 1893.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

We give considerable space this week to an account of the anti-trust convention at Chicago. There is the more need that we should print the doings of this important body, for the reason that the daily press has, with a unanimity that almost suggests conspiracy, failed to give any news whatever as to the convention or its doings. We call especial attention to the address before the convention by

Henry D. Lloyd of Chicago, which we reprint entire. The facts which he develops make it clear that the nationalization of the railroads must necessarily include nationalization of the coal supply, because the railroads already mainly own the mines. The position of The New Nation as to trusts is well known. The only reason we oppose trusts is that none of them are big enough. We want a trust that will include all the businesses of the country and take in all the people on the ground floor as equal partners in the profits. That is the sort of anti-trust paper we are.

Three Blots on the Massachusetts Legislature's Record.

The Massachusetts Legislature which has just adjourned its session, after doing good work in the earlier months, went out leaving a bad smell behind like an ill-snuffed candle.

We refer particularly to certain measures. A bill to amend the law permitting municipalities to do their own lighting was shorn of its most important provision before being allowed to pass. This was a clause providing that when a municipality bought up an existing private lighting plant, the basis of valuation should be the reasonable cost of duplicating such plant. This is the principle that would be applied in inventorying the value of a plant in any business in the competitive field not enjoying a public franchise, and certainly it is most outrageous to claim that the special favor given a corporation in protecting it from competition should be made a ground of charging the protector an extra price.

There was a good prospect of the duplication valuation clause being adopted with the rest of the bill, but just before the vote was taken the House fairly fluttered with telegrams sent to the members by their home corporations, ordering them to vote down this clause and they did it. The bill as it passed notably improves the present law but the vital point is missing.

Another case was the defeat, by the influence of the West End street railway corporation, of the bill to permit the Cambridge and Hopedale storage street railway to adopt

the storage electric motor system. Here was a responsible company which at its own risk and expense proposed to make a very valuable and important experiment which the public interest has for a long time required. Indeed, there was no experiment in the case. The successful working of the method had been fully proven. But the practical working of the storage system would have brought a pressure on the West End company to substitute it at large expense in Boston for the dangerous and imperfect trolley system now in use. Therefore, the West End company procured the defeat of the bill by the Massachusetts Senate. It is painful to be obliged to point out a case where the use of bribery, of more or less gross sort, is so positively and unmistakably indicated.

Let nationalists stick a pin just here. Opponents of nationalism want to know what is to become of progress in invention under nationalism. There are answers enough to that question, but the first answer is to shut the mouth of the objector by referring him to such illustrations as this case just quoted, of the way in which the present system of private capitalism sets itself at work to choke off progress and prevent the adoption of new inventions because they will necessitate a renewal of old plants. This case of the West End's opposition to the storage battery is but an illustration of the policy pursued by all great business concerns. The only force that compels any of them to adopt new processes is competition and in proportion as consolidation brings competition to a standstill, invention will be stifled. Only the uninformed will find any news in the statement, which we unqualifiedly make, that owing to a deliberate policy of purchasing and stifling patents, this country is today using electrical methods which are really five years behind the times.

Another case in which the Massachusetts Legislature was disgraced at the late session and the state disgraced thereby, was the defeat in the Senate of the bills to prevent stock-watering. A majority of the Massachusetts Senate in this instance stood up in straight defence of stealing. Not one of the men who voted against these bills ought ever to dare look an honest man in the face again. This is a disgusting chapter but it has to be written.

No real check to the forces of reform has been sustained. They will return to the fight at next session, thanking God that the biennial session proposal was defeated, and next year every one of these defeats, as well as others will be turned into victories.

We wish to make a particular suggestion as to a bill for next session which would perhaps pretty well include both the duplication cost valuation clause of the municipal lighting amendment bill, and also the ends sought by the anti-stock watering bills as to companies holding franchises.

Suppose we could get a law providing that the profits on the business of any corporation having a special franchise shall not exceed seven per cent on the inventory value of the plant, all further profits going to the state, the books of such corporation being always open to the commission regulating it and also to the governor. This law would settle by implication the question of valuation of purchased plants, and take all the motive out of stock watering.

Let us strike at the root, gentlemen. The root here is the love of profit.

Boston's Duty.

The rapid transit bill, which has passed the Massachusetts Legislature and will become law when ratified by the popular vote of Boston, may be made an engine of oppression or a tower of strength for the people of Greater Boston. The commission provided by the rapid transit act can spend nine million dollars in opening a route through the congested districts of Boston, and then give the building of an elevated road and a 50 years franchise to a private corporation. Or, if none of the bids are satisfactory, the act provides that "the commission may, if the city council of said city shall so authorize, construct said elevated railroad and said city shall thereafter operate the same." It thus makes all the difference in the world what kind of men are appointed on the commission. We are informed privately that parties are ready to pay three million dollars for the privilege of building the road and for the 50 years franchise. It needs no argument to show that the city can operate the road at a nominal profit for the benefit of the people, when private parties can afford to pay millions for the privilege of laying a traffic tribute upon the people of Boston. Either in October or at the regular elections the people of Boston will be called upon to decide whether or not the rapid transit bill shall become a law. The chances are that under the measure as it stands, the franchise would pass into the hands of private speculators. Sound judgment we think would thus prompt our citizens to vote against ratifying the bill. One could hardly imagine that the public, after the revelations of the gas ring and the daily drama of West End incapacity and lawlessness, could deliberately turn over for 50 years the most money-making public franchise in the gift of this city to a ring of speculators. And yet it is the part of candor to admit that the present signs point directly to such a catastrophe.

Confronted as we are by a peril so alarming, it would not surprise us if the sense of common danger took the form of organized protest against the aggressions of capital in Boston. It may be a public ownership league; it may be a candidate for the mayoralty, nominated by the populists; it is sure to be something beside an academic protest against injustice. The time has passed for lamentations; this is a year for action. Boston has met oppression before. Let the word be passed round — organize.

A Short Sermon on the Advantages of Railroad Nationalization to Railroad Employees.

Dispatches to the daily press state that some of the great railroads are just now dismissing men at a wholesale rate. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road for instance, has just discharged in all departments 4000 men, and the Pennsylvania road is to discharge 2000 within a fortnight. The reason for these wholesale dismissals are not given, but are presumed to be owing to temporary decrease of business.

This is a fluctuation to which railroads are necessarily subject and would continue to be if they were nationalized. It would, however, be practicable then to so average temporary reductions of force on particular lines so as to cause the minimum of suffering among the men. It is practicable to some extent indeed for large roads to do this now, but they do not care to take the trouble. It is easier so long as

there are plenty of unemployed, to discharge and to hire on just as may be convenient, instead of taking pains to keep the same men along.

Under government operation public opinion would demand the most considerate treatment possible of the men, and it would be found very easy to adopt methods which would prevent entire loss of employment at any season by any large number of employees.

To begin with, all employees ought to be classified as to length and merit of service, and when it became necessary to determine who should be laid off for a term, this classification should be followed. But while the new employee and the indifferent workman would have to go before the old and approved employee, it might not be necessary for them to lose employment, though they might have to take new places. The nationalized railroad system would cover the whole country and some lines would want more men just when other lines wanted fewer. Instead of hiring on raw or new men as now, the lines that needed more men would, so far as possible, have transferred to them the men temporarily not needed on the dull lines. Railroad men in this way, before they graduated into the ranks of the first-class old employees with fixed positions, would have an opportunity for a most valuable acquaintance with various lines and systems. Many of them have it now, but if so they have obtained it by tramping in search of situations. Under the nationalized railroad system they would get it without losing a meal or a week's pay.

Again, if any employees, not wishing or not being able to obtain a transfer to another line, had aptitude for other departments of railroad work than their regular trade, provision could be made for them in that way, because all sorts of railroad work are not dull at once, and it might easily be arranged to hold back the work of other departments to the dull season in traffic so that they might furnish employment to some of the men not needed on the trains. This variety of occupation in itself would be calculated to develop the worker and make a bigger man of him.

There is another important means by which the administration of a nationalized railroad system might protect the men from loss of employment and that is by a systematic adjustment and dovetailing of vacations and short hour periods. There are few sorts of workmen who would not welcome, for the sake of rest and recreation, shorter hours for a time even with correspondingly less pay, or an occasional complete vacations with total loss of pay, provided they could keep their jobs. Private employees do not take the extra trouble to make these adjustments, and indeed their businesses are not big enough anyhow to make them very perfectly, but that of the nationalized railroad system would be big enough to permit of a very complete adjustment, between the dull times of business and the worker's desire for rest, and a further adjustment between the several needs of those desiring rest. Such a result would deprive "slack work" of all its terrors for the employee, and make it on the contrary suggestive of the same care-free recreation that the summer vacation brings to the business man. We should see no more, so far as the railroad workers were concerned, of the great cruelty of the present industrial system, namely, men overworked who would be glad to rest if

they could, side by side with unemployed men begging vainly for work to do.

The fundamental governing principle as to employees, on which all nationalized or municipalized services should be regulated is that all employees are to be regarded as having except for fault, a permanent tenure of employment. This will not and cannot imply, so long as the nationalized businesses are few, that every one can be guaranteed absolute fixity in the same position, except for the oldest and best grade of workers, because in nearly all businesses there are fluctuations in the demand for service, and the nationalized system cannot any more afford to run behind expenses than any other. But by the various devices suggested and many others that will suggest themselves, it will be possible, precisely in proportion to the size of the group of nationalized and municipalized businesses, to provide in one way or another for the pretty constant employment of the entire force and for the fair distribution among them of such lack of work as may be inevitable until under complete nationalism, the people shall have become in all lines of activity their own employers, paymasters and providers.

One advantage of the plan of nationalism is that you don't have to wait for its program to be completed before you get any advantage from it. Every step would be a distinct gain to all concerned, even if the program were to stop right there.

Circulate the Government Telegraph Memorial.

We suggest to our readers that they carry a government telegraph and telephone petition with them on their vacation this summer. The circulation of this petition is the most effective thing that can be done by way of agitation just at present. A monster petition is a form of popular initiative that the petitioners fear. It is very evident from the large number of names already received at this office that the people are ripe for this reform. In some cases the petition is returned with a note stating that upon it will be found the names of every business man in the town, or a majority of the voters of a village, or all the prominent doctors, lawyers and ministers. We received last week a petition from Topeka with the signatures of the governor of Kansas and most of the state officials.

Reformers in the West have a special reason to co-operate because the sentiment in favor of government telegraph is so strong in the East. The Massachusetts Legislature has already sent to Congress a memorial in favor of it, and if we can once rescue the means of communication from the hands of the monopolists, several daily papers devoted to populist ideas will spring up in New York and New England. Only two eastern papers made any mention of the anti-trust convention when it opened on the fifth. The reason is quite evident. The newspaper trust must go with the others. The trust is founded on a telegraph monopoly. Congress will not attack this monopoly until it is first assaulted by public opinion. Let every reformer go forth this summer armed with a government telegraph and telephone petition. The New Nation will be happy to forward blank memorials upon application.

A Graduated Land Tax the Quickest Way to Save the Land from the Monopolists.

An English syndicate owns three million acres of land in Texas; a Holland company owns four million and a half acres in New

Mexico; a Scotch syndicate owns five hundred thousand acres in Florida, and a number of English, Scotch and Irish lords own individually from one to two hundred thousand acres in various parts of the country besides. — *World's Advance Thought.*

Pending the time when nationalism shall vest the fee of all real estate in the nation and make the people the only landlord, we would suggest a graduated land tax, on the principle of the graduated inheritance and income taxes. That is to say, the per cent of the tax rate for land per acre being, let us suppose, one per cent, we would make it a fraction of one per cent higher for every thousand acres (belonging to the same interest) after the first thousand, with a view to making an estate of 100,000 acres cost in taxes 100 per cent a year.

There is no more terrifying symptom of the present situation than the almost incredible but perfectly substantiated facts (of which those we quote are but a sample) as to the rate at which the land of the country (as well as the money and business) is being monopolized. This process is going on at the West at a larger rate than at the East, but only because there is more land. At the East land monopolization is perhaps going on as rapidly in proportion to the smaller amount of land and the higher price, as witness, for example, the Vanderbilt holdings in North Carolina, the Corbin kingdom in New Hampshire and the 67,000 acre park in the Adirondacks, just enclosed with a barbed wire fence by Dr. Webb, third vice-president of the New York Central.

This must be stopped. Will not the people's party conventions see the necessity of demanding a graduated tax on landholdings according to size, as well as on inheritances and incomes. Is not this the quickest, sharpest, surest way to put the brakes on this sort of monopoly?

A PROHIBITIONISTS MISTAKE.

Samuel Dickie, national chairman of the prohibition party, has this to say: "Nationalize the traffic and prohibit all sales other than by government agent and not a dive nor a doggery, not a dance house nor a beer garden, not a saloon nor a brothel but could go right on dispensing drinks at a profit precisely as they do today. Instead of buying a glass of whisky and having a link of sausage or a boiled egg 'thrown in,' the thirsty citizen could purchase the egg and accept a drink as the free-will offering of the generous dealer in cold lunches." There is no profit to the vender worth the mention in a "link of sausage and a boiled egg." Consequently the bar and free lunch would close the moment the profits on liquor were eliminated. Mr. Dickie will see the point at once.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

The following is taken from *Good News*:

Old Professor — My young friend, let me give you a word of advice. Be kind to the dull boys.

Young Teacher — Certainly, but if they won't learn their lessons —

"Be kind to them, pet them, make them your warmest friends."

"But —"

"No buts about it. Win their love if you can. Some day in after years, when you are as old and helpless as I am, you may need the assistance of wealthy men."

"Of course, but —"

"Well, the dull boys are the ones that get rich."

HENRY D. LLOYD ON TRUSTS.

[Address delivered by Henry D. Lloyd of Chicago before the Interstate anti-trust conference at Chicago June 6, which was withdrawn after the convention refused to recommend government ownership of coal mines, and which was accepted as the manifesto of the bolting convention assembled at the Palmer House on the evening of the same day.]

Within the last 30 years 95 per cent of the anthracite coal of America, practically the entire supply, it is reported to Congress this year, has passed from the ownership of private citizens, many thousands in number, into the possession of the railroads controlling the highways of the coal fields. These railroads have been undergoing a similar process of consolidation, and are now the property of eight great corporations. This surrender of their property by the individual coal mine owners is a continuing process in operation at this moment, for the complete extinction of the "individual" and the independents in this field. It is destined according to the report of Congress to end in the entire absorption of the entire anthracite coal fields and collieries by the common carriers.

Anthracite coal is geographically a natural monopoly contained in three contiguous fields which, if laid close together, would not cover more than eight miles by sixty. But bituminous coal, although scattered in exhaustless measures all over the continent, is being similarly appropriated by the railroads, and its area is being similarly limited artificially by their interference.

"Railroad syndicates," says the Congressional investigation of 1888, are buying all the best bituminous coal lands along their lines in Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and other western states and territories, no doubt with a view of levying tribute upon the people's fuel and the industrial fires of the country."

The process of consolidation is shown by official and judicial investigation to have been in progress in the bituminous fields at least as far back as 1870, with the same purposes, methods and results as in the anthracite fields, though more slowly, on account of the greater number and vastness of the deposits.

The bituminous fields from Pennsylvania to the Pacific coast are narrowed to the territory along the railroads, and narrowed there again to the mines owned or favored by the railroad managers.

Ownership of highway is ownership of all.

The investigations by Congress in 1888 and 1893 both state that the railroads of the country are similarly becoming the owners of our iron and timber lands, and both call upon the people to save themselves. Every observer of affairs sees the same process going on in other industries. Here is to be seen rising into view a new law of industry. Ownership of the highways ends in ownership of everything and everybody that must use the highways.

The railroads compelled private owners to sell them their mines or all the product by refusing to supply cars for their business, and by charging rates for the transportation of coal so high that every one but themselves loses money on every ton sent to market.

When the railroads elected to have the output large they furnished many cars; when they elected to have the

output small, they furnished few cars, and when they elected that there shall be no output whatever, they furnished no cars.

Freight rates continue to advance.

Though coal is an article of commerce greater in volume than any other natural product in the United States carried on railroads, amounting to not less than 130 million tons a year, and though the appliances for its transportation have been improved and the cost cheapened every year, so that it can be handled with less cost and risk than almost any other class of freight, the startling fact appears in the litigations before the Interstate Commerce commission and the investigations by Congress that freight rates have been advanced instead of being decreased, are higher now than they were in 1879, and that coal is made by these confederated railroads to pay rates vastly higher than the average of all other high and low class freight, nearly double the rate on wheat or cotton. These high freight rates serve the double purpose of seeming to justify the high price of coal and of killing off year by year the independent coal producers. What the railroad coal miner pays for freight returns to its other self, the railroad. What the independent coal producer pays goes also to the railroad, his competitor. "This excess over just and reasonable rates of transportation," says the report to Congress in 1893, "constitutes an available fund by which they (the railroads) are enabled to crush out the competition of independent coal producers."

By these means, as Congress found in 1888, the railroad managers have forced the independent miners to sell to them or their friends at the price they chose to pay. They were the only possible buyers, because only they were sure of a supply of cars, and of freight rates at which they could live.

The private operators thus being frozen out are able, as the investigation by the New York Legislature in 1878 showed, to produce coal more economically than the great companies, because not burdened with extravagant salaries, royalties and leases, interest on fictitious bonded debts, and dividends on false capitalization of watered stock. By the laws of supply and demand they would compete out the unwieldy corporation, but these administer a superior political economy in their supply and demand of cars and freight rates.

"The railroad companies engaged in mining and transporting coal are practically in a combination to control the output and fix the price. They have a practical monopoly of the production, the transportation and the sale of anthracite coal." This is from the House of Representatives' report of 1893 and such has been the finding in all the investigations for 20 years.

Artificial winter to order.

The anthracite collieries of Pennsylvania could now produce 50 million tons a year. The railroads restrict them to 40 million or 41 millions, nine or ten million tons less than they could furnish to ward off the frosts of winter, and to speed the wheels of the world, and this creation of artificial winter has been in progress from the beginning of the combination.

In the 10 months between February and November 1893,

the price of coal in the East, as investigated by Congress, was advanced by the coal railroads as much as \$1.25 and \$1.35 a ton on the kinds used by housekeepers. "The combinations," the report of Congress says, "exercise even a more baleful influence on the production and transportation of coal for the western market." The extortion in the price fixed by the railroads was found by Congress in 1888 to be an average of \$1 a ton, considerably more than a dollar a ton, on all consumed in the United States, or 39 millions dollars in that year, and now 40 to 41 millions a year. The same investigation found that between 1873 and 1886, 200 million dollars more than a fair market price was taken from the public by this combination.

This is anthracite alone. How many hundreds perhaps thousands of millions more have been taken by the railroads which control the bituminous coal fields from Pennsylvania to the Pacific there are no adjudicated means of estimating.

By the same power which has crushed out the independent coal miner, the retailer in the cities has been reduced from a free man to an instrument to despoil his neighbors with whom he is often a fellow-victim, for the benefit of absentee capitalists; he is hounded by detectives, by threats of cutting off his supply, is made a compulsory member of a secret oath bound society to "maintain prices" and so terrorised that he dare not tell his wrongs even in the committee rooms of Congress. "Your committee," says the report of 1893 to Congress, "experienced great difficulty in obtaining testimony from retail coal dealers who apparently labor under fears of injury to their business in case they should appear and give evidence."

The effect on labor.

Whether in Pennsylvania, in the Hocking valley, the block coal fields of Indiana, Spring valley in Illinois, the glorious rebels in the mountain mines of Tennessee, these coal miners, anthracite and bituminous, are the most wretched slaves of civilization outside the sweat shops of our cities.

Congress found in 1888 that the coal companies in the anthracite regions keep thousands of surplus laborers on hand to underbid each other for employment and for submission to all exactions; hold them purposely ignorant when the mines are to be worked and when closed, so that they can not seek employment elsewhere; bind them as tenants by compulsion in the companies' houses so that rent shall run against them, whether wages run on or not, and under leases by which they can be turned out with their wives and children on the mountain side in midwinter if they strike; compel them to fill cars of larger capacity than agreed upon; make them buy their powder and other working outfit of the companies at an enormous advance on the cost; compel them to buy coal of the company at the company's price and in many cases to buy a fixed quantity more than they need; compel them to employ the doctor named by the company and to pay him whether sick or well; "pluck" them at the company stores so that when pay day comes around, the company owes the men nothing, there being authentic cases where "sober hard working miners toiled for years or even a life time without having been able to draw a single dollar, or but a few dollars in actual cash; "in debt until the day they died;" refuse to fix the wages in advance, but pay them upon some hocus-pocus sliding

scale, varying with the selling price in New York, which the railroad slides to suit itself and most extraordinary of all, refuse to let the miners know the prices on which their living slides; a fraud, says the report of Congress, "on its face."

Astounding oppression of miners.

The companies dock the miner's output arbitrarily for slate and other impurities and so can take from their men five to 50 tons more in every hundred than they can pay for.

In order to keep the miners disciplined and the coal market undersupplied, the railroads restrict work so that the miners often have to live for a month on what they can earn in six or eight days and these restrictions are enforced upon their miners by holding cars from them to fill, as upon competitors by withholding cars to go to market. Labor organizations are forbidden and the men intentionally provoked to strike, to affect the market.

The laboring population of the coal regions, finally, is kept down by special policemen enrolled under special laws and often in violation of law, by the railroads and coal and iron companies practically when and in what numbers they choose, and practically without responsibility to any one but their employers, armed as the corporations see fit with army revolvers, or Winchester rifles or both, made detectives by statute and not required to wear their shields, provoking the people to riot and then shooting them legally. "By the percentage of wages," says the report of Congress, "by false measurements, by rents, stores and other methods the workman is virtually a chattel of the operator."

The investigation of 1888 showed that "The carrier drives out both operator and owner, obtains the property, works the mine, disciplines the miner, lowers wages by the importation of Huns and Italians, restricts the output and advances the price of coal to the public. It is enabled to commit such wrongs upon individuals and the public by virtue of exercising absolute control of a public highway.

How Pennsylvania failed to break the monopoly.

Moved mainly by the disappearance of a free market in oil and coal, the people of Pennsylvania arose in 1873 and adopted a new constitution. To put an end to the consolidation of all the anthracite coal lands into the hands of the railroads, this constitution forbade common carriers to mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines, or to buy land except for carrying purposes. These provisions of the constitution have been disobeyed "defiantly." "The railroads have defiantly gone on acquiring title to hundreds of thousands of acres of coal, as well as of neighboring agricultural lands," says the Congressional committee of 1888. "They have been aggressively pursuing the joint business of carrying and mining coal." So far from quitting it, "they have increased their mining operations by extracting bituminous as well as anthracite."

Instead of enacting "appropriate legislation" as commanded by the new constitution to effectuate its prohibitions, the Legislature has passed laws to nullify the constitution by preventing forever any escheat to the state of the immense area of lands unlawfully held by the railroads. Every effort breaking down to meet the evil by state action, failure was finally confessed by the passage in 1878, by the Pennsylvania Legislature, of a joint resolution asking

Congress to legislate "for equity in the rates of freight," and to this day the will of the people of Pennsylvania, as declared in their sovereign utterance, has found among these corporations none so poor as to do it reverence.

Congress also unequal to the task.

In 1887 Congress passed the interstate commerce law and established the interstate commerce commission to enforce justice on the railroad highways, in the language of the committee reporting it, "without expense to the shipper, without delay and without resort to litigation." The failure of the commission has been calamitous. The independent mine owners of Pennsylvania appealed to it for the justice promised "without expense, without delay and without litigation." Two years and a half were consumed in the proceedings. The commission decided that the rates the railroads charged were unreasonable and unjust, and ordered them reduced. But the decision has remained unenforced and cannot be enforced. The railroads treat the commission with the same contumely they visit on the constitution of Pennsylvania, and two years after its decision Congress in 1893 found their rates to be 50 cents a ton higher than what the commission had declared to be just and equitable. The independent oil refiner of Pennsylvania and Ohio has fared still more disastrously before the commission. In one proceeding, for more than four years they have been appealing for rescues from rates which are pressing them to death, but in vain. The delay is "killing" they recently pleaded, but the delay continues. The interstate commerce law provides for the imprisonment in the penitentiary of those guilty of the crimes it covers. But the only conviction had under it has been of a shipper for discriminating against a railroad. No railroad man has been brought to punishment for the countless crimes committed by railroads against shippers.

Other efforts and failures.

Congress has passed an anti-trust law; many of the states have passed anti-trust laws; there have been appeals to the courts for redress under conspiracy laws and for forfeiture of charters. Nothing has come of all this legislation and litigation. The sugar trust, the oil trust, have been forced to hang out new signs; in New Jersey one of the leases binding two of the coal combinations together has been broken, but the sugar and the oil and the coal monopolies do not wane but wax.

The peoples' energy seeking relief through the courts and legislatures of law and order is either not so powerful as the resisting and sinister energy of the syndicates, or it is asleep. Prosecution of the members of the local coal exchange, or "rings," even if ending in conviction, could but have the effect of making the central power do its business through agents instead of dealers, and finally through one agent instead of many, for one cannot conspire with himself. This would not hurt our neighbors, the dealers; it would not hurt our enemy, the trust in New York.

Shall private property become master.

The corn of the coming harvest is growing so fast that like the farmer standing at night in his fields, we can hear it snap and crackle. We have been fighting fire on the well-worn lines of old-fashioned politics and political economy, regulating corporations, and leaving competition to

regulate itself. But the flames of a new economic evolution run around us, and we turn to find that competition has killed competition, that corporations are grown greater than the state, and have bred individuals greater than themselves, and that the naked issue of time is with private property becoming master instead of servant. Private property in many necessities of life has become monopoly of the necessities of life. What are we going to do about it?

To remove the tariff on coal would have brought the product of Nova Scotia into competition with our American rings 12 months ago. But within the year the mines of Nova Scotia have been syndicated by American capitalists, and it will be they who will win when the tariff is taken off coal. Monopoly moves across tariff; there are already several international trade combinations, and there will be more before there are fewer.

A real interstate commerce law with a uniform classification of freight for the whole country, under a few simple heads, with rates inflexibly the same for all shippers, wholesale or retail, under each head on the post office principle, and with rates fixed by the Legislature and cut down to figures which would pay the legal rate of interest on the present actual cost of reduplicating the right of way and equipment, would 20 years ago have prevented the confiscation of the property of the many who had to use the highways into the treasuries of the few who owned the highways. But not today. The members of the coal combination are Siamese twins. Chang runs the railroad, Eng runs the coal mines. Chang has been charging high freights to ruin the independents, and Eng, also to ruin the independents, has been selling coal for less than cost, counting this freight extortion as part of the cost. The net has caught the fish. The independents are ruined — 95 per cent of them. Make Chang put down freights, as low as you please, Eng will put up the price of coal. Coal is his private property, and he has a right to do with it what he will.

The syndicating of bituminous coal lands has also gone so far that the owners by combination and competitive market wars could suppress all rivals and fix the supply and the price independent of any help from highway privilege. They have grown great enough by that help to do without it, and to prevail for the future by the mere mountain of the mass of their millions.

An instrument of commercial conquest.

The coal monopoly sprang out of highway monopoly, but like an increasing number is above the need of the ladder by which it rose. Private property masking itself behind the convenient form of corporations, has reached a development in which, by mere bulk, it is an irresistible instrument of commercial conquest, which is to say, social conquest. The few men of the oil combination with a fabulous wealth created by railway preferences pass over to Europe and become the masters of the oil markets of England and Scotland, Germany, Scandinavia, Holland, Italy. They do it, not by railroad favoritism, which is unknown there, but by the sheer weight of competitive clubs of gold.

We disperse the trusts to find that their component corporations set together as smoothly as before. We can

under the police power of the state disperse the corporations for abuse of their charters. Our antagonist would spring again from the ground in the more troublesome shape of individuals, unfettered by charter obligations, easily acting in concert from a common interest without any visible apparatus of conspiracy, claiming their monopoly as sacred private property.

Corporate forms are but the investitures of commanding men. Take off the investitures; the men would remain, and their property would still be theirs. "When it is considered," says the report of Congress of 1893, "that it is a law of business for each proprietor to pursue his own interest, it necessarily follows that proprietors who have a common interest will act in concert, and it requires no stipulation to bind them."

Freedom of livelihood gone.

Even if the insignificant minority still living in the coal, oil and other centralized industries continue to survive, no relief for the public can be expected from them. They might be saved by railroad reform, but they would take advantage of the prices set by the ruling power. It is a well known law of trade that where an overshadowing power over prices and conditions has been gained by any element, the minority take the benefit of the standard it upholds. "The public, however, must bear in mind," says the report of Congress of 1893, "that where so preponderating a quantity of any given article is controlled by one organization, it will be natural that the holders of the smaller portion should fall into line with the price fixed by the larger. This has been the case within the last season."

Private property in the coal trust, the oil trust and others has reached a size and strength, where neither tariff reform, nor railroad reform, nor state ownership of the railroad can make it give back to the people the freedom of livelihood and markets in which are ultimately involved all other freedoms. The rapid growth of trusts and combinations in Great Britain — England is plastered all over with trusts, said the late Mr. Blaine — and in Europe, proves that deeper causes are at work, and that stronger remedies must be sought. Modern conditions have produced individuals who singly or in small groups can prevent their fellow men from refining oil, of digging coal, or killing cattle, or putting up telegraphs, or building a competing railroad into New York city, or making harvesters, or what not.

Some notable recommendations.

First, by way of recommendation, we call upon the voices of conscience, of the press, pulpit, schools and society to demand of the possessors of these powers of life and death that they use them even though their private property for the public good, and cease the evil practiced by which they are appropriating the property of competitors, employees and the public, often contrary to law, and always without consent or compensation. "Let my people go."

Second. All the facts concerning the syndicates controlling or seeking control of the necessities of life, — their relations with the owners of the highways, their methods on competition, employment, and price regulation, and their wealth, — the public must know. The public must insist that their representatives in the legislatures, railway

commissions and grand jury rooms make these investigations, but must not wait for them, but by private effort and through all guilds, unions, alliances, circles and societies must search out how a few persons have got and hold the power to make the bargains of 65 millions of free people.

Third. For the relief of the poor in the cities who now pay the price of two or three tons of coal to get one ton, coal-yards should be established both by philanthropy, as has been done in New York, and by municipalities to sell by the basket at the same rates as by the ton.

Highways a function of sovereignty.

Fourth. To put a stop to the further appropriation by the owners of the highways of the property dependent upon them, transportation reform with which Congress and the states have been dilly-dallying since railroads came, must be consummated at once and forever. Government regulation is a failure in the states, the United States and Great Britain. The reformers who believed that the publicity got through commissions would be a remedy have had their innings. We know now that we have to deal with persons so great that they do not care for publicity. Publicity is not the remedy; it is only a trumpet call to a remedy. State regulation means regulation of the state by the railroads. Creation and maintenance of highways is a function of sovereignty, and government of the people must be by the people. Railroad rates are taxes, and to pay taxes levied by the private power of railway corporations is taxation without representation, worse than that of George III. Highways can be created only by the use of governmental powers, like eminent domain, to take the property of citizens by force without their consent though with compensation. Government acquires such powers by sacrifices made by all for all, and can not rightfully grant them to private individuals for private profit. Railroad highways were made the private property of the few by betrayal of the fundamental rights of the people by their representatives. When we gave the highways as a privilege we set the example which their owners are bettering to make themselves and their friends a privileged class in all other livelihoods. We must trust some one. Between trusting the public to manage its own business on the principle, from all, by all, and trusting private individuals with public powers for private gain, a people fit to be free can easily choose. If the people are not competent to exercise their own powers they are not competent to delegate them. As to the highways, so as to all public franchises and functions. No private use of public powers.

Public ownership the remedy.

Fifth. Private ownership when it reaches monopoly of any necessary of life must be state ruled or state owned. By tariff reform, tax reform, land tax reform, by the enforcement of reasonable prices, through the courts, by legislative authority, reviving the price regulation of the middle ages, or, these failing, by the exercise of the sovereign power of eminent domain the right of the people to a voice in the disposal of the products of their labor, and to say what they will give and what they will take, must be restored to them. "Any private control of a thing designed by the God of all for all," says the report to Congress in 1888, "should be regulated by all through the government."

The power to regulate is the power to confiscate, and the power to confiscate must end in ownership.

We might as well begin with ownership, since regulation must end there. "The state," says the report of Congress of 1888, "could easily exercise the right of eminent domain by taking possession of all the anthracite lands at a fair valuation, and then throw them open to free competition, in mining at a reasonable royalty sufficient to pay the interest on the debt she would thereby contract."

Sixth. Centralized wealth is the cause and the effect of this centralized and cruel control of the necessities of life. This monopoly of monopolies must by the full use of the taxing power, by eminent domain, be dispersed and prevented from re-centralizing itself either individually or through corporate forms by which it achieves consolidation, perpetuity, privilege, irresponsibility and impunity from corporal punishment. Wealth is as much a social product of, by and for all as government, and must be made, as government has been made, compatible with the inalienable rights of all to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Seventh. The people must first cast out of their own eyes the beams of greed, seeking to get of each more than we give, before we can hope to pull the mote of the eye of our brother, who has but outrun us to monopoly.

GOVERNMENT RAILROADS IN PRUSSIA.

Prof. Cohn of Gottingen says in the Journal of Political Economy, published by Chicago University, that neither in Prussia nor Germany would any practical man think of returning to the private ownership of railroads. Prussia was kept from adopting the system of state railroads for a time by the fact that the government could not incur a debt without the consent of Parliament, and until the democratic revolution of 1848 the government avoided the assembling of Parliament. It was in 1849 that the new popular Assembly determined upon the first great state railway, and the state took into its hands the administration of a number of subsidized roads, which yielded unsatisfactory revenues. This stage of state management lasted until about 20 years ago, when the movement in favor of public control of railways which swept over western Europe led in Prussia to a demand for the union of all the railways under the control of the state. In 1879, the first bill providing for the acquisition of private railways was passed, the chief ground for its passage being the waste of capital through the construction of duplicate and triplicate lines, where a single line with low charges might have handled all the traffic. Although the government paid most liberally for the roads, each year they not only paid in full the interest on the railway debt, but that on the entire state debt. In addition they yielded a very substantial surplus, which in the fiscal year from April 1, 1889 to March 31, 1890, reached the maximum amount of 35 million dollars. Moreover, more than 135 million dollars of the railway debt has been extinguished.

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CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

ANTI-TRUST CONFERENCE AT CHICAGO.

Over 30 States Represented. The Conference not Willing to Face the Issue. A Bolting Conference. Note and Comment.

The anti-trust convention, composed of men appointed by about 30 governors of state, met in Chicago on the 5th. Among the delegates present were Gen. James B. Weaver of Iowa, Senator Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, Henry D. Lloyd, Thomas Morgan, Lester C. Hubbard and Mrs. A. P. Stevens of Illinois, Henry R. Legate of Massachusetts, Editor McLallin of the Topeka Advocate and Noah Allen of Kansas. Mr. Lloyd was chosen temporary chairman and Gov. Knute Nelson permanent chairman.

In his opening address Gov. Nelson pointed out the evils of unlawful combinations and the inadequacy of the present laws to remedy the evil.

E. Rosewater, editor of the Omaha Bee, was chosen chairman of the committee on resolutions. This committee spent a good part of Monday night drawing resolutions, and on Tuesday presented the majority report. A strong effort was made to have it adopted as a whole, but this was objected to by the minority of the committee, who favored more radical measures, and after a spirited and somewhat lengthy debate, it was voted to take up each resolution separately. The report did not go beyond a general denunciation of trusts and a demand for the enforcement of the laws against trusts. This was not satisfactory to the minority, and the differences that had developed in the committee came to the surface in the convention, and the minority, led by Gen. J. B. Weaver, Ignatius Donnelly and Henry D. Lloyd, attempted to have substitute resolutions adopted.

It was evident that the trusts had succeeded in getting some of their friends appointed as delegates even to an anti-trust convention. One delegate from Pennsylvania went so far as to say that he did not believe there was a trust in his state. He finally said that he had been a coal operator for many years, and denounced, as anarchists all who wished for more radical measures. A vote was taken upon each resolution, and those reported by the majority were carried by small majorities. It now became evident that nothing of any importance was to be accomplished, and Dr. McLallin announced that those favoring more radical action would meet at the Palmer house in the evening. In pursuance of this request, delegates representing 13 states met, made Gen. Weaver chairman, and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, that since it has been demonstrated officially that the business of mining, transporting and selling anthracite coal is a monopoly, the government should take

possession of the anthracite coal fields by right of eminent domain.

Resolved, that since it has been officially shown that the bituminous coal business is going the same way, the bituminous coal fields should be similarly taken possession of.

Resolved, that since it has been officially shown that the railroads are similarly monopolizing iron and timber lands, and, since it is thus shown to be a law of industry that ownership of the highways is ownership of the railways, therefore the people must become their own owners by making themselves the owners of their own highways.

Resolved, that we recommend to the several states now owning coal lands and to the United States government that all lands not now sold containing coal, metals or forests, be held for the use and benefit of all the people, and that means be provided by which the coal shall be mined and sold to the people at the actual cost of production.

Resolved, that this congress, opposing, as it does, the greatest of all trusts—the financial trust—demand a return to bimetalism in order that the common people may enjoy the blessing of free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present ratio of 16 to 1.

In case the struggle between the people and these business conspiracies became desperate, the convention favored the confiscation of the property of trusts as a weapon of defense. The convention appointed this committee to form a permanent organization: Ignatius Donnelly Minnesota, chairman; Dr. S. McLallin, Kansas, secretary; W. R. Collicott, Colorado; Henry R. Legate, Massachusetts; Gen. Weaver, Iowa and Noah Allen, Kansas.

The most notable event of the entire proceedings was the address of Henry D. Lloyd, Tuesday afternoon. The regular convention voted to adopt it as its address to the people, but upon the refusal of that body to adopt some definite plan of legislation, Mr. Lloyd withdrew it, and the bolting convention unanimously voted to send it out as an address to the people. The address, which is a masterly one, will be found in another part of this paper.

The politicians succeeded in limiting the action of the main conference to glittering generalities, and the eastern papers were quite as careful to weed out the proceedings of the convention from their news columns. They realize that when the trusts go, the news monopoly will go with it.

Note and Comment.

New York Sun: But as far as we know, experience hasn't shown the necessity of any new legislation on the subject of trusts, and the poppycock parliament on the subject held in Chicago this week will be superfluous.

Ignatius Donnelly's new paper, the Representative, is full of just the kind of material populists want and the general public needs. The editor in a dispatch from Chicago concerning the anti-trust convention: "It now looks as if the anti-trust question would be the battleground in 1894 and 1896 and parties formed on new lines."

Wellington (Kan.) Voice: Straws show which way the wind blows. A number of republican papers in this state have suspended publication since the last election. Not

only this, but the demand for people's party literature is so strong that the ready-print and stereotype-plate houses employ the best writers obtainable and make a specialty of populist reading matter. Further — you don't hear of populists going back to the old parties in droves or in single numbers even.

The Franklin County (O.) convention of the people's party adopted on the 3d resolutions demanding the initiative and referendum, the nationalization of the liquor traffic and of all public utilities.

THE LINCOLN CONVENTION.

We print below the resolutions of the Nebraska Legislature passed last February, which led to the calling of the Lincoln convention to consider the building of a publicly-owned railroad from the Dakotas to the gulf.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States has appropriated six million dollars to make a deep-water harbor on the gulf of Mexico; and

Whereas, the construction of such deep-water harbor would be of little value to the great interior basin of the continent without a north and south railroad to said harbor; and

Whereas, a road costing \$23,000 per mile could be constructed from the north line of Dakota to the gulf for the sum of 27 million dollars; and

Whereas a tax of five cents per acre on the lands of the 10 great states lying in the great interior basin would construct said road and leave a surplus of two million dollars; and

Whereas, the exports of wheat, cattle, beef products, meat products and breadstuffs of all kinds, amount in round numbers to 475 million dollars annually, on which there would be a direct saving in transportation equal to 20 per cent, amounting to 94 million dollars annually, or sufficient to pay the cost of said road three and one half times; and

Whereas, the furnishing of said interior, north and south, transportation would attract the great manufacturing industries to the great interior valleys and make them the most populous as well as the wealthiest portion of the country, so that Nebraska in 10 years would have five million people, with many prosperous cities like Lincoln and Omaha; and

Whereas, by said transportation facilities the value of the arable lands of said interior states would soon be enhanced in value at least 25 per cent, and the value of other property proportionately increased, amounting in all to a sum 100 times greater than the cost of said loan; now therefore be it

Resolved, by the Senate of the state of Nebraska, the House concurring, that it is the sense of this Legislature that the said 10 states should immediately take measures for a co-operative effort to build said road, with its necessary branches and feeders; and that when the same is built it should be owned by the people of the said 10 states and operated as a single line at cost for the benefit of its owners, viz., all the people;

Resolved, that the governor of this state be requested to communicate with the governors of the states of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and the territory of Oklahoma, and propose a convention of delegates from each of the said states, to be appointed by the respective governors thereof, to be held in the near future at some central point, to discuss and mature ways and means for the construction of said north and south road.

The convention will assemble on the 28th. The western papers identified with the old parties are multiplying objections to a publicly-built road. The Lincoln Alliance-Independent closes an argument in answer to an old-party attack as follows: "Besides, the western states may not have to build this road after all. Perhaps the voice of the West may be heard in Congress. Perhaps the north and south line may be the first great experiment in 'government ownership.' Even the 'populist cranks' don't expect to build this road the 28th of June, nor within a month or a year thereafter. The convention has been called simply to discuss a measure of great interest to the people of these great western states."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

At a recent meeting of the Stoneham Board of Trade, that body voted to recommend the acceptance, by the town, of the legislative act permitting municipalities to establish and maintain their own lighting plants. The secretary was instructed to see that an article to that effect be inserted in the warrant for the next town meeting.

Connecticut.

The Library association of Connecticut has secured the passage of a bill creating a state library commission, which is to encourage with advice and money the founding of libraries in the towns of the state. The law is suggested by and modeled after the law passed four years ago in Massachusetts, which through the agency has given library privileges to towns without them, so that now but four per cent of all the people of Massachusetts may be said to be without library privileges.

Ohio.

Cleveland Citizen: Competition is rapidly driving the small merchants out of business. Nationalization of all industries as they become trusts is the only salvation of our free institutions.

Miscellaneous.

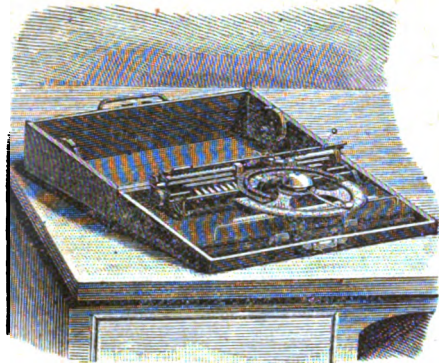
Fort Worth (Tex.) Advance: Fort Worth has just turned over as a gift to some Philadelphia bankers the franchise to lay tracks on, and operate steam or electric railway over, such streets as are not already given up to other monopolistic enterprises. One alderman alone stood up for the city's rights and followed the lead of the advance in demanding that the rapid transit company should at least pay into the city treasury \$200,000 for the desired control of the streets. He was sat upon by the lobby, by two subsidized papers and by the ring in control of municipal affairs. Is this cry, going up all over this land, for municipal ownership of natural monopolies to fall upon deaf ears? No! In the East, where giant monopolies have long tested the will of the people, a brighter day is dawning.

Rev. D. W. Griffin of Highland, Ct., at the district association of Methodist ministers' meeting, reviewed favorably the book, "The Social Horizon." He said: "One of my church members tells me that the principles of the New Testament are not applicable to business, and judging from his advertisements, they are not. Some say we are 200 years ahead of time in advocating these principles, but I believe we are 1800 years behind time."

Foreign.

A foreign dispatch says that it is understood in Rome that the Italian government has found that it would not be expedient to adopt the proposal to establish a monopoly in petroleum, and has therefore abandoned the project of adding to the revenue by such a monopoly. It is said, however, that in order to obtain an increased income the government will substitute a monopoly of the life and fire insurance business in place of the proposed petroleum monopoly. It is estimated that the granting of a monopoly of the insurance business of the country will add 10 million dollars to the revenue.

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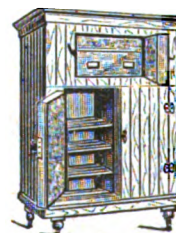
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Edward Bellamy—Editor

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Boston, Mass., June 24, 1893.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The press dispatches from the West are again heavy with dismal accounts of the populists to fill the ranks of the Kansas militia with followers of Gov. Llewelling as a preliminary step toward holding the capital at all hazards. It is also stated that the people's party has all gone to pieces and that Kansas will fall into the arms of the republican party. These rumors devour each other. Not

only in Kansas, but all through the West the cause of the people as against the monopolists has deepened and broadened since November. Mr. Pomeroy's letter, elsewhere printed in this issue, shows how radical and true is the working of men's minds in the West. Let there be no mistake. The old parties have lost the West and the tide of battle is grandly moving to the East.

Rule of Distinction Between City, State and National Operation under the Plan of Nationalism.

The Springfield Republican says:

These populists have a way of hitting sore spots. In Pennsylvania the other day they held a state convention and passed a resolution calling for the state ownership of the coal mines, whereupon the Philadelphia Telegraph candidly remarked that "the state would be hard pushed to do worse as a coal manager than the owners and transportation companies have done." Such facts as that give strength to the populists.

We should say so. While, however, such a proposition as this of the Pennsylvania populists for state ownership of the coal mines, is a most cheering indication, The New Nation finds decidedly preferable the nationalization proposition for ownership and operation of the coal mines by the general government, which was put forth by the bolting representatives of 13 states at the late Chicago anti-trust conference, and printed in last week's paper.

Public management of common concerns such as this is better in all cases than private management, but there are some functions best undertaken by municipalities or metropolitan districts, some, but only a few, by states, and others, and the largest class, by the nation. The general rule in these cases is that a city or state should only undertake, except provisionally, functions and services upon which its own citizens are exclusively dependent. Otherwise we should have relations of superiority and dependence established between different communities which would be likely to develop a friction more dangerous to the peace of the country (inasmuch as it would involve larger bodies), but a friction otherwise quite of the same kind as now exists under the competitive system between individuals. For instance, anthracite coal is used by a

large number of the states, but one or two states possess a monopoly of it. It is something the same with bituminous coal, salt, tobacco, iron and other commodities indefinitely. We do not want the various cities and states as communities taking advantage of one another's necessities under municipal and state ownership and driving a hard bargain, just as individuals, corporations and syndicates now do under private capitalism. That would be reversion toward the middle ages, not progress toward nationalism. The possibilities of such a state of things only need to be suggested to show the necessity of intelligence in the application of the principle of public ownership.

No such great movement as this from the competitive system toward nationalism could take place strictly according to program or without innumerable mistakes and crude and unscientific applications of the governing principle. As we said at the outset, declarations for state ownership and operation of oppressive monopolies are most cheering indications, even when the particular business proposed for state ownership, as the coal supply business for instance, is one that should properly be nationalized. Before the program takes effect, there will be time enough to perfect the form of the particular bills. At the same time, in proportion as the time of the crisis draws near, the form of the bills ought to be considered; for when a crisis arrives, it is those who know, not merely in a general way, but exactly and precisely, what ought to be done, who are able to be most useful.

The Half-pint Package not to Drunk on the Premises Idea Again.

Some time since we printed an editorial opposing the proposition to engraft upon the state management no-profit plan of conducting the liquor traffic, a provision taken from the South Carolina law, that sales should be only in sealed packages of not less than half a pint, not to be drunk on the premises.

We print elsewhere a communication from a reader who takes exception to our conclusions on this subject. Its particular interest lies in the illustration it affords of the confusion of ideas which appears so frequently to affect old line prohibitionists in their attempts to grapple the state management no-profit plan. All that our correspondent says (except his decidedly fanciful statistics) about the abuses of the saloons under the present system is quite true, but has not the slightest relevancy to the state agencies under the no-profit plan. It is precisely to put an end to the abuses he depicts that the state agency is proposed, and unless the critic can show that those abuses would persist under the no-profit plan, he has no basis for his argument whatever.

In point of fact the state agency, run by an agent having absolutely no motive to get or keep customers or promote sales, under bonds and with police authority to enforce all legal restrictions and conditions and prevent all nuisances, would be likely to be found the quietest place of business in town and the one of all others where intoxicants would be certain not to be abused.

Of course, it may be asserted that even under the restraints of such a system, drinking on the premises would be worse than drinking at home. We do not think so, but anybody else is of course free to. But while the point is one of opinion and incapable of proof, there are practical objec-

tions of expediency to the half-pint package not to be drunk on the premises plan, quite independent of other considerations. They are two. First, in order to get state management at all in this state and in many others you must avoid giving it the appearance of a prohibition measure. If you do that the saloon interest supported by the drinking voters or sympathizers will be able to beat your proposition every time. In order to win, your proposition must be directed against the saloons and not against the freedom of their customers. By thus winning over the saloon customers you will be able to beat the saloon keepers and not otherwise. "Divide and Conquer" is the maxim of the successful strategist and is in this instance the only policy that can accomplish anything. Secondly, even if you could get your semi-prohibition bill enacted, as perhaps would be possible in some states, the great demand of the drinking community for single drinks just when they were wanted, would create a custom for unlicensed dealers at any prices they chose to charge and would rally a host of sympathizers to their aid.

Our prohibitionist friends have been so used to working without results that they have come to depend for consolation on their good intentions. It is not so with the nationalists who are not satisfied with good intentions, but mean to have results too. Some reformers would rather be beaten with a perfect bill than get a half-way measure through, but nationalists are not made that way. They are always ready to take half a loaf and having tucked that away, to promptly reach for the other half.

We do not want to see the state management no-profit plan handicapped with restrictions, conditions and prohibitions which when they do not effectually prevent its enactment, are likely to cause a break-down in practice and throw discredit upon the whole idea. There is nothing the saloon-keeper would like better to see than just this.

Why the Italian State Insurance Scheme is not quite in the Line of Nationalism.

The extension of governmental ownership and operation over the field of commerce, industry and business generally, is the immediate program of nationalism, but it does not follow at all that all projects of governmental assumption of business, without discrimination, are approved by nationalists. For example, it is only when the government assuming operation of a business, is democratic in form or in real effect, that the step is one in the direction of nationalism because what nationalists aim at is the application of popular government to the economic system. When the government is kingly and the royal principle is strong, the extension of its functions may be a step right away from popular government, helping to strengthen the monarchical system. It is true, indeed, that the results of the governmental management of business, even in monarchies, as the German management of telegraphs and railways, may and are properly quoted to show the superior cheapness and efficiency of that method, but nationalists would be slow to admit that it was prudent to secure even these advantages by so risky a plan as extending the powers of a strongly personal government. The establishment of a democratic form of government is the first step toward nationalism.

There are other circumstances also, under which the gov-

ernment ownership and operation of public services or businesses is by no means approved of by nationalists or regarded by them as logically tending toward nationalism. We refer to cases where the business is taken over and run primarily to raise money for the government treasury. Instances of this abuse are presented by the tobacco monopoly in France, the match monopoly in various foreign states, the salt monopoly practiced by some governments. These monopolies are in many cases as oppressive as private monopolies would be and tax the consumers all they will bear. Of course it is some satisfaction that the profits go into the public treasury and take the place of other taxes, instead of swelling the hoards of millionaires and corporations, but this is by no means the way in which nationalists would manage a public business. They would not use such a business as a means of taxation. They would not have the people as business managers make a profit on themselves. Do other persons in business make a profit out of themselves? Why then should the people? Nationalists would run all the publicly managed businesses as nearly as might be at cost, giving the people what would otherwise be the profits, in the form of reduced prices. Instead of throwing the burden of taxation on the publicly managed businesses, and thus bringing the principle of public operation into odium, than which private capitalism would like nothing better, the proper course would be to throw the burden of taxation rather upon businesses run for private profit, thus strengthening the tendency toward public management, the consummation of which will make taxation an obsolete word, only to be understood by the study of outgrown social conditions.

The text of this editorial, somewhat against the rules, comes at the end, being the proposition of the Italian government to make a government monopoly of the insurance business.

The New Nation, as is well known, is a strong advocate of state insurance for life and fire, but we do not look with special favor on this Italian scheme. In the first place it is undertaken by a monarchical government and not a popular government. The monarchy is so weak that perhaps this point might be waived, were it not that the non-popular character of the enterprise appears still more strongly in the fact that the government is in this thing for the money there is in it and not primarily at least for the relief of the people, just as the French government is in the tobacco business, and the Swedish towns under the Gothenburg plan in the liquor business. It is estimated that the Italian government can turn 10 million dollars a year into the treasury as profits from the insurance business. If it were proposed to save this amount to the people by doing the business at cost, here would be a measure of great public beneficence, and if in addition this measure were undertaken by a democratic government, that is by the people for themselves, it would be a sure enough step toward nationalism. Possibly some measure of public relief in connection with its profit-making policy, is contemplated by the Italian government in this proposition. We shall look with interest for further details concerning it. In one way, at any rate the scheme is bound to furnish the nationalists with ammunition, namely, by the evidence that it will bring out, and has indeed already, of the vast extortion now practiced by the

private companies, many of which are American companies. It is the fatness of these stealings which has attracted the attention of the bankrupt Italian king, who argues that if the people are bound to be bled, they had better be bled for public than private purposes.

One thought to take to bed with you, we suggest in closing. If in comparatively petty and poverty-stricken Italy, with a population of 30 million, for the most part sunk in extreme poverty, 10 million dollars a year are extorted in the form of profit by insurance companies, how many hundred millions a year represent the tax levied on this richest and largest nation of the earth in the name of insurance? The nationalists do not propose that the government shall confiscate these stealings as the Italian government wants to do, but that it shall save them to the people by state insurance at cost.

We venture the prediction that state insurance at cost is one of the nearest as well as one of the longest steps toward nationalism to be taken by the American people.

Let the Wage-Earner Demand the Legal Protection Enjoyed by the Tenant.

What is the difference between being evicted from a farm or from a tenement, and being discharged from a factory or workshop, or other place of employment? There is not a bit of difference as to principle, and the fact that popular feeling recognizes a difference, simply calls attention to the fact that the relation of landlord and tenant is historically older than that of employer and wage-earner, and the prejudices bred of it are correspondingly deeper and more instinctive. So we see in Ireland agrarian legislation for fixing rents of lands by courts, taking the whole question out of the landlord's hands and telling him just when and how and not otherwise he may get rid of a tenant that does not pay. But the men who vote such laws as this would be horrified at the suggestion that the state should fix the wages for factory operatives or interfere with their discharge at the will of the overseer.

So we see in this country, and everywhere for that matter, a great to-do made over the eviction of non-paying tenants by landlords on the part of papers and persons who would denounce as socialistic and anarchistic any suggestion that employees in factories ought to be protected in their employment and not discharged at the mere will of the employer.

Is there any reason for this distinction between eviction and discharge, between the tenure of a tenement and the tenure of a job? Not the slightest, except the prejudice referred to.

The only necessary difference between a landlord and a manufacturer is that one has invested his money in land and the other in business. If the one has a title to a profit on his investment, the other has precisely the same. If the one ought to be obliged to retain a tenant who does not pay, the other ought to be obliged to continue to pay wages to an employee for whom he has no work. If it is right for the Legislature to fix the rent of the tenant, it is right for it to fix the wage of the artisan.

As regards the sentimental argument, the man without a house is not so badly off as the man without a job, for the man with a job can get shelter, while the man without a job

will starve for all his shelter. It is said that the farmer tenant at least differs from the employee in that he has improved the farm during his occupancy. Sometimes he has done so, but surely the employee, if he has been a good worker, has done the same for the business in which he was engaged.

The land laws of Ireland are a sufficient precedent and argument for legislation fixing the wages of every artisan in England. Moreover, there is not the slightest reason why the same legal formalities of dispossession warrants and what not according to the several state codes in this country, which now hamper a landlord in getting rid of a non-paying tenant, should not be made incumbent on every employer before he discharges an employee.

Along this line we recommend workingmen's organizations to work in demanding legislation. Let them follow the analogy of the existing and unquestioned legislation for the benefit of tenants of farms and houses or tenements in the matter of protection from capricious or unreasonable dispossession and also (according to British precedent) as to the matter of judicial fixing of rent, corresponding (in the artisan's case) to fixing of wages. Let workingmen's organizations put forward the claim to a vested right in any employment, analogous to that of the tenant in his house or land, a right to be devested only by certain formalities and on certain conditions.

Do we then believe that the solution of the industrial social problem is to be found by any conceivable regulation or modification of the present system of rich and poor, landlord and tenant, employer and wage-earner? A thousand times no. The system and the relation must utterly pass away and give place to economic equality and a democratic industrial government. The merit of the method we recommend lies in the fact that its application will render the conduct of industry by private capital impossible and so help to bring about the new order of things which must come about before we have any order at all.

Mr. Robinson's "Railway Party."

The North American Review does not advertise to be a comic periodical, but if it publishes many more articles like that of Mr. H. P. Robinson's in the June number, Puck and Judge will have to look out for their laurels. Mr. Robinson advocates the formation of a new party in American politics "The Railroad Party" whose calling and election shall be to organize political resistance to the attempts of the people, through legislatures and Congress to regulate the railroads, moderate their exactions and extend governmental control over them in the public interest. Mr. Robinson argues that there are about a million holders of railroad securities besides 700,000 railroad employees. In the union of these elements he sees the nucleus of the new party which is to represent at the polls the cause of the railroads against the people. The only way it would be possible to get the railroad employees to vote for their managers in the present state of feeling between them would be to procure a decision from Judge Ricks declaring that when engaged in handling "interstate business," such as a presidential election, it is not always the right of a railroad employee to vote as he chooses but only in such a manner as shall not interfere with the business of the road. As to

the security-holders of the railroads, we imagine Mr. Robinson would find it about as difficult to get them to back up the policy of the roads against the legislatures, as to command the support of the employees. The worst enemies of the investors' interests are not the legislatures but the road wrecking, stock-gambling presidents and directors at whose mercy they are. The security-holder is far more likely to appeal to the legislatures against the policy of the railroad managers than to unite with the latter to resist the legislatures.

Perhaps the Judge will not be here, but how about his Children?

A correspondent writes:

I recently met a learned gentleman—a judge in one of our courts, who told me about two years ago that he was in favor of nationalism. I said to him, "Do you read *The New Nation*?" To my surprise he replied, "No, that's for the twentieth century and I don't expect to be here then."

Possibly the learned judge may not be here in the twentieth century, but his children, if he has any, will be here, and his grandchildren and his nephews and nieces, if he has any, will also be here. Has he no concern for them? There are evil forces at work in this country today which threaten, unless resisted and overthrown, to make life not worth living for our children. The men who think they will do their duty by their offspring if they leave them a little money, a house, a few stocks and bonds, are grievously blinded. Unless the advance of the monopolizing movement be arrested, there will be no such thing in the next generation as the large class of well-to-do and moderately wealthy people, to which the average professional and business man expects his children to belong. There will be left 25 years hence no considerable well-to-do class, no large middle class as to wealth and comfort, but on the one hand a few thousand great families of multi-millionaires, and on the other hand, 100 million lackeys and wage-earners, and the chances are a thousand to one that the children of most of us will belong to the great mass of the mudsills.

Unless you can fortify your children with millions, you might as well leave them to depend on their brain and muscle. Little estates, small fortunes, are being fast and soon will be wholly absorbed by the magnetism of the masses and go to swell the great accumulations. The law of monopoly is, "to him who hath shall be given, and from him who hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have."

Today the only good parents, the only fathers and mothers who are making any intelligent effort to provide for the future of their children after they themselves are dead are the reformers who are studying the monopolistic movement and combining to overthrow it. The man who has a family of children coming on, is showing himself a more capable father, one more wisely faithful to his responsibility for the future of his children, if he is spending his money like water for the nationalist propaganda than if he is putting it in the bank.

We do not doubt that the learned judge, to whom our correspondent refers, spoke hastily and that he will upon reflection readily admit that twentieth century questions are precisely those of all others which should interest middle-aged persons, especially if they have children.

THERE ARE BETTER TIMES A'COMING.

These are troublous times, my brethren,
 And injustice rules, I ween,
 But the voice of God is calling,
 And his arm shall come between
 The oppressor and the helpless,
 And this truth ye now may glean,
 There are better times a'coming
 Than the earth has ever seen!

With weary hearts, my brethren,
 Thro' the long and struggling years,
 Ye have garnered wealth for others,
 For yourselves the crop was tears,
 Bitter bread and barren hearthstone,
 \Weary care and anxious fears,
 But a better day is coming,
 Even now the dawn appears!

The light now breaks, my brethren,
 Don't you see the reddening dawn?
 Don't you see the harvest ripening
 Of the seed that has been sown?
 Tho' ye reap not, still be hopeful,
 Trust to God, who leads His own;
 There are better times a'coming
 Than the earth has ever known!

In that coming true, my brethren,
 There shall be fulfilled the dream,
 Of peace on earth, good-will to men,
 That prophets have foreseen;
 And the joy that comes of serving,
 Shall be labor's laurel green
 In the golden days a'coming,
 Such as earth has never seen!

MRS. J. L. PITTMAN.

Amherst, Mass., June, 1893.

*THE SITUATION IN KANSAS AS A JERSEY
MAN SEES IT.*

To the Editor of The New Nation:

Being here on a short business trip, I determined to find out the real inwardness of the troubles last winter, and what the prospects of the people's party in Kansas now are.

First. The Kansas City Farmers' Implement association, an entirely non-political and strictly business association in another state, made the assertion that if Kansas had had the same railway maximum freight law as Iowa, the people of Kansas would have saved two million dollars a year in the freight and on the farming implements alone. This is the milk in the cocoanut. The railroads wanted the control of the railway commission and no new railway laws. And for the present they have carried their point, but at the expense of solidifying and increasing the opposition in the future. They had the supreme court, two of the judges being republicans and one populist. They had the old returning board, which was composed of the former governor, secretary of state, attorney and treasurer, all republican. At first there were 14 contests, two of which were for seats which the returning board had given to populists and 12 to republicans. This was afterwards increased by three more contests for populist seats, making

12 republican and 5 populist contests. Two of the populist and I think five or seven of the republican contests were over the fact that the candidate declared elected was a federal office-holder, usually a postmaster. The two populists had sent in their resignations, but they had not been accepted by the third assistant postmaster at Washington, who was then a republican and had been properly posted. They were, I believe, finally ousted. Three of the republican contestants who occupied their seats have since gone back to their postmasterships and are drawing Uncle Sam's salary. The county clerk who sent in the vote on one of the republican contestants, sent in a sworn affidavit that he had made an error in entering the name and gave the proof of it, another, that he had made a wrong count; but the supreme court, by a strictly party vote, made a decision that the returning board having once made a decision and adjourned, could not be re-convened to investigate these errors.

It had always been the custom, though the law is silent on this point, for the clerk of the previous House to make up and call the roll, omitting contested seats. This gentleman was a populist. Thereat the republicans insisted that the House should be organized contrary to precedent with the contestants in it. Then followed the now well-known manœuverings, riots and almost bloodshed, in which the general commanding the state militia refused to obey the orders of his military superior, the governor, an act for which in time of war a man is shot. By this the governor was left without any force to carry out his authority. Topeka was full of armed men brought in by the Santa Fe railroad. Two thousand passes were issued in one day, and one pass was seen numbered seventeen thousand and some odd. The plan of a large part of the republicans was to create such a riot, with perhaps the injuring or abducting of Gov. Llewelling, whose election no one contested, as would excuse the United States government, then republican, for taking control of Kansas. Armed Farmers' alliances began to pour into the city, and the governor had the delicate and difficult duty of upholding authority without any power behind him. And even republicans say that he held his position with tact, decision and judgement. Then the republicans secured a supreme court decision on strictly party lines favorable to them. And the populists, under the guidance of Gov. Llewelling and Lieut.-Gov. Daniels, submitted to injustice rather than get their rights through bloodshed and an apparent though not real opposition to one of the constituted authorities.

The question is, which is the anarchist — the party which gave a medal to the militia general because he disobeyed orders, which wished to go contrary to precedent, which accepted if it did not instigate the armed mobs assembled on railroad passes, or the party which let go what it was positive were its rights that there might not be bloodshed nor the slightest stigma of lawlessness on their part? Many men who are more patriotic than partisan have left the republican party forever. The state bank examiner, who from the nature of his calling would not be likely to run across many such, names 14 in one town of five or six thousand, and all prominent citizens.

Was a railroad law passed? Yes, and vetoed by the governor. The republicans wished to get the prestige of

such a law. This law fixed no maximum freight rate, but delegated the power to the railway commission. This provision has been declared unconstitutional by the supreme courts of Iowa, Minnesota and I think other states. The Legislature has the power to fix the rates, and it can fix maximum and minimum rates, but it cannot delegate that power. This would enable railways to use the law as long as they wished, and then have it declared unconstitutional and void. Also the term of office of one of the three commissioners expired this spring and a populist has been appointed by the governor. This law provided that all the commission should hold over for a year and then that they should be elected, one every year.

The people's party is a farmers' or country party. At the state elections which occur every other year they can easily elect three commissioners, but on the off years they do not vote in such numbers, and the railways could easily pour in enough money into the towns to secure the election of the commissioner who would be the only state officer then elected. It was a very cunningly devised bill to secure the republican or railway control of the commission for at least a year and probably permanently.

Second. What is the future of the people's party in Kansas? Is it rapidly dying out as we've been repeatedly told by the eastern papers? The election this spring was heralded everywhere as a great republican victory, and the figures were given which seemed to sustain the facts. But the truth was only partially told, and in such a way as to make the misrepresentation more effective. It was an election in the cities and not a state election. The people's party has no strength in the cities, and in many of them no organization. In many cities the opposition was an independent and not a populist, so that whichever candidate was elected, his votes were counted as republican votes. This was the case in Topeka which has always been strongly republican and where the independent candidate was defeated. It is misleading to compare the total vote cast in the cities with a previous state election. In only four cities was the regular republican male vote increased over the last election. In all of the other cities it had decreased. This fact was not told by the associated press.

This was the first election in which women voted for city officers, and that vote went more largely to the republicans than to the opposition. This was disappointing to the populists. Yet they voted in the Legislature to submit to a popular vote the question of giving the complete franchise to women, and then the farmers' will have a chance to be counted.

The people's party in Kansas now control all of the state officers, many of the township officers, and they will control more after the township elections next fall, when they will surely have a majority of those offices and probably a large one. Of the 800 papers in the state, they control about 300, and the bulk of the remainder are republican, though quite a few are independent with populist leanings. But the populist papers are weeklies, made for and read by farmers, one of the ablest being the Topeka Advocate, with a circulation of 30,000. They badly need daily papers for their propaganda work in the cities. But it will be hard for them to establish successful daily papers against the

determined opposition of the associated press controlled by the Western Union telegraph.

One element of strength which has often been overlooked is the Farmers' alliance with its regular meeting and periodical rallies, picnics, etc. This has been the force with which politicians have not reckoned, and it has been an immense force, arousing the farmers, educating and welding them into one compact body. It is the cohesive bond which has shown them their power, explained the cause of their sufferings and shown them the way out — perhaps at times imperfectly and mistakenly, but certainly better than any other force. If the labor which has been co-operative to a certain extent had been as efficiently and as actively organized and pushed among the town population, the populists instead of having a good working majority, would have had five sixths of the voters on their side. The towns are today the weak point with the populists.

But of more avail than any scheme of organization or of any propaganda, no matter how active, has been the character and determination of the men who are at its head. They are plain honest farmers, merchants, editors, engineers, workers, who have all been used to hard work, have seen and many of them been through biting and unjust poverty, who have studied its causes and are determined. They lack perhaps the arts of the orator and the skill of the maneuvering politician, but they see what they want and are determined to get it. Said Dr. McLallin, editor of the Advocate, to me: "Tell your eastern friends that the people's party is here and it is going to stay here and it is growing. It will win." Said Gov. Llewelling "We're all nationalists out here and we're going to lead the states in making Kansas a government of, by and for the people. I receive reports from all over the state and I know our party is growing among all thinking people in Kansas. I think it is elsewhere, but I know it is in Kansas." Said Lieut.-Gov. Daniels: "The force opposing us was entrenched in the people's mind and affections and in all the offices; it was armed with the newspapers and politicians and defended by the associated press, the Western Union and the railroads. It has been a bitter fight, but we have won, and it will only be a question of a few years and much hard work before we can remedy many of the sufferings of the Kansans." Such a spirit and such men in such a cause means victory.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

Topeka, Kan., June, 1898.

A CRITICISM BASED ON MISUNDERSTANDING.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

All men will make effort to find that pathway which is beset with the fewest obstacles and least resistance. This applies to all effort, other conditions being equal. A thirsty man will gratify his appetite with water if he be compelled to walk a mile to obtain a stimulant; but effort being equal he would prefer the stimulant if in any way inclined, normally or abnormally, in that direction. The seller of stimulants has learned this fact and therefore builds his plant within the most travelled thoroughfares, adding every attraction that money and art can procure. Again every opportunity is furnished for the cultivation of the

social relations; not that the proprietor wishes to incur this expense to better entertain and please his patrons, but because the life of his business depends upon making his place as attractive as possible.

If the stimulants purchased could only be drunk at home or in their offices, customers would rapidly decrease in number. Ease of access to the evil results in sending millions of men to the penitentiary, almshouse and the grave, dragging their families into the vortex of shame and degradation. At this moment millions are floating upon the bosom of the intemperately temperate ocean of danger, and are unknowingly nearing the maelstrom which will carry the victims down where it will be everlastingly too late to be saved.

The saloon is the largest tributary to this whirlpool, enlisting its myriads daily to drift with the millions already embarked on a destiny from which even miraculous escapes are seldom known. In the absence of better evidence in the form of statistics, I am convinced that 25 per cent of the patronage of the saloons embraces young men who would be crestfallen if they believed that their friends knew of their frequenting such places.

Having a multitude of acquaintances among temperate imbibers, who improve opportunities solely on account of convenience accompanied with the pleasure of advertising their generous impulses, I am led to declare that the saloon is the root of the evil, and further that the absence of the saloon would reduce the consumption of stimulants 75 per cent. This reduction would be almost wholly on the part of those who have cultivated the appetite and not by those who are drinkers by heredity.

The parental nursery of intemperance is the saloon, which bereft of its profits, convenience and social attractions, would be the longest stride towards limiting intemperance of any course to be pursued. Abolish the saloon, and we should find that 90 per cent of those who would imbibe at home, if at all, would be saved by the abandonment of the habit on account of too close a relation to the family influence. Rarely would families become degraded and degenerate if the parents carried level heads in temperance and sobriety.

How much more favorably the custom would conform to public taste and decency if imbibers of intoxicants went home sober and practised intemperance only in private life. Under such conditions even the toper would be more respectable with the knowledge that only his immediate family knew of his disgrace; and after being out of reach of the temptations of the saloon, manhood would assert itself in many cases and finally move him up to the resolution of abnegation.

If you would "lead us not into temptation," destroy the custom by law of saloon tippling, whether at dramshops, pharmacies or state agencies, and save thereby 90 per cent of the present users of stimulants from their manifest destiny.

E. C. LEWIS.

Providence, R. I., June, 1893.

RICH MEN NOT AT FAULT BUT THE SYSTEM THAT MAKES RICH MEN.

Charlotte Perkins Stetson, the poet of nationalism so well known to our readers, read a prize essay on the labor movement before the trade and labor unions of Alameda county, Cal., Sept. 5, 1892, from which we quote the concluding paragraphs as especially timely:

"An intense class-hatred is growing up among us, mainly an imported article, but thriving finely here, — a dull rage against the rich. We speak of them with scorn, with fury, with sharp satire and stinging ridicule. We act as though

they were in our way. To the political economist the class is represented by the word Capital.

"That is an imposing word, but the fact it covers is, that in our blindness we have allowed a few men to have more than their share of what we make. It is owing to a diseased condition in the social organism that such a thing is possible; and the depraved cells, the morbid tissues, are not to be blamed for their unhappy state.

"In the healthy activity of interhuman functions, these so-called rich are functionless, inactive, helpless. In the power and pride of productive capacity, real human value, they are wanting. In the path of progress, the rising line of evolution, they stand very far back and low — relics of a time when man could only kill and eat and grow fat, and could not MAKE. A human being that does not work is a human being ungrown, not fully alive, or else decadent — retrograde — beginning to die. And it is these helpless ones, these infantile or senile weights on society, whom we allow to appropriate more than their share of human wealth! Whom we allow! And then blame them for being what they are! They are the inevitable result of the wrong conditions underlying our whole industrial system, and we have no right to hold ill-feeling against that part of the body where the disease shows most.

"If we should undergo a surgical operation, as did France a century ago, and use the knife to remove our tumorous growth of millionaires, it would only crop out in another place.

"The trouble with the body politic is lack of common consciousness. Once we have that — once we fully realize that we are one and our interest in common, then we shall see the absurdity of allowing the nutrition of the body to be diverted from the active organs which make it, and poured in unhealthy accumulation into these excrescences — the rich. It cannot be good for the body to have one part of itself better nourished than another. It cannot be good for man to have one part of himself better nourished than another. But it is beneath the dignity of this vast, intelligent body of humanity to waste energy in wincing and whining under its disease, or in striking viciously at the sore places.

"It is one of the most laughable pages of history to see this irresistible, all-conquering thing — the human race, spending so much time over an infinitesimal fraction of itself — this handful of poor rich. Why, the working population of the world could easily afford to put all its millionaires in an elegant park by themselves, build for them the houses they cannot build, make for them the clothes they cannot make, cook for them the food they cannot cook, write for them the books they cannot write — maintain them forever as interesting relics of barbarism — so that we go on about our business — the raising of the world. We must put an end to the causes of this millionaire disease, and then the existing crop would not trouble us. They are nothing but symptoms. We have played at life as a game too long. A game with little yellow counters, to be won by the players. We have no right to be angry if the best players — strictly according to rule, get it all. But we have the right — we have the duty, yes, and we have the power, — to stop our childish game forever and fall to work as man never worked before. To work, we of the higher classes, the specialized, productive classes, that the world may become a garden, full of stately and beautiful cities, fair towns and lovely villages; that the feeding of humanity be a brief and pleasant task, the clothing and housing it an artist's glory; and the teaching of our constant flood of fresh young life a task for man's noblest effort."

"Let us stop no longer to grieve over the past or rebel at the present. As the workers of humanity we hold the world in our hands, and can make it what he will. Forward then, in the light of truth and the warmth of mutual love! Forward in man's one work! — To help God make man better."

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE DAILY PRESS AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT.

A Lesson in Money. Wanted, a News Agency. Note and Comment.

"Those who are so fond of sneering at all expressions of public opinion on the currency question by others than fiscal experts would do well to bear in mind that in a self-governing country public opinion necessarily becomes, sooner or later, the law of the land. An ounce of intelligent discussion is better than a pound of supercilious assumption."

The Boston Advertiser seems to be preparing the way by means of paragraphs like the above for something beside brutal praise of a system of currency which enables a comparatively few men to corner the legal measure of values. Let us give an illustration of the way the money monopolists swindle the public. The Brockton Diamond says that a local banker has induced the city government to vote a loan of \$250,000, principal and interest payable in gold. The city does not need the money for the present, but the banker argued that there is danger of a panic, when and the city enters the market for money for sewers the fear is that the rates will be very high. The city has money deposited at the bank, and during a stringency might transfer temporarily without cost what was needed for sewers from some of the other department accounts. Instead of that, however, the city borrows \$250,000 at 5 per cent from the bank where it has a large deposit, then immediately deposits this sum with the bank which, allows 24 per cent on daily balances, and if temporary loans are needed by the city the bank agrees to accommodate the city fathers at 4 per cent. These temporary loans, as business is done mainly by check, would remain in part with the bank. We will not insult the intelligence of the reader by analyzing the extent of the thimble-rigging game which the banker has put up against the tax-payers of Brockton. This is what comes of farming out the public function of issuing money. So long as the people prefer a private monopolist to Uncle Sam as banker, this legalized swindle will continue.

The weak point in the reform movement is means of communication. The daily press is not hospitable to new orders of things. Hostility is nothing, but silence is serious, and the press, especially in the East, does not debate the populist demands upon their merits. Even legitimate news that squints toward radical relief of the people finds small favor with the Associated Press. Take the anti-trust convention at Chicago at other day. Although over 30 governors of states sent commissioners to the interstate conference to consider how the people could break the coal combine, the New England papers, as a rule, did not print any of the pro-

ceedings of June 5 and 6. The fate of the Associated Press dispatch concerning the second day's proceedings was odd enough. The Press reporters prepared about a column and a half. No one outside knows how much of it reached New York. In portions of Pennsylvania over a column was found, lodged at Pittsburg. Fragments of it were picked up in Central New York, and only three lines fell in Boston, so we are told by the local representative. The Boston Globe printed a special of two or three sticks, and since then The Traveller has given in full Henry D. Lloyd's noble address on the coal combine. Thus it is that not one reader in a hundred in New England knows of this western attempt to deal with a monster monopoly.

If a daily paper starts for the purpose of printing all the news, its career is not a happy one. The futile attempt to start a paper at Washington referred to in another column is one of many sad failures in that line.

Let reformers come at once to this conclusion: The sooner they establish news agencies the sooner they will have the pleasure of reading the news. In this connection it is good to learn that the populists of Kansas have secured a charter for the Kansas Bureau and News company. They propose to furnish the public reform books, papers and pamphlets, which the established agencies do not handle. Here is a pointer for other states. The honest people of this country must work out their own salvation, for their creatures, the monopolists, will not come to their aid.

Note and Comment.

The South Dakota populists meet at Huron on the 29th to nominate three supreme court judges.

The people's party workers are putting in big licks in Wisconsin, holding meetings, distributing literature, etc.

A German weekly, Die Wahrheit, has just been started in New York City with this at the head of its columns: "The only German weekly devoted to the interests of the people's party."

A state conference of populists will be held at Rutland, Vt. on the Fourth of July. Et tu Vermonte.

The Virginia populist convention meets at Lynchburg, August 3.

Mr. Aarestad maintained in a recent speech in the Norwegian Storting that the farmers of that country were deep in debt. "Those who now," he said, "in reality own the soil of Norway are the bank of Norway, the Land Mortgage bank, the savings banks and traders in towns." Mr. Aarestad talks like a populist.

The Pennsylvania convention of the people's party was held at Williamsport, June 14. A platform was adopted favoring the referendum, popular election of senators and postmaster-general, woman suffrage, graduated income and collateral inheritance tax, state school books, state bosses for mines and state ownership of coal mines, interchangeable gold, silver and paper money, abolition of company stores and several state reforms in the interest of labor.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Boston Advertiser: The New England Water-Works association is holding its convention at Worcester. It will probably not be many years before a convention can be held of the towns which operate both their own reservoir supply and their electric light service, and such a convention may include all the leading towns of the state. Municipal ownership is becoming a very popular sentiment in Massachusetts.

New York.

The Ellenville Press says that the trustees have agreed to buy the gas plant. Price paid \$11,000, and bonds to be issued to the amount of \$18,000 to pay for the works and make the necessary improvements.

Maryland.

An ordinance is to be introduced into the city council of Baltimore, asking the Legislature to pass an act enabling the city to acquire a plant for the lighting of its streets by electricity, and authorizing a loan for that purpose.

Pennsylvania.

In a message to the city council, the mayor of Lancaster recommends the city ownership and operation of an electric light plant. He also points out the mistake made in giving a perpetual franchise to the street railway company, and regrets that no attention is paid to the interests of the city by either the criminally ignorant or easily purchased body of men.

Georgia.

West Point will issue \$20,000 bonds for the erection of a municipal electric light plant.

Missouri.

The board of public works of Kansas City has reported in favor of municipal electric lighting. The report contains the following. "The board is in favor of the city owning a system of street lighting. The council, by resolution, instructed the board to investigate as to the probable cost of electric lighting with a plant consisting of 50, 100, 150 and 200 arc lights, the purpose being to utilize the surplus power in the city hall plant. Time was taken to thoroughly investigate the matter, and the result was tabulated and submitted. The proof is conclusive to the board that the municipal ownership of an electric light plant for lighting the streets is the best and most economical. The information gathered and tabulated only confirms our judgment in this, that Kansas City should own a street lighting system, and we believe the initial step has been taken that will lead to and eventually result in ownership. Street lighting is now costing the city nearly \$70,000. The proposition of the Western Electric company of Chicago, is to construct a plant, run it for three years at \$100,000 per year, and at the end of three years turn the plant over to the city. If the charter permitted, and this proposition could be changed, or a proposition obtained from a substantial concern, and a contract made to build a plant and run the same for a period of five years at \$70,000 per year, the money we are paying for street

lighting today would pay for a plant valued at \$300,000 in less than the five years mentioned.

Delaware.

The Legislature has passed a bill permitting the town of Smyrna to borrow \$25,000 for the purpose of building sewers and establishing an electric light plant.

Iowa.

At a recent special election. Onawa voted five to one in favor of establishing and operating a municipal electric light plant.

Miscellaneous.

New England Homestead, Springfield: The Springfield Republican agrees with Edward Bellamy's New Nation that the only legislatures this year that have won encomiums from newspapers opposed to the politics of the majority of the members have been the Nebraska and Minnesota Legislatures, of which the former was controlled by populists and the latter had a large contingent of them. There are populists not a few in New England, including Massachusetts, where municipal lighting bills and other progressive measures may be traced to their headquarters. It is well for politicians and legislators of all parties, especially the hirelings of the railroad corporations, to keep this in mind.

The International Typographical Union, at its recent annual meeting in Chicago, unanimously passed the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that under the present system of control of the telegraphic lines of the country by a private corporation, great injustice and hardship is inflicted upon all classes of businesses, and especially upon this our calling, through its methods of special terms given to certain favored individuals and corporations to the detriment of other similar businesses.

"Resolved, that any service, partaking of a public nature, which is in its essence a monopoly, should be owned, controlled and operated by the government for the benefit of the whole people. The telegraphic system, as conducted at present, comes under this heading; therefore, we respectfully beg to impress upon Congress and the president of the United States the necessity of taking and operating it as a public service.

"Resolved, that the president of the I. T. U. is hereby directed to appoint a committee of three, to be stationed at Washington, whose duty it shall be to forward with energy everything that will tend to secure the passage of such a bill."

The report accompanying these resolutions was a telling argument in favor of government telegraph. Speaking of telegraphic monopoly the report says: "How does this affect our membership? One little story of events which occurred recently will show plainly. The American Press association — in view of a threat from the United Press that it was intended to deprive it of its membership in the latter — began preparations for establishing a telegraphic news bureau of its own and it went so far as to make telegraphic connections with Philadelphia and Washington and prepare for gathering and furnishing its own news. Hearing of this a syndicate was formed in Washington to begin the publication of a paper there, provided the American Press association would give them a franchise, and negotiations were begun with that end in view. After a time the manager of the American Press association notified the syndicate that the negotiations must come to a halt, for a time at least. Later the telegraph instruments in the Philadelphia and Washington offices of the association were taken out and now the manifold of the United Press is again in use. As a result the proposed new Washington paper will not be started."

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provi-		Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5	sion	100	Music publishing and in-		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical com-		struments		Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	2	Naval stores combine	1	Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Nitro-glycerine		Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2	2	Oatmeal	3 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paint combine	2	Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill		Paper bag	2	Steel and iron	4
Boiler	15	Forge companies		Paper box	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Patent leather	5	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	1	Pearl barley		Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	10	Pitch	10	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	2	Plate glass	8	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	35	Plow		Tin plate	
Butchers' supply		General electric	50	Pocket cutlery	2	Tissue paper	10
Button	5	Glove	2	Pork combine	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	12	Powder	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed		Green glass	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	12	Trunk	3
beef		Gypsum stucco mills		Preservers' combine	8	Tube	11 1-2
Cash register	10	Harvester	1 1-2	Pulp	5	Turpentine	
Carbon candle	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	18	Type-founders	9
Cartridge	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Casket and burial goods	1	Hide dealers		Rock salt	5	Vapor stove	1
Castor oil	1-2	Illinois steel	50	Rubber General shoe	2	Wall paper	38
Cattle feeders		Indurated fibre	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	7	Watch	30
Celluloid	8	Iron and coal	10	Safe	2 1-2	Water-works "pumping ma-	
Cigarette	25	Iron league	60	Safe No. 2	5	chinery	
Colorado coal combine	20	Jute bagging		Salt	1	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Label printing		Sandstone	1	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Leather board	1-2	Sanitary ware	3	White granite	
Copper ingot	20	Lime	3	Sash, door and blind	1 1-2	White lead	30
Cordage	15	Linseed oil	18	Saw	5	Window glass	20
Crockery	15	Lithograph	11 1-2	School book	2	Wire	10
Cotton duck	10	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	15	Wire rod	
Cotton press	8	Lumber	2	School slate		Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Manilla tissue	2	Screw		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Marble combine	20	Sewer pipe	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Match	7 1-2	Sheet copper	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Merchants' steel	25	Sheet steel	2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

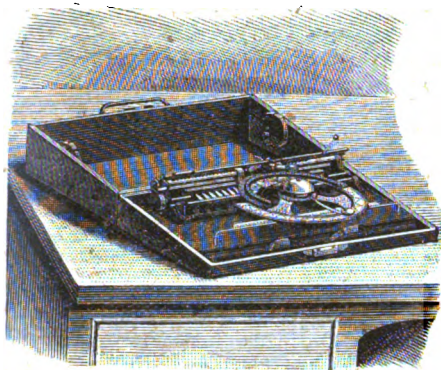
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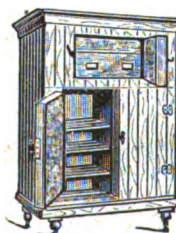
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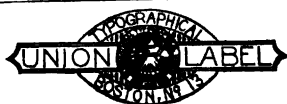
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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workingmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

Vol. 3. No. 26.

Boston, Mass., July 1, 1893.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

It has been the policy of the Reading road to keep on hand a large supply of coal which is not offered for sale. The amount on hand at present is valued at 10 million dollars. The road's treasury is empty, and there are \$1,600,000 in interest and debts coming due within a few weeks. It is proposed to sell at auction a portion of the reserve coal in order to raise money. But this would tend

to depress the market price of coal, and the policy of the road is to maintain high prices in the interests of the stockholders. Coal has advanced twice within a month right in the face of the over production. There is coal enough, and there are miners and railroads and barges enough in the land; but there does not appear yet to be common sense enough to keep nature's bounties from the grasp of monopolists.

The Omaha Bee complains that corporations holding public franchises are pouring money into the coffers of the stockholders and ignoring the public interests. It utters a threat that unless there is a change the people of Omaha will wipe out the old parties, which are being used to protect the corporations. Editor Rosewater seems to have learned something at Chicago. He voted against the public ownership of coal mines at the anti-trust convention. He will find it mighty good politics to keep on the side of the people.

The Socialistic Outlook in Europe, with the Czar looming up as the Champion of Capitalism.

It will be impossible to tell with certainty just how great the socialist gain in the recent German Parliamentary elections has been, until the numerous supplementary elections are completed in districts where no candidate received a majority. It appears, however, that the socialists have gained at least 20 seats with chances for more and will probably be the second largest party in the Reichstag. This is regarded on all sides and with good reason, as by far the most important and altogether overshadowing result of the elections. The emperor may or may not be able to patch up a majority for the army bill in the new Reichstag, but that is altogether a trivial matter compared with the significance of this tremendous demonstration of the wonderful rate at which the party of radical social reorganization is growing in the leading nation of Europe. When we consider what the program of this party is, it must be recognized that the gain of a single seat in Parliament by its supporters is an event more important than the most sweep-

ing victory of one of the old parties, whose differences relate only to details of government policy.

The German press and parties fully realize this fact. The announcement of the socialist gains has produced a panic in which the fate of the army bill has been almost lost sight of. The press of the old parties is calling on their followers to drop all minor issues and differences and join forces against the "enemies of society." It is already evident that this policy will considerably affect the results of the supplementary elections by causing the conservative voters of all shades of opinion to combine against the socialist candidates. Any losses to the socialists, however, which may result from this policy will be unimportant compared with the advantage to their propaganda of having the field cleared of petty parties and distracting questions and the issue fairly joined between the forces of progress and those of reaction, between the spirit of the future and the ghost of the past.

The fusion of all the conservative elements in a compact opposition to socialistic ideas, already so clearly foreshadowed in Germany, must soon take place in the politics of all nations of the civilized world. We are come to a crisis in human evolution, to a parting of the ways, to the necessity of a great decision as to the future of the race, on which there is room for but two opinions and two parties. The vote must be a "yes" or "no" one. We do not need to look over the sea for proof of this movement in politics. It is already distinctly foreshadowed, as we have constantly pointed out in these pages, by the attitude of the two old parties in this country toward the newly risen people's party. No calculation of the effect of forces could be more simple than the argument that as the new party, with its socialistic program shall gain in numbers, it will force the old parties to drop their sham fight and combine to oppose it. Then we shall have an issue between wrong and righteousness as plain as Elijah made that day on Mount Carmel when he cried to the children of Israel: "How long halt ye between two opinions; if God be God follow him and if Baal be God then follow him."

A suggestive incident in keeping with this view of the issue which is being formed between the two great parties of progress and reaction, is the tone taken by the Russian press as to the socialist triumph in the German elections. The utterance of the Moscow Gazette, a semi-official organ of the Russian government, may be taken as typical. The Gazette points out that such evidences as the elections give of the formidable growth of the social revolutionary idea in Germany, must convince the government and conservative classes of that country that without Russia's support they cannot hope to maintain their power. Austria, the Gazette points out, is in almost as much danger from the social revolutionists as Germany and may yet need again to call in Russia's aid to suppress rebellion, even as it had to in Kosuth's day. Instead of opposing and plotting against Russia, these powers and all other governments and classes interested in opposing socialism should, the Gazette says, look to the Czar as their friend and ally, whose protection alone can save them from the advancing army of revolution.

The logic of the Gazette is perfectly sound. The Czar is the natural representative and champion of the powers

and privileges, political, social and capitalistic, which socialism attacks. There is at root no difference between the political despotism of monarchs and aristocracies and the economic despotism of private capitalism. The foe of the one form of oppression must logically oppose the other, and the friend of the one form must logically defend the other. The socialistic criticism has shown this truth and the world is waking to a realization of it. As surely as the sun shines, if private capitalism in Europe is able to make head against, or even to seriously resist, the socialistic revolution, it will be by Russia's backing.

Must it not indeed have been an intuition of this ultimate identity of interest between Czarism and plutocracy that moved the millionaires of the United States Senate to make that amazing and abominable treaty with Russia a little while ago?

Napoleon said, as we all know, that in 40 years Europe would be republican or Cossack. If we allow a little more time we begin to see how that prophecy is going to be fulfilled. Socialism is simply republicanism fully evolved, and in the struggle that is coming, European capitalists can only hope to win by calling the Cossack to their aid.

What Competition Costs.

The New York Press publishes a very elaborate detailed comparison of the values of the "active" class of stocks and bonds sold on the New York stock exchange, as they were quoted Nov. 8, 1892, and as they stood June 23, 1893. The loss shown through the shrinkage in value in that period amounts to over half a billion of dollars. As there are nearly half as many more stocks and bonds which are regularly listed, but not "active" enough to make their quotations easily ascertainable, and as these securities must have shared in the same shrinkage, the Press thinks it safe to put the total shrinkage in all classes of listed New York stock exchange securities at 800 million dollars. This seems reasonable, as the inactive stocks have a total valuation nearly half as great as that of the active ones.

Outside of these statements, of course, are all the losses in the same period through the shrinkage of the innumerable varieties of municipal, county and state bonds, and of the stocks of private corporations of all kinds. It is of course impossible to estimate with any accuracy how great the total decline on these investments has been, but the guess of the Press that it will not prove less than 700 million dollars, or enough to bring the total fall in stocks and bonds up to a billion and a half of dollars, does not seem extravagant in view of the ascertained fall in listed stocks.

Making a further guess that the losses on the decline of all other sorts of values besides stocks and bonds will not have been less than half a billion, the Press comes to the conclusion that the crisis so far has cost the American people and foreign investors here two billion dollars at least, or more than the whole national debt. Whether these figures are quite right is of no consequence. They serve the purpose if they give some general idea of the consequences of the crisis.

The Press makes this appalling shrinkage the basis of an indictment of Cleveland and the democracy, claiming that the crisis is the result of the alarm caused by the demo-

cratic program and the course of the president. Whether this be at all a justifiable interpretation of the fact or not, it is certainly a very superficial and ridiculously inadequate one. Crises such as this we are passing through occur under all sorts of political administrations, and whatever may be their immediate occasions, they are the necessary and inevitable results of the competitive business system, and the responsibility for them is to be charged home to that. Under this system there always is and must be a chronic crisis of limited extent, represented in part by the 10,000 annual failures which take place in the United States and Canada alone, even in the best of times. Periodically the causes of these crises, always inherent in the competitive method, accumulate to such an extent as to produce a general break-down such as is now threatened and indeed taking place. While we are obliged to the Press for its figures, we must be excused for expressing a very poor opinion of the judgment which, ignoring the economic laws that made this as they make all other business crises inevitable, seeks to find the cause of it in the policy of a man or a party, as if such a policy, however mistaken, could at most do more than slightly precipitate the calamity.

According to a recent elaborate calculation of the New York Sun, the civil war lost the nation (exclusive of the confederate expenses) \$8,425,185,017. The war lasted four years. On the other hand the war of competition has cost the country within seven months, two billions, or a fourth the cost of the entire war. If the present crisis continues and results in a general panic, the war of competition will be likely within a year to have cost the nation more than the whole expense of the civil war.

Vast as was the cost of the civil war, the results were worth it. For our money spent, we could show a reunited country and a great national solution. For the cost of the war of competition what do we get in return? Simply the perpetuation of that war; for cost more cost; for loss more loss; for hate and strife yet more hate and strife forever. Is this a sort of war that is in any point of view, moral or economical, worth keeping up? "Let us have peace."

The Latest Phase of the Great Consolidation Movement.

Undoubtedly with many minds the strongest argument for the necessity of nationalism is the rate at which the control of the business interests of the country is being concentrated in the hands of a few groups of individuals. They perceive that the issue is rapidly becoming; whether the country shall be syndicated or nationalized. Of these alternatives, most persons, not themselves members of syndicates, would prefer the latter.

Not only do we see the consolidation of businesses of the same sort going on at a rate too rapid to be even adequately chronicled, but of late the tendency to the centralization of our economic administration is being illustrated by a class of phenomena yet more startling, namely the consolidation under the same control of wholly different businesses. The most important fact in this line thus far is the practically complete ownership of the coal lands of the country by railroad systems, of which Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's paper published in *The New Nation* two weeks ago, gave such a striking account. Hereafter the proposition to nationalize

the railroads must necessarily involve the nationalization of the coal supply, for the railroads already own the coal mines.

An instance of less importance, but sufficiently striking, of the way in which the centralizing movement is overpassing the lines of demarcation between different classes of business, is afforded by the acquisition by the Mutual Life Insurance company of New York of a controlling interest in the local corporations operating the transit system, the gas, water-works and electric lighting in the city of Elmira, N. Y.

David C. Robinson, mayor of Elmira, was president of these several corporations and owned a controlling interest in them. He consolidated them under the name of the Elmira Improvement company, and not content with so large a field of enterprise, went also into hotel keeping and banking. The tight money squeeze forced Mr. Robinson to assign and the Mutual Life as his creditor for \$1,500,000 took his interest in the local corporations described. Instead of seeking to realize on them, the Mutual Life proposes to operate them for profits, and for that purpose has made Mr. Robinson its agent.

Five years ago, it is safe to say, no insurance company would have thought of a venture so far beyond its "legitimate" field. The largest ambition of corporation managers then was to secure a monopoly in their own particular departments of business. But the lords of capital now cherish imperial dreams, and satisfied no longer with controlling single provinces of trade and industry, aim at a general domination.

How Nationalism will Purify the Filial and Fraternal Ties.

The trial of Lizzie Borden at New Bedford in this state, on the charge of murdering her mother and father, concluded last week by a verdict of acquittal, has attracted an extraordinary amount of popular attention. The only motive for the crime alleged by the prosecution was the supposed impatience of the accused to succeed to her father's estate, together with a special embitterment toward her step-mother Mrs. Borden, on account of a particular property dispute, and further the knowledge that the latter, if she survived her husband, would come in for a part of the estate and perhaps control it.

The accused was, as we said, acquitted, but this was on account of the unquestionable failure of the prosecution to furnish reasonable proof of her guilt and not on account of any inadequacy in the motive alleged to account for the act if the evidence otherwise had been furnished.

No portion of the argument of the prosecuting officer was more sadly convincing than his appeal to common experience as to the effect of jealousies and controversies about property and money in embittering family relations and turning domestic circles into miniature infernos. Who that read the argument of the prosecutor as to this part of the case was not able to recall, if a person of mature years, a list of instances within the range of his acquaintance or personal observation, of more or less tragical misunderstandings and mutual alienations between members of the same family, the causes of which were clearly traceable to the impatience of heirs waiting for dead men's shoes, or their quarrels over the distribution of the shoes when

vacated. In the first class of cases, where parents are violently or fraudulently dealt with by unfilial children for the sake of the sooner coming into the patrimony, who cannot furnish the materials out of the gossip of his vicinage, for half a dozen more or less complete King Lear tragedies, containing in uncouth form all the pathos, if not the sublimity of Shakespeare's story.

More often indeed the children have the scant grace to wait till the father is in his grave before they fall to fighting over his remains. Yet even then how often do we see the revolting spectacle of expectant heirs before the face of yet living parents carrying on a more-or-less veiled contention with one another for preferment, with baleful eyes regarding one another across the board at which the father still presides. How often must he, poor man, foreseeing the scene of strife that barely waits his death, mourn as short-sighted folly the love with which he toiled to leave an inheritance destined to prove but a root of bitterness among those he fondly hoped might love each other as he loved them.

Sometimes, with shocking frequency in fact, these family quarrels, based upon disputes over property, burst out in horrible deeds of violence, marked by a spirit of cold-blooded and inveterate hate that is scarcely found to characterize any other form of crime. A thousand times more frequently, however, a sense of decency more or less successfully veils the domestic dissension from the public view and the final effect of the patrimony so hardly won for them by their parents, is merely to embitter toward one another the hearts of children who, if their parents had left them nothing, might and probably would have loved one another.

That is the point we wish to make, namely, that other things being equal, the less property parents leave children the more likely those children are to love their parents while they live and one another after the parents are dead. This merely means that greed, the lust of gain, the competitive or grab idea, which works such cruel and brutalizing results in society at large, operates and must needs operate inside the family circle, with an effect proportionally more ruinous as the relations within that circle are more delicate and intimate than those in society without.

When nationalism shall put an end to the scramble for wealth whether for families or individuals, there is no particular way in which the beneficent consequences will be more marked than in the regeneration and purifying of the nuptial and filial relations. Then love shall be no longer condemned but justified by its fruits and the family altar no more smoke, but give forth a clear fire and a pleasant fragrance.

THINGS SAID ABOUT THE CAUSE AND US.

H. H. K. of Manchester, N. H.: "I have been brought up in the orthodox fashion, which of course includes contributing to the support of the church; but somehow I really feel that when I give to the support of the reform The New Nation advocates, I come much nearer giving to the Lord."

A. S. of Frankfort, Kan.:—A Kansas subscriber writes that "the nationalistic idea is growing apace in Kanaas. It is far stronger than is generally known. Your paper ought to have three times the circulation it has here."

THE REFORMER.

Who dares to leave the life of private ends,
And on himself the world's great burden take,
Who tramples selfishness, and turns to make
All men his friends,

In the large service of the common weal,
Virtues he needs of high and noble name;
He should possess such scorn of praise and fame
As martyrs feel;

He should have faith too great for doubt to harm,
Patience all untouched through passing years,
Wisdom, making jest of doubts and fears,
Unmoved, calm.

If he have these, and love, no fate can come
To make his work as though it had not been;
It serveth much, though Death should step between
And strike him dumb.

Or he be fall'n, and none know where he fell,
Crushed by the power that he would fain have served;
E'en out of silence he speaks, who hath not swerved.
His work is well.

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD in New Occasions.

NATIONALISM IN NEW ZEALAND AGAIN

We recently gave an account of the wonderful deliverance of New Zealand from money and commercial monopolies in consequence of the application of the principle of nationalization, resulting from a political union of the workingmen and farmers. The Auckland Labor association recently put forth a statement of what had been accomplished by independent politics and the use of the functions of the state for the equal benefit of all. If any of our readers still think that labor should keep out of politics, let them read what the Auckland Labor association has to say. We quote a passage or two:

"A new era has dawned upon New Zealand; our freedom is broader and more secure today than ever before; our Parliament reflects the will of the vast majority of the people; our land laws are more comprehensive, and at the same time our native land laws will soon be brought into accordance with a liberal and enlightened public opinion; our system of taxation, though not perfect, is greatly improved; our people are rapidly settling upon the lands; employment is plentiful everywhere; capital is abundant; confidence and contentment reign all over the land; and, best of all, our people are back to 'home, sweet home.' We welcome them with joy. When necessary, the labor bureau will direct them where to find employment. The sweater's doom is announced; strikes will soon give place to arbitration; co-operative labor (which will aid so much in the solution of the great labor problem) is now the order of the day and finds work for the weak as well as the strong, and New Zealand is to be congratulated upon the courage of the Ballance government, which has determined to initiate the system of state farms. For the first time in the world's history labor has taken her place of honor and is crowned. Workingmen sit in both branches of our legislature; workingmen sit upon the magisterial bench to administer justice and workingmen are included in the ministry. Thus New Zealand possesses in its legislature, its executive and its administration of

justice, true representatives of the working and industrial classes. Our progress as a community is solid. We have peace at home and honor abroad. We enter upon the coming year with the confidence which comes from having a just cause. We know that the spirit of the age and of justice is in our favor; the tide of human affairs is rapidly advancing on our lines. Our opponents may try to hinder our progress, but it is too late. Democracy has come to stay."

NO POLITICAL DEBAUCHERY IN PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN BERLIN.

"If a New Yorker," says a Berlin correspondent of the New York Tribune, "should take the trouble to look into the municipal life and history of Berlin, one thing would strike him more than all others. There is no stealing, there is no boss, no politics, no Tammany hall, no Croker; there has been no Tweed, nor any boodlers. If there be an eminent name in the affairs of the city, it is Herr von Forckenbeck, who long ruled Berlin as its chief burgomaster, a kind of municipal Bismarck in his gift of governing well within his own dominions. It was, in great part, under his rule, that Berlin became what it is — one of the best ordered cities in Europe or anywhere else. The streets are actually paved, and not, as for the most part in New York, in process of being paved. They are well paved and not badly paved.

"All this will seem to the New Yorker so much pure romance, but I assure him it is what he will be told in Berlin on the best authority, and by those who know whereof they speak. The lighting of the streets is beyond praise; the number and the brilliancy of the lamps equally remarkable. Electricity is not yet much used in the streets — not at all, I think, except by private persons. But the gas is pure and luminous, and I will venture to say, costs less than the impure and very imperfectly luminous gas of London. In London, as in New York, municipal jobbery is not unknown, nor are the London vestries above suspicion of evil-doing at the expense of the rate-payers.

"The streets, the lighting of them, the means of getting about in them, and the police, are perhaps what the visitor is most likely to take notice of as evidences of good or bad municipal management, or of management for the benefit of the municipality, be the controlling authority what it may."

A ship canal from Barnstable bay to Buzzards' bay built by private parties holding a charter to levy tribute upon coastwise commerce would be a public calamity. A company has been chartered, however, and officers duly elected.

Senator Root and Judge Beardsley of the Wethersfield, Ct., prison investigating committee have made a minority report in which among other reforms they advise that prisoners' labor be done for and managed by the state instead of contractors.

A. C. Babcock, chairman of the republican central committee of Illinois, predicts that the next president of the United States will not be elected on either a republican or democratic platform.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

"A few years ago," writes a New Yorker to The New Nation, "a number of benevolent publishers of school books thought it was wrong for the public to pay so much for school books. They saw that by combining they could dispense with agents and middlemen, thus saving 33 1-3 per cent. It was a very good move, seeing that the agents, being non-producers, were living at the expense of the public. Accordingly a trust was formed. Of the 33 1-3 per cent saved, the publishers generously gave the public the benefit of 10 per cent, keeping the other 23 1-3 for their trouble. This year the trust finds that it can manufacture school books much cheaper in Cincinnati than in New York, so the proposition was made to the New York printers and binders that they must meet the Cincinnati prices or lose the work. Consequently the journeymen bookbinders in New York engaged on the trust work have had to consent to a reduction of 12 1-2 per cent on their former prices."

The really and truly solid papers of this country are praising Senator Aldrich for the mine of information contained in his report on prices and wages. Aldrich shows that wages have been steadily advancing since 1840. This is a mine very easy to fire. These average wage figures do not include the million and a half of workingmen out of employment, nor take into account the weeks that men are unemployed each year. A credulous reader of government labor statistics would wonder why the laborers of America were not living in mansions.

Prime minister Dupuy of France includes this in his legislative program: "Labor legislation, destined to regulate the relations of capital and labor in a spirit of republican solidarity, so as to correct the harshness of economic laws by a co-efficient of humanity."

The Daily Commercial Bulletin mistakenly concludes that the Kaweah colony in California failed in consequence of "the inefficiency of an industrial organization on the lines of pure democracy." It failed because it was not co-operative under law. The economic democracy will come through decrees of the people in their organized capacity.

New York Voice: We anticipate as strenuous opposition by the liquor dealers to the plan of state control as to complete prohibition. They have fought it just as bitterly in South Carolina. But much less opposition may fairly be looked for from the rest of the community. The strategic value of state control is that it divides the interests of the drinkers from the conscientious defenders of "personal liberty." If we can divide these allied forces and fight them in detail, it may hasten the day of victory. The old parties have not adopted the plan in South Carolina. It was put through as a non-partisan measure, but it is forcing a new alignment of forces in that state.

A North Attleboro dispatch says that the interstate railroad and the Attleboro, North Attleboro & Wrentham railroad will pass into the hands of a New Jersey syndicate. The syndicate is the same that bought the Union railroad of Providence. The deal will put the electric light system of Attleboro and North Attleboro into the

hands of this syndicate. It is stated that a large carhouse will be built at Attleboro, and plans are being made to further extend the electric road from Attleboro through the towns of Norton and Easton to Brockton.

The New Hampshire town of New Boston celebrated its connection by rail with the rest of the country by brass bands and a poem on the 22d. If the railroad system of this country were in government hands and run as the post office is for the people, there would not be bands and poets enough in the land to supply the demand. More American towns are without railroad connection than with.

Law officers have been trying for years to deprive John D. Rockefeller's Standard oil of its chartered privileges. Rockefeller is now president of the Northern Pacific, and it will be still more difficult to dislodge him. Nothing but public ownership can break the kind of monopolies that Rockefeller delights in.

Dr. Charles F. Macdonald, who has resigned his position as head of the postal money order department of the government, invented the postal note. During the last fiscal year 139 million dollars in money orders, postal notes and international money orders, — and no losses to senders. People who lose money through bank failures will take notice.

The Industrial Council of Kansas City, Mo., has addressed a circular to organized labor throughout this country proposing that a general national executive committee be formed to be composed of two members each from the Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, Farmers' alliance and all other national labor and reform organizations to conduct the general labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor has issued blank petition sheets requesting the name and address of those who are in favor of Congress passing a law establishing a government telegraph and telephone service.

The People's church of Washington, D. C. will discontinue services until September 3, thus giving Dr. Kent a well-earned rest. His congregation, which is made up largely of nationalists, is growing, and it is probable that in the autumn the church will meet in a larger hall.

A water-works plant was the issue in the last election at Auburn, Me. and public ownership won. The securing of a plant was the occasion of a monster parade, fireworks and illuminations on the evening of the 22d.

Gen. Francis A. Walker: A revolution is upon us. The bonds of tradition and barriers of authority have been swept away. Everything once deemed settled in economic theory is now audaciously challenged.

Edward Atkinson of Boston has issued his message to Congress. His first recommendation is a postponement of tariff legislation until the Sherman silver purchasing act is repeated. After that he calls upon Congress to extend the free list and reduce the duties on manufactured articles, so that within 10 years the revenue for running the government may be practically raised by taxes on liquor and tobacco. He also recommends the payment of first pension claims by pension notes at low rate of interest payable at will. He pays a high compliment to Cleveland's adminis-

tration, but forgets to mention the wage-workers, who have the monopolists on their backs. It now remains for Mr. Cleveland to name a date for assembling of Congress.

RESULTS OF PRIVATELY-OWNED COAL MINES.

Ignatius Donnelly's paper, the Representative, keeps up the fight for the nationalization of the coal mines. Speaking of the Pennsylvania coal mines, the Representative says: "The average wages, including miners and laborers is less than \$1.50 per day. Upon this salary he must maintain an average family of five persons, or less than 30 cents each per day. This forces the children, as soon as they are big enough to carry a dinner pail to go into the mines to work to swell the family income so that it will be adequate to keep them alive. There are 25,000 children under 12 years of age employed in the Pennsylvania coal mines. These coal mines men and these children annually exhume from the earth 44 million tons of anthracite coal, for which the consumers pay an average of eight dollars a ton, or 352 million dollars. And the coal barons stand between them and the products of their toil and absorb all but a meagre living, even forcing the eight-year-old children of the mines out at five and six o'clock in the morning to toil in the 'breakers' and then robbing them of their pay. It is enough to make a man indeed 'ashamed of his humanity.' And what hope does the future hold for these people? 'Illiteracy is on the increase, and it must continue to be, until the people arouse from their criminal lethargy, wrest these lands from the robbers and restore them to the people for whom God made them — or perhaps the coal barons made the land and the coal therein contained and therefore they are not usurpers of a common inheritance.'"

A WORKINGMAN'S CONGRESS? — YES.

"In the advance sheets of your paper sent me," writes Nathaniel R. Piper in the Locomotive Fireman's Magazine, "I read with extreme pleasure the proposition of the alert editor to discuss the propriety of a workingman's congress.

"Let us have a labor congress that shall be to all classes of laborers what the Pan-American congress was to the republics of the North American continent — a place to cultivate reciprocity. Let the producer as well as the consumer come in, for no great work will be accomplished if these two great classes are alienated.

"Let it be understood in the call for such congress, that the delegates representing the various industrial classes will be called to pass upon all the leading questions of the day that affect industrial interests. The plan of work pursued by the Pan-American congress would, perhaps, be as favorable for forwarding the work in hand, and at the same time would as thoroughly consider the details, as any that could be adopted.

"The results of the deliberations of a properly constituted workingman's congress would be equivalent to a platform of political principles that should and no doubt would meet the approval of every man who labors.

"The sovereignty of the people is a farce unless the people can be heard and can dictate their own policies. Our government is unquestionably too far removed from the people."

MAYOR PINGREE AGAIN BEATS THE DETROIT RING.

Our readers have been informed from time to time of the progress of the fight which Mayor Pingree of Detroit is waging against local monopolies. The struggle began in 1892, when the city council passed a batch of franchises to the local street railway company. The mayor called an indignation meeting and inaugurated a movement in favor of the people which culminated in his election as a reform mayor. His messages in favor of city ownership of gas, electricity, street railways, etc., have been reprinted in these columns. The city is soon to have a public lighting plant, and meantime is at loggerheads with the private gas companies.

Mayor Pingree being advised by lawyers that the local gas companies' charters had expired, recommended the council to refuse to renew street franchises to the gas companies. The latter thereupon pooled their issues and proceeded to lay down pipes in streets so as to connect their various mains contrary to the instructions of the board of public works.

The next step was the appeal of the city to the Wayne county circuit court for a temporary injunction restraining the gas ring from tearing up the pavements. Judge Reilly refused the injunction on the ground that the interests of the city would not suffer, even if the case was eventually decided in its favor.

The mayor, knew that if the companies could connect their mains, they could float several million dollars in bonds and thus accumulate a fund that would be used against the true interests of Detroit. He therefore ordered out the police and arrested the gangs of laborers including their foreman, as they were at work tearing up the pavements. The city council was at once convened and all the ordinances giving privileges to the three local gas companies were repealed.

The chances are that Mayor Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit will succeed in breaking down the monopolies that have been drawing the life out of the municipality, and he will do it by making the business of lighting the street and transporting passengers a public function. Politicians will do well to keep an eye upon Pingree.

✓ The Vanderbilts show a disposition to capture the Grand Trunk railway. Reading and the Grand Trunk, by the way, have entered into a traffic alliance. These three systems united would wield enormous power.

✓ Boston Herald : The German emperor and his official advisers may secure their army bill, but if socialism continues to grow at the rate that it has of late years attained, it will need more than an immense standing army to enable him to maintain his throne and transmit it with imperial powers to his successor.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.**LABOR AND INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION**

**A Break from Old Party Lines in the Old and New World.
Death of a Typical Millionaire. Note and Comment.**

Labor cannot be kept within the lines of the old parties. This is as true of Europe as of America. The German elections and the recent Belgian revolution are cases in point. In England also the laborer is learning how to use the ballot. John Burns is now spoken of as in a fair way to become lord mayor of London. What does he stand for? The London correspondent of the New York World says: "The socialist movement in England now is, in fact, a gas and water, a public park and museum question, and London, which was formerly led by the nose by the liberal and tory parties alike, which had no public conscience, no public aspirations and no public pride will, if the present rate of progress is maintained, in 15 years' time be the best governed city the world has ever seen." This is what labor is doing politically in London. In his last address to his constituents when standing for re-election to the London Council last year, John Burns used these words:

"Much that was considered Utopian and impracticable in my program three years ago has been realized in the face of fierce and unscrupulous opposition. The council is acquiring the tramways, taking steps to secure the water supply and markets and pressing forward a housing scheme, doubling the area of its parks and in many ways achieving much for the health, temperance and enjoyment of the people."

In America labor is very restless, but the sentiment of independent political action is growing rapidly. West of the Mississippi river the workingmen have generally made common cause with the populists. That is, laborer and farmer have joined hands, as was done in New Zealand on a platform strongly nationalistic. East of the Mississippi, it may take a year or two to solidify the wage-workers upon any plan antagonistic to the old parties. We notice that many trade papers are again agitating in favor of a labor congress to push government ownership to the front as an issue. "Plutarch" in the Journal of the Knights of Labor favors such a congress. "If there were no intelligent workmen in our ranks," he writes, "refusing to assist in conquering the powers of state in order to curb the power of our economic despoilers, the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Colorado, California, and perhaps a few more, would have had constitutions embodying the principles of the Knights of Labor long ago, and the executives, legislatures and courts of these states would be filled with Knights of Labor and members of other bona fide labor organizations; while the coal mines, railroads, telegraphs and all other means of communication,

transportation and supply throughout the United States would be the property of the people."

Eastern workmen, however, are being rapidly educated to the point of seeing the advantage of legislation outside of the platforms of the democratic and republican parties.

Leland Stanford's death removes a remarkable personality, peculiarly an American product. He was successively farmer, lawyer, gold miner, merchant, state governor, railroad president and contractor, millionaire, philanthropist and United States Senator.

On the 10th of May, 1869, Leland Stanford stood at Promontory, Utah. Workmen laid the last tie of the Central Pacific railway, the tie being made of California laurel containing silver plate inscriptions. A California gold spike, a Nevada silver spike and one of iron, gold and silver from Arizona were handed him. He then swung a solid silver sledge, to whose handle was fastened telegraph wires connecting with the principal cities of the Union, and as he struck the spike of gold it "loosened the lightning which told the nation that the East and West were united."

As president of the Central Pacific he built 530 miles of road in 293 days with the aid of Chinese labor and government credit. As president he gave contracts to a firm of which he was a member, and thus amassed an enormous fortune. The East and West were not united on sound principles because the lease of the road to the Southern Pacific, of which he was the first president and the immediate predecessor of C. P. Huntington, laid the foundation for combinations that enriched a few men at the expense of the public. The enormity of these conspiracies for private gain is plainly enough indicated by Huntington's remark that the Southern Pacific did not propose to pay the government liens, as it would be cheaper to build parallel lines and let Uncle Sam have the old ones.

Note and Comment.

Secretary Morton announces that the "third party, led by disgraced demagogues discharged from the two national parties, is rapidly going to pieces," from which we infer that things are going wrong in the camp of the democrats. The circulation of people's party obituaries is a sure sign of old party distress. Eastern democratic papers are jumping upon Morton for saying that the Sherman silver purchasing act cannot be repealed unless it is balanced by concessions to free silver men. Harmony is not a favorite word with democrats these days; meantime the numbers "discharged from the two national parties" are growing rapidly.

The reform editors of Texas organized a state reform press association at Dallas last May. It is proposed to make the headquarters of this association a news bureau for reform literature.

The Cudahy Packing company of South Omaha, Neb. has

arranged to accept deposits from its employees at 5 per cent interest on amounts not exceeding a total of \$50,000. Other packing houses are upon the point of doing the same thing in view of the cloud resting upon the banks of the country. How would it do for these houses and their employees to agitate for a postal savings bank? It would be safer than a home-made article in South Omaha.

Boston Advertiser: "So far as votes go, the populists have already shown their power. But in addition it is remarkable that in states where the populists poll a small vote, the influence of the anti-corporation sentiment is shown in the action of the leading parties. In this state, which is usually considered conservative, there is little doubt that the anti-corporation sentiment is waxing stronger every year. In other eastern states the tendency is plain enough. The spirit of the age, abroad and at home, is just such as is indicated in the election returns in Germany, and he is not a wise statesman who ignores the direction in which the people of the civilized world are drifting."

M. W. Henry of Wælder, Tex., in a letter to the *Fort Worth Advance* on railroads, says: "We pay usury to the bankers for the money we use, to the railroads in exorbitant transportation rates and passenger fare, to trusts and combines in increased prices for goods, and, turn whichever way we may, it is usury, usury, usury. The question arises, how are we successfully to clip the wings of this vampire? Government ownership of all public necessities is the solution. The people's party platform contains the most important measures required for relief, but not all. I agree with Gov. Peunoyer of Oregon that whatever party puts these principles into operation in the government will receive the approval of a just God and the plaudits of a grateful people."

✓The Essex County people's party committee are making arrangements for a picnic at Fort Sewell, Marblehead, Mass., on the Fourth. A good time is expected, and all who are interested in the people's party are cordially invited to attend. There will be speaking in the afternoon.

✓The people's party Central Club of King's County, (Brooklyn), N. Y. has leased a fine hall for lectures, with office rooms at 102 Court street, where propaganda work will be carried on right through the summer. A free reading-room of reform literature is attached. All are welcome.

Progressive Age, Minneapolis: If the prohibitionists are opposed to the public conduct of the liquor business at cost on principle, will they be kind enough to give us their reasons, and if the advocates of the people's party are in favor of the liquor monopoly, while declaring as a matter of principle that they oppose all monopoly, will they also give us their reasons? We believe that both these parties are inconsistent to a blameable degree. If we do them an injustice, we should like to have them establish it, so that we may make immediate and ample reparation.

We earnestly request our subscribers to look on their address label and to renew without delay if they wish to continue the paper.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

At its annual meeting North Attleboro voted to appropriate \$50,000 to erect or buy an electric light plant. A private company has a plant in the town, but as it is not in use the committee thought it could be bought for a fair amount. But upon opening negotiations with the officers of it, so large a price is charged that the committee ask that another town meeting be called to see if the town will instruct them to institute a suit to take the plant by right of eminent domain.

At a recent town meeting, the citizens of Winchester voted unanimously, and for the second time, in favor of a municipal electric light plant. A committee of three was selected to act as the lighting board.

A meeting of a committee from the Wakefield and Stoneham boards of trade, and of citizens from Reading was held last week for the purpose of considering the establishment of a joint municipal lighting plant for the three towns. After a full discussion it was decided to await the action of the town of Wakefield in its effort to buy the plant of the Wakefield Gas company. It is generally thought that the town will be obliged to buy the private plant, and if so the three towns will make some arrangement by which they can be supplied from this plant. Wakefield and Stoneham had both voted to do their own lighting, and the citizens of Stoneham object to paying \$2.50 per 1000 feet for gas, as they are doing at present.

Maine.

The assessors of Augusta have raised the valuation of the private electric lighting company \$5000. The company has made a proposition to light the city for \$1200 less than the price charged last year. It is thought it may offer even better terms than this, for there is the fear of a municipal plant to spout it on.

Pennsylvania.

The Sentinel and Farmer (Montrose): Believing as we do in the principle of nationalization, not only of the liquor traffic but of other industries, just so fast as their conduct by private parties or monopolistic trusts becomes dangerous to public welfare, we are ready to give to this South Carolina experiment our confidence, and demand for it, in the name of our common humanity, a full and fair trial.

Washington.

The city council of Oakdale has voted to advertise for bids for furnishing plans for municipal water-works.

Indiana.

Coming Nation, Greensburg, Ind.: "If the property owners of Greensburg knew which side of their bread has the butter, they would not allow a very small part of the citizens to kill the town by monopolizing the gas, electric light, water and natural gas. If light, heat and power were made almost free it would enhance the rent roll and selling price of property. The city should put a price

of, say 50 cents a month, as the limit for natural gas. That is too much for the outlay, but that would be a big inducement. Illuminating gas can be furnished for \$1.00 per 1,000 cubic feet, by city ownership of plant, and city water should be made absolutely free and levy a tax for paying the expense of plant. When Greensburg can say to outsiders that heat, light and water power can be had for almost nothing there will be a big rush. No other adjoining town will be in it. Of course all the wages would go to the landlords anyway, but the people would get just a little more for their labor. Double the size of Greensburg, which can be easily done, would give the land sharks twice as much revenue, but there would be more people to pay it and it would fall more lightly on the working people. If the land owners knew anything of economics, they'd do these things and reap the benefits while the present social system lasts. What is true of Greensburg is true of every other town until all towns do the same thing."

Miscellaneous.

"What a mighty impetus the achievements of men would attain under these conditions," H. M. Ticknor to the Fremont (Neb.) Leader. "No idle ones to feed on others' toil, no slums of ignorance to retard the race and poison the fountain of civilization! With shorter hours of labor and time left for study, the arts, the sciences and all that goes to ennoble man would flourish as they never did before in the history of the world; and in the trend of better thought today there lives the hope recently expressed in an opinion given by three of the judges of the United States supreme court, that 'Looking Backward is nearer than a dream.'"

At a recent meeting of the Pacific Coast Council of Trades and Labor federation, resolutions were passed demanding the establishment of employment offices, to be conducted under municipal or state control, and government control of railroads, canals, telegraphs and telephones.

Judge S. R. Davis of Creston, Ia.: The traffic in liquor is of necessity a matter of public concern, and should be absolutely controlled by the public as a matter of public safety and convenience, and it should be taken out of the hands of private individuals who, allured by the profits, yield to temptation, sear their consciences and conduct the business with reckless disregard of the safety of society.

The Longmont Times: The people paid 14 million dollars to railroad lawyers last year. Whoever heard of a post office lawyer? Catch the point?

Foreign.

The manufacturers of enameled sheet iron in Germany have formed a trust. It was brought about by an overstocked market, and its avowed object is to prevent overproduction by limiting the product. Thus far the trust includes about 30 works, and a scale of prices, rebates and other charges has been agreed upon.

J. Keir Hardie, labor member of the British Parliament in Pall Mall Magazine for June: The advanced or socialistic school, on the other hand, while valuing the development of individual character, seek to use the state for the organization of industry on a socialistic basis, the land and the means of production being owned and controlled by the community in producing the necessities of life. The individualistic school is a declining, and the socialistic a growing power. Men not calling themselves socialists are daily assimilating their standard of state interference to that of more advanced men.

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.
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Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provision	100	Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5			Music publishing and instruments		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical combine		Naval stores combine	1	Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	2	Nitro-glycerine		Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Oatmeal	3 1-2	Soda water apparatus	8 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination, No. 2		Oil cloth	2 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	5	Paint combine	2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paper bag		Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill		Paper box	2	Steel and iron	4
Bolter	15	Forge companies		Patent leather	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Pearl barley	5	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	1	Pitch	10	Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	10	Plate glass	8	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	2	Plow		Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	35	Pocket cutlery	50	Tin plate	
Butchers' supply		General electric	50	Pork combine	2	Tissue paper	10
Button	5	Glove	12	Powder	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed beef		Green glass	1 1-2	Preservers' combine	12	Trunk	3
Cash register	10	Harvester	1	Pulp	8	Tube	11 1-2
Carbon candle	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	5	Turpentine	
Cartridge	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	18	Type-founders	9
Casket and burial goods	1	Hide dealers		Rock salt	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Castor oil	1-2	Illinois steel	50	Rubber General shoe	5	Vapor stove	1
Cattle feeders		Indurated fibre	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	2	Wall paper	38
Celluloid	8	Iron and coal	10	Safe	7	Watch	30
Cigarette	25	Iron league	60	Safe No. 2	2 1-2	Water-works 'pumping machinery	
Colorado coal combine	20	Jute bagging		Salt	5	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Label printing	1-2	Sandstone	1	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Leather board	3	Sanitary ware	3	White granite	
Copper ingot	20	Lime	18	Sash, door and blind	1 1-2	White lead	30
Cordage	15	Linseed oil	11 1-2	Saw	5	Window glass	20
Crockery	15	Lithograph	2	School book	2	Wire	10
Cotton duck	10	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	15	Wire rod	
Cotton press	3	Lumber	2	School slate		Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Manilla tissue	2	Screw		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Marble combine	20	Sewer pipe	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Match	7 1-2	Sheet copper	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Merchants' steel	25	Sheet steel	2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

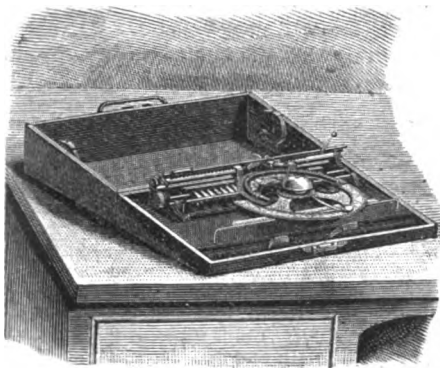
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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8, 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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Vol. 3. No. 27.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The men who attended the people's party convention of Ohio at Columbus on the Fourth were in no mood to bandy words over ancient history. They resolved unanimously that the tariff issue is a sham, that bankers are surrendering to Wall street gamblers, that street railways, gas and water plants should be owned by the public, that the Omaha platform is good statesmanship and, finally, that President Cleve-

land should be impeached. We are not sure that Cleveland can be spared from the reform work. Like the owners of trusts, he is doing much to keep the question of private monopolies to the forefront. Public ownership has the field.

The Old Patriotism and The New.

This has been Fourth of July week; patriotism has been the prevailing sentiment, and the flag everywhere has gone to the front. Among the millions who have yielded to the enthusiasm of the hour, how many have stopped to inquire what in these modern days is the rational meaning and excuse of the patriotic sentiment, and what the flag really and reasonably stands for that it should inspire modern men with an enthusiasm of self-devotion.

In the first place, we must recognize that patriotism, to be rational, must signify something nowadays quite different to what it anciently did, and find both its motive and its ends in a very different set of ideas. In ancient times war between nations meant the slaughter of whole populations, the confiscation, as booty, of all their possessions and their wholesale enslavement and deportation. Patriotism, or love of country, meant the love of everything dear to one, social and religious institutions, home, wife, children, property and life itself. All these the flag or national emblem signified. The love of country included all other loves and the fear of other nations included all other fears. Consequently, patriotism in the ancient and traditional sense, is most characteristically a militant and warlike enthusiasm. Its use and occasion has been to stimulate national feeling against other nations either for defense or aggression. The historic type of the patriot is the armed man, his face set toward the frontier.

In its time there was need enough of this sort of patriotism, need enough why it should be exalted and praised as the noblest of human sentiments. The first condition of any degree of social development was that communities should be protected from external violence.

Gradually, however, from age to age these conditions have changed. Not only have wars grown more and more

infrequent, but even when they occur, they involve no such disasters to individuals as anciently they did. If England should conquer America tomorrow, not a citizen out of uniform would be molested in his person, his family or his property. So if tomorrow Germany should conquer France. Except sentimentally speaking, and for possible indirect gains through commercial relations, there has ceased to be any motive beyond a sentimental one why one civilized nation should conquer another or should fear conquest. We do not say that in certain parts of the world, or as the result of conceivable collisions of interest, international wars may not yet for a time be unavoidable, but the era of war is passing away. As regards Russia, so long as a barbarous despot wields at will her vast array of brute force as a menace to civilization, Europe must stand to some extent on guard, but the long impending war between Germany and France will never come. Alsace-Lorraine will yet settle its own destiny and the watch on the Rhine will be relieved guard forever. However this may be, certainly it is in the highest degree improbable that the United States will ever again be involved in a foreign war.

It is thus evident, that in this country, and to a less extent in other less fortunately situated lands, patriotism as a sentiment chiefly militant, and having in view aggressive or defensive warfare with other nations, has largely lost its ancient justification.

Is then patriotism, the love of country, to become an obsolete emotion? In the former sense, in which love of country implied perpetual jealousy and thinly veiled when not open hostility toward other countries, undoubtedly it is destined to become obsolete, as with wise and good men it already has become so. The sort of patriotism of which the gun and bayonet, the fife and drum are the accessories, is passing away, and we should speed its passing. But the same decree of evolution which bids it go, is ushering in a new patriotism, fitted to the changed order of things, as much nobler and worthier of human nature as the new order is better and larger in its scope and more exacting in its ideals even as the "thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

In proportion as with the progress of humane ideas, nations as collectivities have less to fear from one another, and patriotism in its martial aspect has lost its utility, men's minds have been turned to the warfare between the several elements within each nation, which, so long as the citizens as collective bodies were at each other's throats, could receive little attention. With this change in conditions has come the place and the need for the new patriotism, which shall devote those it possesses to the redemption of their country from poverty, ignorance, injustice, oppression, and all the evil breed of hateful inequality, with the same self-forgetting passion that in past times has supported the patriot in the defense against foreign foes of "the ashes of his fathers and the altars of his Gods."

The man set on fire by the new patriotism will be as much disturbed by the news of a thousand men thrown out of employment as his fathers would have been by news of a foreign invasion. He will be, strange as it may seem, as indignant to hear of an outrage, an insult, an oppressive act done by an American to an American in his own country, as if it were done to an American by a German or by a

Frenchman in another country. He will think it just as proper and requisite that the whole force of the nation should be brought to bear to protect Americans at home from their fellow countrymen, as to protect them abroad from men of other countries. He will love the flag, but his main concern will be, not how it is honored abroad where only a few Americans go, but how it is honored at home where they all are, and he will consider every man out of work, every man underpaid or underfed, every boy unshod, every child out of school, every woman forced to prostitution, every tramp, every beggar and every human being not enjoying equal opportunities of happiness with himself, an insult to the flag, a stain which the nation's honor is pledged to wipe out.

That is the new patriotism, the coming patriotism, the only sort that will not soon become an anachronism, and if there is no difference between this sort of patriotism and nationalism we are not to blame for that.

Whenever we Americans look at the flag, let us think of it, in this way, as first and chiefly the symbol of our duty of love and devotion to our fellow-countrymen, and only secondarily and remotely, if at all, as suggestive of hostile collisions with foreign nations, which they are as glad to avoid as we. No nation need now get in trouble with another unless it wishes to but we are all in trouble with one another at home.

Answer Indian Demonetization by American Remonetization.

The news of the practical demonetization of silver in India by the closing of her mints to silver, came too late for suitable comment last week. The event is of the first magnitude and its effects have already been world-wide. The already angry issue between gold and silver, between monometalism and bimetalism, with all the related currency questions, have been by this act intensified to an extraordinary degree, and the probability of a serious crisis, not only in this country, but generally, has been greatly increased. The peril of the situation as regards this country is sufficiently indicated by the action of the president in calling an extra session of Congress in August, a month earlier than he had intended to summon it. That he will be forced to issue yet another proclamation convening the national Legislature in July instead of August, is quite among the possibilities.

Meanwhile, let us consider what has happened. India, by its maintenance of silver as money on a par with gold has been the mainstay of the fight to resist the single gold standard movement. By her vast annual demand for silver for mintage purposes, India moreover aided most materially in keeping the valuation of the white metal steady. Her sudden change of policy not only morally discredits silver as money, but by cutting off one of the chief markets for the metal, has so greatly reduced its value as a commodity, as already to have caused a drop in its price in the London market of 15 to 20 per cent within a fortnight. The drop is not indeed wholly traceable to the Indian policy itself, but to the anticipation that it will lead to or compel the completion of the demonetization of the metal by other countries, still more or less using it. One result has been to knock in the head within a week the entire silver mining and smelting industries in our Rocky Mountain states. We

were threatened with a great business crisis before, indeed might well be said to be already in the throes of one. It is dollars to doughnuts now that it will be far worse before it is better.

Well, what are we going to do about it? Shall Congress succumb to the decree of British capitalism, which the Indian government merely registered, by closing its mints also to silver? This is the advice of the eastern press generally, but in our opinion it is totally bad advice. We most distinctly assert on the contrary that resolute action in resistance to the gigantic world-wide robbery of poor by rich, of debtors by creditors, of owing nations by loaning nations, of the business world by the financial world, which this gold standard movement aims at, is incumbent on Congress as its duty not only to the nation but to the world.

No intelligent economist now maintains that the world's supply of gold furnishes anything like an adequate basis of exchange. In times of universal prosperity, indeed, credit so expands that the narrowness of its basis is little felt, but at the slightest depression of confidence, the money-lenders' clutch cuts off the breath of the commercial and industrial world. The New Nation believes that a metallic or commodity basis, or theory of exchangeability of any kind, for money, is unscientific, but if such a basis must be had, it should be as broad as possible. Therefore, we prefer bi-metalism to mono-metalism, if we must have a metallic basis at all, and if we were forced to choose between gold and silver, we are confident that silver would be just about sixteen times as safe a basis as gold, inasmuch as it would be just so many times less easily manipulated and cornered by speculators or hid away by timid hoarders.

To get a clear view of the audacity of the gold standard people, please remember that from the beginning until 1871, England was the only country in all history which excluded silver from equal rank with gold as money, and England only within the century. Since 1871, Germany, then (by a fraudulent act) the United States, afterwards France, and the Latin Union, Austria in 1892 and now India, have done the same thing. And now we hear this new-fangled and most raw experiment, at total variance to all the world's history and experience, held forth as "sound" and "orthodox" finance, and its opponents ridiculed as heretics. Did orthodoxy ever in so brief a time before become heresy, or was heresy ever by so sharp a "presto change" turned into orthodoxy? Frankly, we confess that the most offensive thing about these pretenders is not so much their crass ignorance as their intolerable assumption.

What then should Congress do? In our opinion it should answer the demonetization of silver in India by its remonetization in America. We would repeal the clause of the Sherman 1873 bill declaring the gold dollar the standard, and open the mints to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. We do not say that this is now the proper ratio. If Europe and India continue to deny its chief former use to silver, no doubt its value will be diminished, just as the value of calf-skins would be if Congress forbade the use of calf-leather for shoes, but it is only after opening the mints freely to silver, that is to say restoring calf-skin to its former use, that we can tell what its value is.

Shall we take our orders from India? Why that is where we send missionaries.

President Gallagher's Little Joke.

We have not observed much of striking interest in the various sermons and addresses in connection with the college and seminary commencements of the season just closed, but we note that President Gallagher of Williston Seminary, Easthampton (this state), does not disdain to lighten his official utterances with a spice of humor. In the course of an excellent address to the students receiving diplomas, he said:

When young men are looking for an opportunity to enter business, the first thing that comes into consideration is that every avenue of business and every profession seems overstocked. It is desirable to find one that is not overcrowded, and where one may find a foothold.

If the young men who received the diplomas did not appreciate the joke of recommending them in these days to find a profession or business that is not overcrowded, they undoubtedly will when they try to get a job. The only criticism we have to make on President Gallagher's humor is that the style is rather cynical. But a joke is a joke, and for a specimen of dry satire on the prospects of young men coming out of school and trying to find a place in the world of today, this will do.

IT FAVORS A MONOPOLY.

The mayor and board of aldermen of Worcester, Mass., about a year ago, granted to the Quinsigamond Electric Light and Power company the right to erect poles and run wires for the purpose of supplying lights within the city limits. The Worcester Electric Light company, which was occupying the field, at once appealed from the decision of the city officials, and the matter has been before the state gas and electric light commission since that time. That body has at last rendered its decision. It sustains the appeal of the private company that fears competition, and absolutely annuls the permission granted by the mayor and aldermen. The board offers, in defense of its action, the specious plea that the company now occupying the field has every facility for performing the service satisfactorily, and that the new company did not show its ability to furnish lights any cheaper than the existing company. Another point also made is that judging from experience in other cities the new company would not long remain by itself, that competition would be soon followed by consolidation or absorption, which would lead to mercenary issues of stock. The commissioners admit that their decision creates a monopoly, but they allege, as an excuse for their action, that it is a monopoly that can exist only so long as the public interest is served. This would be true if the law permitting municipalities to do their own lighting properly protected the rights of the people when they decided to take this service from the hands of a private company, but under existing conditions the municipality voting to engage in this business is at the mercy of the private company as regards the price that shall be paid for its plant. This being the case, the gas and electric light commission again places itself in a position to be as severely criticised as it was in its attitude toward the Bay State Gas monopoly. Its action in this instance also justifies the charge so often made that the board was established in the interest of the corporations, and that it faithfully performs the work expected of it. It will be strange indeed if this last decision does not hasten the time when Worcester will do its own lighting.

IT WILL COME.

How bright, how sweet, this world would be,
 If men could live for others!
 How sweet, how bright,
 How full of light,
 How much of day, how little night,
 If men from greed and wrong were free,
 If men could all be brothers!

And is this nothing but a dream?
 Must wrong go on forever?
 Must poverty
 Forever be,
 And selfish greed and luxury?
 Must hate and strife be still supreme,
 And love and peace come never?

No. I'll believe it never — no
 God still reigns somewhere, brother,
 Somewhere, sometime,
 Will human crime
 Be over, and a better clime
 Will come to men. Years happier grow
 And men will love each other.

The morn is rising soft and bright.
 The way grows light before us.
 Cheer, brother, cheer!
 Through doubt, through fear,
 The world grows better year by year;
 And fast and bright a day of light
 Will spread its white wings o'er us.

ARTHUR EDGERTON.

Lincoln, Neb., June, 1893.

THE EXTORTIONS OF LIFE INSURANCE.

[By Gorham D. Williams of Boston for The New Nation.]

"The normal cost of life insurance is fixed by an inevitable law of nature. For the man who wants insurance, the plain life policy; with no investment beyond what is needed to protect the insurance, is the cheapest and best."

I find the foregoing quotation at the beginning of the circular of a life insurance company, and it suits so well the aspects of life insurance, as practised by the level premium life insurance companies, which expect in the event that the assured fulfils the conditions of his policy, to pay the amount thereof at some time, which I am about to consider, that I use it as a text on the cost of life insurance and the merits of a state life insurance system.

Most persons have undoubtedly noticed at one time or another the long lines of figures that in advertisements represent the assets of some of the large life insurance companies, but few probably have stopped to think how much they mean. The gross assets of the 25 "old line" companies making returns to the Massachusetts insurance department amount to \$855,728,280. This sum represents the accumulated funds which the policy holders in these companies have intrusted to their custody and management, in order that they may meet liabilities of \$745,824,323, this latter sum being the present value of the contracts held by the policy holders. Their enormous accumulations, more than equal to the national debt, are to a large extent an investment which, so far as it is not desired or necessary, is useless. Methods of pure insurance other than

that of paying level premiums, that is, premiums equal in amount from the beginning to the end of the insurance, have been devised, which are safe and practical. I shall not now go into what these are, but shall assume that there are such. The consideration to which I purpose to call attention is that the accumulation of these immense funds is not merely useless, but that it is dangerous to the interests of the policy holders, and so not cheapest and best.

Let me now take the actual case of a certain Benedick who, about 20 years ago, just before reaching the age of 30, found himself one who had given hostages to fortune in the form of a wife and child, who had no accumulated wealth, but was in receipt of a fair income from a profession, and in possession of a vigorous mind in a healthy body, so that his only fear for the two persons dependent upon him was his own premature death. Naturally, under such conditions, his thought turned toward securing the future by insuring his life, and he examined with some care the reports of the insurance commissioner of Massachusetts for several years. In doing this his attention was particularly called to the ratios given in the tabulations and showing the percentages which the expenses of the several companies bore to their several incomes. At the time of which I speak, there were in the field quite a number of new companies incorporated in New York which were energetically contesting for business. The enterprising agent of one of these took repeated occasion to explain all that could be gained by taking a policy in his company, not merely in the way of insurance, but as a very desirable investment of the money to be paid in premiums. The only trouble in this case was that the agent of the Mutual Eldorado promised too much. Benedick refused to take the risk, and not many years afterward assisted in the winding up of the company's affairs by collecting dividends from the receiver for several of his clients.

Benedick was also approached by a personal friend, who had insured in one of the New York companies, and who was acquainted with one or two members of a family who just at that time had turned their attention to the formation of life insurance companies as an easy way of making money. This solicitation was also declined. Benedick in diplomatic language informed his friend that he was not ready to insure, and that when he did insure, his policy would not be written in the "Mutual Palladium."

There were, however, five companies which were carefully considered on account of their economy of management and location, the former of which was justly regarded as the best indication that the business was done in the interests of the policy holders, and the latter as affecting uniformity in business policy. At that time there were more than 40 companies making returns to the Massachusetts insurance department, and these five occupied in rank of economy the first, second third, fourth and eighth places among the companies mentioned. They were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Vermont companies respectively. The annual expense of every \$1000 insured in each of them in the order named was \$4.50, \$5.30, \$5.50, \$5.70 and \$6.90; that is to say, the number of deaths out of a thousand persons in good health at Benedick's age was 8, so that on each \$1000 insured he

must pay \$8 to cover the "losses," and from \$4.50 to \$6.90 additional for the expense of doing the business according to the economy of management. On the level premium plan he would also have to pay annually an additional sum, needed to accumulate with the other like additional sums, which he would pay in excess in coming years to make up the face amount of his policy.

Naturally his predilection was for a Massachusetts company, and the only objection to the one under consideration was its size, which was so small as to cause some doubt as to securing uniform results. The Vermont company was open to the same objections, and it was also the lowest in rank of economy of the five. As to the New York company, it was one of the oldest and largest, and thus was seemingly likely to be able and disposed to continue in a course of management advantageous to its policy holders. The Connecticut and New Jersey companies were also old companies and large enough not to be subject to fluctuations from year to year. In one of these three Benedick was disposed to insure, and it was a matter of chance that led to his insuring in the New York company. An agent of this company happened to meet him and enter upon the subject, and the victim was landed without difficulty.

For a number of years there was no fault to find. The amounts returned on every anniversary of the policy, as having been received through abundant caution in excess of the amount actually needed, were entirely satisfactory; and, as the funds in the hands of the company increased and yielded an income, the dividends also increased, — quite rapidly while the prevailing interest rates remained high, and more slowly as the rates declined. But there came a year when the increase in dividend was merely nominal, and the next year there was a diminution, and the next a still further diminution. Inquiry as to the first diminution elicited the explanation that the New York insurance department required a larger reserve. This was satisfactory on the first occasion, but it was not satisfactory when repeated on the next occasion. Besides Benedick had been in the habit of examining the returns of the company from time to time, and he had his own opinion about the reason of the changed condition. I will not mention it now.

If, as has been said above, life insurance is not sought as an investment, then the accumulation of a fund not desired nor necessary is useless. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The care of this fund adds directly to the expense of management and hence to the cost of insurance. The money paid reduces the assets which the assured could otherwise use in the conduct of his own affairs. The control of the money contributed is surrendered by the assured and cannot be regained except by a sacrifice of his insurance. These are reasons enough to condemn the system, but there are others which I wish to dwell upon.

The almost irresistible tendency of the enormous aggregations of capital which now form a usual part of the approved methods of life insurance is to extravagant expenditures. Sums which to the average man are enormous sink into insignificance when compared with the almost inconceivable sums pouring into the coffers of two or three of the largest life insurance companies. A salary of \$100,-

000 would be less than a quarter of one per cent of the income of either of the largest two companies and would be less than a third of one per cent of the income of another. Why then should not such salaries be paid? And if the thing is to be looked at as a matter of relative and not of absolute values, why should not money be poured out for advertising and for agents' commissions until the company secures an income that permits salaries to be paid which are in comparison small, but in themselves outrageously large? Has it been found that irresponsible humanity can resist such temptation? And the managers of these corporations are virtually irresponsible in these matters, as may be very easily shown.

When Benedick was examining the management of life insurance companies, the expense attending the carrying of \$1000 in insurance varied in the different companies then doing business in Massachusetts, and continuing to report for five years thereafter, from \$4.50 to \$16. The lowest expense in any one of the companies now doing business on the level premium plan in Massachusetts within the last ten years has been \$5.30, and this was in the Connecticut company which Benedick regarded with favor. The expense has run from this up to \$22. The expense in five selected companies from the time named until now has varied in the Massachusetts company from \$4.50 at that time to \$9.80 last year, after having been as low as \$4; in the Connecticut company from \$5.30 at that time to \$6.10 last year, after having been as low as \$5.10; in the New Jersey company from \$5.50 to \$7.10, after having been as low as \$4.50; in the New York company from \$5.70 to \$10.30, after having been as low as \$4.60 and as high as \$12; in the Vermont company from \$6.90 to \$11, after having been as low as \$4.60 and as high as \$12.30. The Massachusetts company has fallen from first place among over 40 companies to eleventh place among 25; the Connecticut company, which was in the second place, now occupies the first place, having as a companion a company which furnishes insurance on a plan of "yearly renewable policies" without the investment feature; the New Jersey company has fallen from the third to the fifth place; the New York company has fallen from the fourth to the twelfth place and the Vermont company has fallen from the eighth to the eighteenth place.

At the time named 20 per cent of the expenses of the Massachusetts company were for salaries, 18 per cent for advertising and 52 per cent for commissions and agents' expenses; in 1892, 9 per cent of its expenses were for salaries, 5 per cent for advertising, 73 per cent for commissions and agents' expenses. This shows that the company has been seeking an increase of business through agents. It has increased the cost of \$1000 insurance \$5.30 a year and 21 per cent more of its expenditure now fall to solicitors for new business. The Connecticut company formerly made seven per cent of its expenditures for salaries and 54 per cent for agents; last year 13 per cent were for salaries, four per cent for advertising and 34 per cent for agents. One thousand dollars insurance in this company costs 80 cents more than it did 20 years ago. It is evidently not striving for new business. It had very large investments in western real estate and during the shrinkage in values after 1873 suffered much embarrassment. Having outlived this it

appears to be in excellent condition and a desirable company for its policy holders.

The outgoes of the New Jersey company for expenses were formerly 10 per cent for salaries and 40 per cent for agents; last year they were 11 per cent for salaries, 7 per cent for advertising and 60 per cent for agents. These charges are in the direction of larger expenditures for that part of the cost of insurance which becomes needless after the business of a company has reached a volume sufficient to insure uniform results and have caused an increase in the cost of insurance of \$1.40 for each \$1000. I shall have more on this subject next week.

INCENTIVES TO INDUSTRY UNDER NATIONALISM.

Mrs. Annie Besant, in the course of a discussion of the incentives to effort under a socialistic order of things, permitting no one to get rich, says: "Human beings are not the simple and one-sided organisms they appear to the superficial glance of the individualist, moved only by a single motive, the desire for pecuniary gain — by one longing, the longing for wealth.

"Under our present social system, the struggle for riches assumes an abnormal and artificial development: riches mean nearly all that makes life worth having — security against starvation, gratification of taste, enjoyment of pleasant and cultured society, superiority to many temptations, self-respect, consideration, comfort, knowledge, freedom, as far as these things are attainable under existing conditions. In a society where poverty means social discredit, where misfortune is treated as a crime, where the prison or the workhouse is the guerdon of failure, and the bitter carking harassment of daily wants unmet by daily supply is ever hanging over the head of each worker, what wonder that money seems the one thing needful, and that every other thought is lost in the frenzied rush to escape all that is summed up in the one word poverty?

"But this abnormal development of the gold-hunger would disappear upon the certainty for each of the means of subsistence. Let each individual feel absolutely secure of subsistence — let every anxiety as to the material wants of his future be swept away, and the longing for wealth will lose its leverage. The daily bread being certain, the tyranny of pecuniary gain will be broken, and life will begin to be used in living and not in struggling for the chance to live. Then will come to the front all those multifarious motives which are at work in the complex human organism even now, and which will assume their proper importance when the basis of physical life is assured.

"The desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence; all these will start into full life, and will serve at once as the stimulus to labor and the reward of excellence. It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and they alone supply the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain, and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his esprit de corps, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for

glory, and value a bit of bronze, which is the 'reward of valor,' far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst of the population; and military glory and success in murder are but poor objects to aim at. If so much can be done under circumstances so unpromising, what may we not hope from nobler aspirations? Or take the eagerness, self-denial and strenuous effort, thrown by young men into their mere games! The desire to be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping — in a word, the desire to excel — is strong enough to impel to exertions which often ruin physical health. Everywhere we see the multiform desires of humanity assert themselves when once livelihood is secure. It is on the devotion of these to the service of society, as the development of the social instincts teaches men to identify their interests with those of the community, that socialism must ultimately rely for progress; but in saying this we are only saying that socialism relies for progress on human nature as a whole, instead of on that mere fragment of it known as the desire for gain. If human nature should break down, then socialism will break down; but at least we have a hundred strings to our socialist bow, while the individualist has only one.

"But humanity will not break down. The faith which is built on it is faith founded on a rock. Under healthier and happier conditions, humanity will rise to heights undreamed of now; and the most exquisite Utopias, as sung by the poet and idealist, shall, to our children, seem but dim and broken lights compared with their perfect day. All that we need are courage, prudence and faith. Faith, above all, which dares to believe that justice and love are not impossible; and that more than the best that man can dream of shall one day be realized by men."

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

Some weeks ago a reported utterance by Prof. Huxley served us a text for an editorial showing the fallacy of the "survival of the fittest" maxim as an argument for the competitive system: We have since received the text of the address, which was delivered May 18 at Oxford, and quote below the exact language upon the point in question:

"The destruction of speculations continues by the exposition of another fallacy which pervades the so-called 'ethics of evolution.' It is the notion that because, on the whole, animals and plants have advanced in perfection of organization by means of the struggle for existence and the consequent 'survival of the fittest,' therefore men in society, men as ethical beings, must look to the same process to help them towards perfection. I suspect that this fallacy has arisen out of the unfortunate ambiguity of the phrase 'survival of the fittest.' 'Fittest' has a connotation of 'best'; and about 'best' there hangs a moral flavor. In cosmic nature, however, what is 'fittest' depends upon the conditions. Long since I ventured to point out that if our hemisphere were to cool again, the survival of the fittest must bring about, in the vegetable kingdom, a population of more and more stunted, and humbler and humbler organisms, until the 'fittest' that survived might be nothing but

lichens, diatoms and such microscopic organisms as those which give red snow its color; while, if it became hotter, the pleasant valleys of the Thames and Isis might be uninhabitable by any animated beings save those that flourish in a tropical jungle. They, as the fittest, the best adapted to the changed conditions, would survive. The practice of that which is ethically best — what we call goodness or virtue — involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion, it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside, or treading down all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive. It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of existence. It demands that each man who enters into the enjoyment of the advantages of a polity shall be mindful of his debt to those who have laboriously constructed it; and shall take heed that no act of his weakens the fabric in which he has been permitted to live."

STOCK SPECULATION DENOUNCED.

The following remarks of Rev. Thomas Dixon of New York show that he has a thorough knowledge of the methods employed in Wall street and the consequent effects upon the public. He says:

"The recent flurry in Wall street, with its incidents and failures, with its high rate of interest and its threatened panic, again brings before the public the fact of this sore in the nation's life. The business of Wall street, meaning the stock exchanges, is the indication of a national blood disease. It is chronic; it is constitutional. Here is the spot where it breaks out with a violence that disturbs in its reaction the whole body.

"In my humble opinion the day is certainly coming in the history of America when the mass of the business now transacted on these exchanges and called legitimate will be understood at its real worth and will be suppressed, as are other crimes, by law. Gambling is a crime. It is a crime that damns the whole man that engages in it and destroys the community that tolerates it. And gambling is gambling whether it takes place in a gambling hell, in a bucket shop or on the floor of the exchange. Our courts have long decided that contracts on these exchanges made on marginal transactions and all other transactions in which a similar principle is involved are gambling pure and simple; that they cannot be enforced in law. This being true, they ought to be suppressed by law.

"Panics are produced and untold ruin brought to thousands of homes in the midst of national prosperity. What reason is there under heaven today for a panic in the money market except that some coterie of scoundrels beneath the surface have some ax to grind in producing a panic. Of all the battles on the earth none is so utterly brutal, so utterly devilish as this battle on these gambling exchanges for supremacy, for money. War on the field of blood is pastime compared to it. Men in martial war do not strike a wounded enemy. No nation, not even a Turk, will fire on a hospital.

"A wounded friend is the supreme opportunity of your

Wall street gambler. When a man is disabled in the financial world, then is the time to fleece him. Not only so, but these scoundrels watch their opportunity to wound their friends, and then, when in the fight they have fallen, they spring on their prostrate bodies and rob them of the very clothes on their back. A man who wrecks a train is esteemed a villain for whom hanging is an honor. Lynching is too good for such a man. The whole community turns out en masse and scours the woods and fields to find him, but a man who lays his plans and by lies and chicanery in this gambling center wrecks a train, not simply one train, but the whole road, impoverishing thousands of stockholders, bringing suicide and poverty and despair to hundreds of homes — this man is crowned the Napoleon of finance. He pockets his millions and becomes thereafter a magnate."

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

While the telegraph monopoly is held in private hands, it will be idle to look for free discussion in the daily press. The recent sale of the New York Times is not an encouraging sign. Among the owners of that paper are said to be the presidents of the Equitable and of the New York Life Insurance companies, — also the Vanderbilts, the Rothschilds, Standard Oil and Daniel Lamont. Government ownership or any legislation benefiting all the people equally would have a sorry time of it in such a crowd.

The discussions projected by the panic show how deep the spell of traditional prejudice is. The theory of monopolized money obstructs the workings of common sense. It reminds us of an anecdote. A northerner, visiting a friend in Charleston, S. C., was taken out for a sail in the evening. "How beautiful the moonlight looks on the waters," exclaimed the northerner. "Oh," said the South Carolinian, "you ought to have seen it before the war."

"Most people," said President Andrews of Brown University in his baccalaureate sermon, "little consider how amazingly the happiness of the poor themselves depends upon the piling up of money. Wealth is absolutely indispensable to any sort of life among human beings that shall be worthy to be lived. Possibly your best way to please God may be to make yourself just as rich as you can become." If this is true, God must be in decidedly good humor when He looks down upon the United States nowadays. The 25,000 people who own one half of the wealth of a nation of 65 millions must find great favor in His eyes.

The New York Evening Post advises the silver mine owners to turn their attention toward reducing the cost of production of the white metal, and gives as one of the items of waste, the "extravagant wages" of the miners. The Post also has discovered that those who oppose the single gold standard have a common type of countenance. This so-called phrenological law seems to delight the Post in these piping times of monopolized money. The type in question indicates in the Post's opinion a near approach to the character of "charlatans and visionaries." Dog days always did go hard with our New York contemporary.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

CURRENCY STANDARD OF VALUES.

The Legal Tender Quality of Money. The Conspiracy of the Bankers. Note and Comment.

Times are favorable for the study of the nature of the private monopoly commonly called the money power. Not even experts can argue for or against an exclusive gold standard of values without admissions that foreshadow the abolition of every form of metallic basis. United States Senator Sherman in an interview has this to say :

"Though the treasury notes issued under the Sherman act are nominally based upon the silver purchased with them, they have really nothing to do with the white metal. The government buys 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion per month, emits treasury notes to the exact amount of its cost and then puts the bullion in the treasury vaults, where it lies an inert mass of metal, absolutely useless and entirely incapable of giving an atom of value or credit to the notes which were issued for its purchase. Whether the price of silver goes up or down is a matter of no consequence to the holders of treasury notes. The notes are kept at par with gold by their legal tender quality and by the fact that the government redeems them in gold coin on demand. If all the silver that is nominally held for their redemption were thrown into the Atlantic, the circulating value of the notes would not be affected in the slightest degree."

Here is the admission that the reason the treasury notes issued under the Sherman act do not depreciate in value is that they are a legal tender and because they are redeemable in gold. The truth is, they are redeemable in coin, and no one knows at what moment a United States treasurer may return to the proper interpretation of law by redeeming in either gold or silver coin. As a matter of fact, the treasury cannot redeem 10 per cent of its coin obligations in gold. That is to say, if Uncle Sam were a private party and should make his will in favor of his creditors and die, his estate would not pay 10 cents on a dollar in gold. It is therefore perfectly plain that if Uncle Sam on a gold basis is insolvent, and if the silver behind the treasury notes issued under the Sherman act is "absolutely useless and entirely incapable of giving an atom of value or credit to these notes," it follows that the explanation of their unimpaired value is their legal tender quality. The gold standard theory of today is about 90 per cent myth.

Why do bankers nurse the gold delusion in this and other countries? Why did "honest money" men, after the California discoveries, favor demonetizing gold? It was in accordance of a law of currency that cannot be repealed by legislative act? The more legal tender dollars there are in circulation the less one has to give in commodities for a dollar, whether gold, silver or paper. And the less number of dollars the more in commodities each dollar will command. That is, the purchasing power of a dollar is inversely to the volume of the currency.

The old English standard of values was a pound of

sterling silver. But the bankers succeeded in getting gold substituted for silver, because it was, not a nobler metal necessarily, but a rarer one. It is now so rare that it cannot do justice in facilitating barter the world over. Children multiply faster than gold coin. Consequently coin commands more commodities; that is, prices fall, and the debtor class is robbed.

The suspension of the free coinage of silver in India artificially increases the value of the rupee. In other words, a Parsee farmer borrowing in April last a hundred rupees payable in October, will find when October comes about that he must raise more bushels of wheat to secure one hundred rupees, in consequence of the contraction of currency caused by the suspension of coining rupees at the India mints. Debts grow as the volume of currency is contracted. A gold standard means a contracted currency; bankers are money lenders and thus favor a gold standard.

A sound system of currency will consider gold and silver an incident, the stamp upon coin or paper as a condition precedent to honest money, and an increased or decreased volume of currency month by month so as to maintain the purchasing power of the dollar as the secret of fiscal regulation. If a dollar buys more this year than last, expand the volume of the currency; if it buys less, contract it. And whatever is done, let no time be lost in restoring to the United States government the function of issuing all forms of money.

There is a world of logic in the following questions asked by the New York Commercial Advertiser: "If the partial suspension of silver coinage in India has reduced the demand for that metal, and that reduction has reduced the price, and that reduction of price is fraught with evil, will not the operation of the proposed repeal of the Sherman law further reduce the demand, thereby still further depress the price, and so add still more to the danger? Again, if gold is to become in such fierce demand, will there not be too little of it in the world to meet the demand, and when the world is once convinced of this, will not the natural resort be to demonetize gold and set up another standard? Have we never heard of the goose that was killed by a tremendous mistake? Is it wise to attempt, in the face of the possible answer to some of these questions, to convince the people that the repeal of a cer-law is all that is necessary, and risk the disaster that would come of disappointment on that point? Does not the evil lie deeper, and is there anybody in Washington wise enough to point to its precise center?" The real object of the bankers who are casting a cloud on silver by artificial means is to force the government to issue bonds to strengthen the gold reserve in the treasury. These bonds the national banks propose to use by replacing them

with those now deposited at Washington to secure their circulation. They are in danger, however, of forcing this squeeze to a point where the people will demand the demonetization of gold itself, as the Commercial Advertiser intimates.

A Public Railroad to the Gulf.

State Senator Stewart of Nebraska in a speech before the convention at Lincoln, Neb., to consider plans for building a railroad from the Dakotas to the gulf of Mexico on the credit of the states or nation, said that the project was a populist idea and that the populist party was mighty enough to push the movement to successful completion. He said Congress had appropriated six million dollars to make a deep-water harbor on the gulf of Mexico, but Congress had not gone far enough, as the construction of a harbor would be of little value to the great interior basin of the continent without a north and south railroad to the harbor. A railroad from the north boundary of Dakota to the gulf could be constructed for 27 million dollars, and a tax of five cents per acre on the lands of the 10 great states interested would, he estimated, construct the road and leave a surplus of two million dollars. He hoped and confidently looked for the building of the line by the people and for the people, and predicted as a result an increase in the population of Nebraska alone of a million people. Secretary Parks said if the question of voting bonds were left to the state he represented, Texas, they would vote a nine tenths vote in its favor. "We Texans," said he, "have given this matter a great deal of attention, and we are convinced that the plan is not only feasible, but that such a road will be built sooner or later. The great grain fields of the Northwest are hundreds of miles nearer to the people of Europe by the way of the gulf than they are by way of New York or Baltimore."

Note and Comment.

The state conference of the people's party met at Rockland, Me., June 29. Norman W. Lermond presided. Plans for pushing the work in the state were discussed.

A WESTERN GOVERNOR ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Gov. Waite of Colorado was too sick to attend the graduating exercises of the state agricultural college at Fort Collins, but in his address to the graduates, which has been printed, he came out flatfooted for public ownership as the true way to deal with private monopolies. He said: "Monopolies of a public nature, organized in the interest of caste, but which derive every chartered privilege from the people, are sucking the life-blood of the prosperity and liberty of the nation. It has been supposed, and by some may now be supposed, that such results are inseparable from monopoly. But this is not the case. It all depends upon whether the monopoly is organized in the interest of a privileged class or of the people. The United States postoffice is a proof that a monopoly organized in the interest of the people is a blessing and not a curse. The remedy of all monopolies of every kind and nature involving a public franchise is found in their reorganization in the public interest."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Peabody has voted 105 to 1 in favor of adding a system of incandescent lighting for commercial purposes to its electric plant.

Tennessee.

The National Unionist (Memphis): Something wrong isn't there? Present systems grind honest industry down to just about a living, so that life is dependent upon daily toil. This is the result of the competitive system. Co-operation and nationalization are the antidotes of this vicious and unjust plan.

Colorado.

The Trades Assembly (Pueblo): The government of Victoria has taken a long step toward nationalism in a decision to concentrate all savings banks into one system and attach them to the postal savings banks.

Michigan.

Paw Paw has appropriated \$15,000 for the establishment of a municipal electric light plant; which will furnish both street and commercial lighting.

South Dakota.

At an industrial camp meeting held at Everson grove, Brown county, Rev. A. M. de Putron Gliddon delivered an address, and among other things said: "Given the conditions that we have today, viz: almost universal education, and there cannot be immeasurable wealth flaunted in the face of honest poverty without the consequent growth of the socialistic idea. Or, to put it in another way: You can not have coal combines and sugar trusts and have public schools in full blast. They cannot exist together very long. The one must in the end kill the other. On the general reform questions of the day, the church as a whole has done next to nothing, the real reason being, I suppose, that it hasn't time for such little matters. It is true that the poor are getting poorer, and that the wealth of the country is every year being concentrated in a smaller number of hands."

All this is true, but you really can't expect the church to give up its time to such matters. Why, bless you, they have to hunt heretics and engage in good old-fashioned church fights! See, for instance, the great and rich Presbyterian church. They have just held their general assembly. How many hours do you suppose were spent discussing the vital questions of the day? How many? Why, none! They simply hadn't time for it. Don't you see they had to go heresy hunting, and the whole genius of the church was pressed into the work of proving or disproving that Dr. Briggs is not orthodox."

Miscellaneous.

News comes from Omaha that the railroads are retaliating upon the people on account of the maximum rate bill passed by the Nebraska Legislature. Passenger trains on branch lines are to be taken off, and the time tables are to be recast so as to be inconvenient to travelers. These railroad men, having received franchises and subsidies from the public, now propose to put the screws on in order to create a sentiment in favor of the repeal of the maximum rate law. What if this shortsighted policy had the effect to stimulate the government ownership movement?

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.	Trusts.	Capital in Millions.
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provision	100	Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5			Music publishing and instruments		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical combine	2	Naval stores combine	1	Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	10	Nitro-glycerine		Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	2	Oatmeal	8 1-2	Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	8	Paint combine		Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	1	Paper bag	2	Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill	1	Paper box	5	Steel and iron	4
Boller	15	Forge companies	1	Patent leather	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Pearl barley	10	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	2	Pitch	8	Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	50	Plate glass	12	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	35	Powder	2	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	4	Pocket cutlery	1 1-2	Tin plate	
Butchers' supply	5	General electric	12	Pork combine	2	Tissue paper	10
Button		Glove	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	1 1-2	Preservers' combine	12	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed beef		Green glass	1	Pulp	8	Trunk	3
Cash register	10	Gypsum stucco mills	1 1-2	Ribbon	5	Tube	11 1-2
Carbon candle	3	Harvester	1	Rice	18	Turpentine	
Cartridge	10	Hinge	1-2	Rock salt	2 1-2	Type-founders	9
Casket and burial goods	1	Hop	50	Rubber General shoe	5	Umbrella	8
Castor oil	1-2	Hide dealers	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	2	Vapor stove	1
Cattle feeders		Illinois steel	60	Safe	2 1-2	Wall paper	38
Celluloid	8	Indurated fibre	10	Safe No. 2	5	Watch	30
Cigarette	25	Iron and coal	60	Salt	1	Water-works "pumping machinery"	
Colorado coal combine	20	Iron league	1	Sandstone	1	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Jute bagging	1-2	Sanitary ware	1 1-2	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Label printing	3	Sash, door and blind	5	White granite	30
Copper ingot	20	Leather board	18	Saw	2	White lead	20
Cordage	15	Lime	11 1-2	School book	15	Window glass	10
Crockery	15	Linseed oil	2	School furniture		Wire	
Cotton duck	10	Lithograph	2	School slate		Wire rod	
Cotton press	3	Locomotive tire	2	Screw	20	Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Lumber	7 1-2	Sewer pipe	2	Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Manilla tissue	25	Sheet copper	40	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Marble combine		Sheet steel	2	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Match				Yellow pine	2
		Merchants' steel					

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1898, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

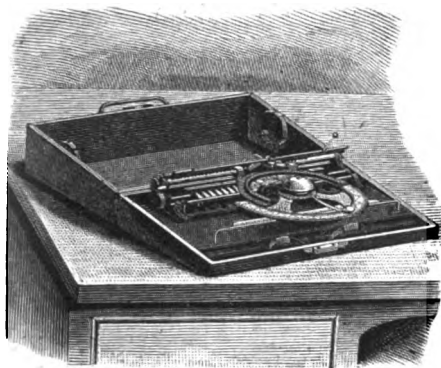
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The readers of The New Nation can be trusted to find out what is good in the paper, but we wish to call especial attention to the series of articles on the extortions of private life insurance and the comparative cheapness, and safety of state insurance, by Mr. Gorham D. Williams. The two first articles of the series, printed in the last number and this, are chiefly a critique upon the methods of the

private companies. Next week's closing article will especially develop the contrasting advantages of state life insurance with illustrations from actual experience. All the facts and figures given are taken from official sources by an expert upon the subject, and should be studied by all desirous of posting themselves on the arguments for state insurance at cost, which is going to be one of the liveliest and biggest reform issues in the near future.

A Missionary Fund.

We are receiving more requests for packages of New Nations free for distribution than at any time since the paper started. We would suggest to friends on the outlook for methods of spreading the knowledge of nationalism that here is the most direct way we know of to reach communities ripe for reform. We are unable to stand the expense of these extra copies, the call the past week aggregating some 4000, but we will gladly appropriate to this purpose sums forwarded to us by persons who wish to see the usefulness of The New Nation extended.

Some Talk About Judge Brewer's Address.

The most noteworthy, certainly from our point of view, of the Fourth of July orations of the last week, was that by Judge Brewer, Associate Justice of the United States supreme court, delivered as the leading address at the Bowen celebration at Woodstock, Conn., a notable annual event at which somebody usually says something worth commenting on.

The subject of Judge Brewer's address was the great impending conflict in this country between, as he put it, the socialistic movement and individual liberty.

Now to begin with there is no such conflict, except in the minds of people who, like Judge Brewer, do not understand what the socialistic movement, especially the nationalistic movement, is aiming at. If there were any such conflict The New Nation would be on the side of individual liberty once and always, for that is the first of human blessings

and the condition of all others. The strongest indictment against the present system of irresponsible government by private capitalism and the dependence of the poor on the rich, employee on employer, is that it destroys individual liberty, and the strongest argument for nationalism is that by substituting a democratic government of industry, and equalizing economic conditions, it will be possible to establish a larger individual liberty than has ever been known.

While the fundamental conception of Judge Brewer's argument, namely, that the socialistic movement threatens individual liberty, is diametrically opposed to the truth, and his conclusions so far as based on that are therefore valueless, his address nevertheless is highly significant in its recognition of the stupendous development of nationalistic sentiment in this country within a few years and the imminence of a great crisis between the forces it represents and the defenders of the present order of things. Among other things the judge said:

History repeats itself. Kansas introduced the great civil war. Central between the waters that circle the nation, on its plains for the first time met in conflict the forces of two civilizations. Do I err in forecasting the future when I affirm that on the plains of the same great central state the conflict between the domination of the organization and the liberty of each individual will be precipitated? It may not be a war of blood, though Kansas men will shoot if need be, but it will be a fight to the finish. Elsewhere in the nation the cry for socialism comes largely from the dissipated, the lazy, the dishonest. There it comes from the conservative class, the farmers — themselves honest toilers, actuated not by selfish purposes, but by profound conviction, erroneous though it may be, that wealth is the creature of law, and that regulating all human actions by law will work such a change as to make wealth the equal inheritance of all, instead of the recompense of superior toil and brain. I know that the great body of these people are moved only by a conviction of the injustice of the present laws and social conditions, and are striving to compel a more equal distribution of the good things of earth. With sympathy for the purpose which actuates them, I am convinced that their ignoring of the lessons of history is a step toward socialism and the destruction of the liberty that the toil of centuries has achieved. The conflict there, as in 1855 to 1860, is not one of greed with greed, but of conviction with conviction, and between the two great parties of that state will be fought the Lexington, if not the Yorktown, of the struggle impending before this country and the world — that between the liberty of each individual and the socialistic domination of the mass. Of the result of that struggle I have no doubt.

Neither have we, your honor. Unquestionably, if the American people were to enter on this struggle with the very confused notion of its merits which underlies this address, there would be much doubt of the result, but at the rate popular education in nationalism is going on, we may hope before the issue is joined that the masses will understand its nature much more clearly than the honorable justice appears to.

The question to be settled is, how the economic government of this country, its system of production and distribution, is to be carried on, whether by individual initiative as now, or by popular government, the voice of the community, as nationalists propose. Judge Brewer assumes that the present system of private initiative means individual liberty. Does it? On the contrary, it means that a few thousand great capitalists, and perhaps a hundred thousand lesser ones run the country, with no more liberty, at best, for the remaining 65 millions than that of choosing their bosses and putting up with whatever terms they are offered unless they wish to starve to death. The odd thing about it is that the judge knows this perfectly well, for in a preceding paragraph of this same address, he very eloquently describes the peril to which the country is exposed from the practical

monopolization of business by great capitalist groups. It is queer that so intelligent a man should not have put this and that together and recognized that far from proposing an invasion of individual liberty, the socialistic idea owes all its wonderful popularity to the fact that the people see in it the only escape from the yoke of irresponsible private persons.

The judge speaks of "the socialistic domination of the mass." Is there any difference between "the domination of the mass" and democracy? If there is it has escaped the dictionary-makers. Does or does not Judge Brewer believe in democratic government? If he does not, as might be inferred from the expression quoted, is he a fit person to assist in the interpretation of the constitution of a government professing to be "of the people, for the people, by the people?" The country is indeed in danger if the justices of the supreme court of the United States permit themselves to speak contemptuously of "the domination of the mass." Is not that just the sort of domination all Americans are bound to stand for and if need be to fight for? The men of Kansas are not the only ones who will not hesitate to "shoot if need be," when that principle is interfered with.

Let us once again clearly state this matter. The present business system of so-called private initiative, which Judge Brewer confounds with individual liberty, means the control and management of all the wealth-producing machinery of the country and the labor of its people, by capitalists who form an infinitesimal fraction of the nation and who exercise their lordship solely for their private and personal advantage without any reference whatever to the general welfare. This system meets the strict definition of a tyranny. It corresponds historically very closely to the feudal system of the middle ages in Europe, when the country and its people were similarly lorded over and exploited by the chiefs and barons. In course of time the kings of the various European countries, took to themselves the power of the barons and ran the whole business and, so far as it went, the change was a vast gain to the people. So now the people, whose sovereignty has succeeded to that of the kings, are about to take away the power of the irresponsible rulers called capitalists and administer the economic government of the country, as they already nominally administer the political government, by the equal voice of all in the equal interest of all. This proposition is surely so clear, so timely and so righteous that if nationalists will half do their duty in preaching and pushing the gospel, we may hope in ten years more to secure a unanimous vote for it, with everybody, including Judge Brewer, on our side. The only way our opponents can get the people by the ears on so plain an issue between wrong and right, between nonsense and common sense will be by forcing the fighting in order to cut short the debate. We do not believe they will succeed even in this. There will be only a struggle of ideas and the only ideas on the other side are misapprehensions.

A Doubtful Experiment in State Management.

July 1 the state of South Carolina undertook the exclusive operation of the liquor traffic within its boundaries, forbidding under drastic penalties all private persons or corporations henceforth from having any part in the sale or

distribution of intoxicating liquors within the state. As is well known The New Nation is very much engaged in urging state operation of the liquor traffic, but the experiment in South Carolina is undertaken under conditions calculated we fear, to bring discredit upon the idea of public management. There are many respects in which the South Carolina system is extremely ill-advised, but the worst feature of it is the fact that it is undertaken apparently altogether or nearly altogether as a money-making device to replenish the state treasury. To this end a profit of 100 per cent is to be charged by the state on all liquors furnished to the local dispensaries and these in turn are to charge a profit of 50 per cent more. This is wrong, wholly wrong. The state should go into no business for the purpose of making a profit out of its own citizens, and least of all into this business. What we advocate is exclusive state management of the liquor traffic at cost, thereby abolishing the element of a profit as a motive for the stimulation of consumption beyond actual demand. We shall regard the South Carolina experiment with interest, but so long as the objectionable feature referred to is retained, with very little hopefulness.

In addition to the effect of the high cost of liquor under this system to encourage illegal selling, it is further burdened with a multitude of oppressive and vexatious restrictions and conditions which without really tending to diminish consumption will exasperate the people and make them the ready allies of the illegal dealer.

The Municipal Ownership Issue.

The New York Evening Post prints an extraordinary editorial under the heading "The Other Side of Municipal Ownership," which opens with this passage:

No part of the program of the Bellamyites has been urged with greater vigor than the municipal ownership of gas-works and electric-lighting plants, and no part of it has won more assent or tolerance from those who are not yet willing to go the whole collectivist figure. Especial prominence was given the matter in Massachusetts a year ago, when an effort was made to pass a bill empowering cities and towns to go into the business in a wholesale way, and it seemed at one time as if the bill might have become law had not the supreme court given an opinion that it would be unconstitutional.

Permit us to check the Post in its career of inaccuracy in this matter. The Massachusetts supreme court has not only not declared a municipal lighting bill unconstitutional, but in the Danvers decision expressly said that the Legislature has the power to authorize cities and towns to engage in the lighting business. After this decision a systematic agitation was started by the nationalists of the state, and after a stiff fight against the corporations, the municipal lighting act of 1891 was passed. The Legislature would not for a moment have entertained such a bill if the state supreme court had declared such legislation unconstitutional.

Under this act three towns, Peabody, Danvers and Braintree have established public lighting plants, and about 15 other towns of the state have voted to do the same thing. In Massachusetts the battle of public ownership of gas or electric lighting has been fought and won. The rest is a matter of detail. In over 50 towns the municipal lighting plant issue is a live question, and hard-headed Yankees

may be trusted to investigate the figures thoroughly upon business principles before trying municipal ownership.

Our contemporary proceeds to say in its editorial:

A pamphlet has just been published by M. J. Francisco of Rutland, Vt., in which these statistics are subjected to a thorough sifting, and in which returns are presented from all the towns and municipalities in the United States that have gone into the business of supplying gas or electric lighting. The result is to discredit seriously the facts and figures put forward by the nationalists, and to reinforce, from actual experience, the conviction, which is fortunately widespread, that the conditions of town and city government in this country are not such as to invite this extension of public functions. . . . One of the most deadly tables is that in which the cost of public lighting under municipal ownership in 29 towns in different states is compared with the cost in 29 other adjacent towns, where the private-contract system is in force, with the result of showing that in nearly every case the cost is lower under the latter conditions,

We have not seen this latest pamphlet of Mr. Francisco. An earlier pamphlet of the Vermont gentleman was used against the nationalists at the Massachusetts state house. Indeed, Mr. Francisco appeared in person before the legislative committee having the municipal lighting bill in charge and was rigidly cross-examined by the nationalist representative. A sufficient commentary upon the nature of that cross-examination is the fact that the Legislature promptly passed the bill in the face of the Francisco statistics. In other words, the figures of Francisco did not stand investigation.

The Post speaks of some "deadly tables" in Francisco's new pamphlet in which 29 public plants are compared with 29 private plants to the alleged advantage of the latter in point of cost of lighting. We are certainly curious to know what towns they can be. We almost fear our New York contemporary has made another mistake like the extraordinary one at the opening of its editorial. There are about 130 towns and cities in the United States owning and operating electric light plants, and we know of but one instance where local sentiment is not decidedly in favor of public ownership. We would suggest to the Post if it is really bent upon learning the exact facts about public lighting, to prepare a statistical table of municipalities that have tried both private and public lighting. We will start the list ourselves so as to give our contemporary as little trouble as possible.

Name of Town.	No. arc lights.	Candle p'w'r.	Cost of plant.	Arc light cost city per year each.	Price per light under priv. man- agement.
Bay City, Mich.	150	2000	\$30,000	\$46	\$100
Bloomington, Ill.	220	2000	70,000	50	111
Lewiston, Me.	100	2000	18,000	43	109
Painesville, O.	70	2000	12,000	43.60	72
Crawfordsville, Ind.	141	2000	70,000	22.50	71.42

Our New York critic can easily proceed with the tabulation as indicated above. Some towns, it appears, reduce the cost of lighting to the consumer over 50 per cent. We have in Braintree, Mass., a very good example of the advantages of a public plant. The plant cost \$30,161 including insurance; total number of arc lamps or their equivalent incandescent lamps, 97; total operating expenses for three and a half months, Oct. 15, 1892 to Feb. 1, 1893, \$1002.82. This would be \$35.45 per lamp per year. If we allow for depreciation, interest on plant, etc., the total

cost will be \$52.98. The lamps are 1200 candle power arc lights and are run on a moonlight schedule until 12.15. The town has voted to extend the lighting to private dwellings, and experts say that after this is done there is a fair prospect of running the cost per lamp per year down to \$50. The average cost under private ownership, in 25 other cities and towns in Massachusetts for the same sized arc lamps run on the same time schedule, as given in the last report of the gas commissioners, is \$78.56. The saving in favor of Braintree on that basis is \$2,481.26 a year.

Our critic from New York, we fear, has been led into an awkward position through too blind a following of a theory of so-called individualism. Is it too much to hope that it will now square its philosophy, as it must its arithmetic, with the verdict of experience and the dictates of common sense?

A Case That Should Interest Nationalists.

A suit of much interest to nationalists is that begun by United States Marshal Nininger for the northern district of Alabama, to get the opinion of the federal courts as to whether the president has any right to remove him from office before the expiration of his term. He was appointed marshal March 20, 1890, for four years and his term runs for another year. Mr. Cleveland has arbitrarily removed him, and he wants to know by what constitutional or legal right he has undertaken to do this. Federal appointees have been so much in the habit of holding out their necks as a matter of course to the official ax, that Marshal Nininger's kick seems almost as unreasonable as if an eel should refuse to be skinned, but come to look at the merits of the case, there is a good deal to be said on the marshal's side.

It is already admitted by the counsel of the new appointee in Nininger's place, between whom and Nininger the suit is pending, that there is no constitutional warrant for the removal by the president alone of any officer whose appointment is made as the marshal's was, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a fixed term of years. Neither does any statute construing the constitution, give the president this right. It seems to depend wholly on a custom which has been hitherto acquiesced in without resistance, but which does not seem to have a vestige of constitution or law to back it up.

The president has the power conferred on him, during a recess of the Senate to fill temporarily, offices requiring senatorial consent, but such appointments hold only till the Senate meets and acts on them, and no power is anywhere vested in the president to remove such officials nor any other officials appointed for a fixed term. Neither is this right carried by any sort of implication, for under the theory of our governments, both national and state, the right to appoint does not imply the right to remove, but is distinctly separated from it, and even if it did, the right of removal would have to be, in a case like Nininger's, with consent of the Senate, which was a party to the appointment.

There does not appear to be any reason why any postmaster or other official in the United States appointed for a fixed term, whether with or without the Senate's co-operation, should not legally resist removal just as Nininger has done, and we hope that every one of them will do so.

Perhaps this development is going to aid the solution of

the civil service reform question, than which no work is more vitally necessary to the progress of nationalism.

The state of facts on this subject seems to indicate an oversight of the law which it will require new and constructive legislation to remedy. On the one hand, it is quite right that the president should not have power to remove arbitrarily and without cause an official exercising non-confidential and merely ministerial functions. Such an official ought to be as secure, if he behaves himself, for the term of his appointment, as the president for his term. On the other hand, for the safety of the public service, the president should have the power at discretion of suspending any such official for cause, such suspension to last till the charges have come before a tribunal created for their prompt adjudication.

This apparent discovery in Nininger's case that the spoils system, so far as removal goes, is as lawless as it is immoral, ought to be taken advantage of by reformers of all shades to push a demand for getting rid once for all of the patronage abuse and putting the civil service on a basis as sound as that long since established in Great Britain.

Meanwhile, let every marshal, postmaster and tide waiter in the national service kick, as Marshal Nininger has, against removal. They can in no way so well serve their country.

ADVANCES TO NEW FIELDS.

Henry R. Legate, who has been connected with The New Nation from the start, has joined the staff of the Boston Evening Traveller. A host of friends will follow his course in this new field of labor with interest. We understand that Mr. Legate will edit in the Traveller a department of reform and people's party news. He will continue to represent the nationalists in their work of securing legislation at the state house, and will remain on the stump for the people's party in this state. He is chairman of the state central committee of the people's party, and has taken a prominent part in spreading populist doctrines in this state. Mr. Legate has made an enviable name for himself at the state house by the admirable manner in which he has conducted the fight for municipal lighting and other measures proposed by nationalists. His latest triumph was the passage of the joint resolution favoring a government telegraph and telephone service, which went to the governor after a stubborn contest in the committees.

The government weather bureau sends out a dispatch stating that about 170 people have been killed and about a million and a half dollars worth of property destroyed by cyclones this year. It advises the western people to provide cellars for refuge in case of tornadoes. The weather bureau gave the people of Iowa 24 hours notice of the cyclone last week. If the telegraph and telephone were in the hands of the government, all calamities and disasters might at little expense be gathered and reported day by day to the press, and thus reduce the expense of news-gathering and increase the reliability of the service at one stroke.

We earnestly request our subscribers to look on their address label and to renew without delay if they wish to continue the paper.

THE EXTORTIONS OF LIFE INSURANCE.

[By Gorham D. Williams of Boston for The New Nation.]

II.

When I stopped last week, I had discussed the changes which have taken place in the expenditures of the Massachusetts, the Connecticut and the New Jersey companies, comparing them for a date about 20 years ago and for 1892. Doing the same for the New York and the Vermont companies, we find that in the New York company the percentages have changed from 22 per cent for salaries, 3 per cent for advertising and 29 per cent for agents, to 8 per cent for salaries, 2 per cent for advertising and 60 per cent for agents. In addition to these sums, there is given in its last return an item of "incidentals" amounting to 15 per cent of its expenses and to the sum of nearly \$1,100,000. This seems a strikingly large sum both proportionally and absolutely to be accounted for under the head of incidentals. With the exception of the commissions paid to agents, it is the largest item in its expenditures, and it is larger than any other two. The increase in cost of insurance in this company has been \$5.10 per \$1000, as between the year when Benedick insured and 1892, while as between that year and 1889 it was \$7.20. The percentage expended for agencies in 1892 as against the former year is greater by 31 per cent. It is evident that this company has been in the race for new business, and that the interests of its old policy holders have been ignored. From 1870 to 1885 inclusive, for sixteen years, the expense of carrying \$1000 insurance in this company varied from \$4.66 to \$6.90; four years it was under \$5; nine years it was between \$5 and \$6, and three years it was over \$6. From 1874 to 1884, 11 years, it had exceeded \$5.80 but once, and then, in 1881, it was \$6.20. In March, 1885 the long time president of the company died, and the management changed. The cost of carrying an insurance of \$1000 increased in 1885 over the year before \$1.10; the next year there was a further increase of \$1.20; the next a further increase of 80 cents; the next of \$2; the next of \$1.40, making in less than five years an increase of \$6.50. The meaning of this in round numbers is that the change in the management of this company cost the policy holders in 1889 more than three million dollars. But of what account is such a sum as this if it is only 7 to 8 per cent of one year's income?

Nevertheless there were remonstrances and warnings in the press, and the situation is so far improved that, if the cost of insurance in this company was normal from 1874 to 1884, it is now costing the policy holders only a little more than \$2,750,000 a year more than it ought.

In the contest for business the little Vermont company has gone on not quite with equal steps, but it has distinguished itself. The percentages for salaries, advertising and agencies formerly were 20, 4 and 60; last year they were 5, 2 and 69. The officers up country are getting less in proportion, the enterprising agent is getting more. The policy holder is doing his share by paying \$4.10 more per \$1000 for his insurance annually, and one year he paid \$5.40 more.

Bringing these results together in brief, we see two companies, those of Connecticut and New Jersey, resisting

or yielding reluctantly to the tendency to extravagant expenditure, and yet having increased the cost of insurance, the one 80 cents and the other \$1.40 per \$1000 annually and three others pursuing the opposite course and increasing the cost, the Vermont company \$4.10, the New York \$5.10 and the Massachusetts \$5.30. Of these the last seems to have fallen farthest from grace, but it started with the cost below the normal, and now makes the cost \$9.80 where the New York company makes it \$10.30. The New York company is undoubtedly by far the worst sinner, because its age, accumulated business and reputation made its course the more unnecessary and wrong.

This inevitable tendency to extravagant expenditure when sums of money in excess of what is necessary are in hand is thus distinctly shown in life insurance, and warrants the assertion that present methods are not merely useless — they are dangerous.

As a contrast to the expenditure for management by the New York company to which I have made so frequent allusions, the following comparison with some figures from the report of the auditor of the state of Massachusetts may be instructive. The annual income of the New York company is something over 40 million dollars. The salaries paid to its officers and employees is over \$400,000. This is outside the sum paid for commissions to its agents, for fees for medical examinations, for taxes, agency expenses, advertising and that \$1,100,000 for "incidentals" which I have previously alluded to, and it would seem to be fairly comparable with the amount paid for salaries and expenses in the treasurer's and auditor's departments of the state of Massachusetts. There are certain things, such as the writing of policies, which have to be done in the office of the company which are not done in the offices of the state and there is a greater amount of detail in proportion, but all this work can be and is done by persons employed at comparatively small salaries, and it will not affect the standard of comparison to an appreciable extent.

The gross expenditures of the company are not equal to its gross income, therefore we are fair when we take 80 million dollars as the aggregate amount of all its transactions on both sides. The revenue of Massachusetts for 1892 was \$11,470,728 and the expenditures were \$11,927,191, making on both sides \$23,397,918. The total expense to the state of the treasurer's and the auditor's departments on this account was \$34,409.89 or about \$1500 for every million dollars handled, and this is inclusive of all the expenses of the offices including "incidentals."

Beside the ordinary revenue and expenditures the treasurer's department is required by law to take charge of numerous sinking funds and funds belonging to a variety of organizations. The sums handled on this account by the department in 1892 were for receipts \$4,543,275 and for disbursements \$8,707,945, or taking both sides \$13,251,220.

The additional cost of handling these sums was \$1800 or less than \$140 a million.

In the state departments of Massachusetts then we see \$36,649,138 received and expended at a total cost of \$36,209.89 or a little less than a \$1000 a million. At the same rate the salaries of the officers and employees of the New York company ought not to exceed \$80,000. If, however, we call the expense of handling their first 36 million

dollars the same as it is in the Massachusetts departments and of the other 44 million dollars at the rate of \$150 a million, the salaries named ought not to exceed \$42,600. They are, however, over \$400,000, enough over it to be about ten times \$42,600.

The salaries of the treasurer and the auditor of the state of Massachusetts are respectively \$5000 and \$3500 a year and there has never been a time when men of ability have not been found willing and desirous to hold these offices. The salaries paid to the president and other officers of the life insurance companies are not published, but we may make a guess at what they are in the large New York companies when it appears that the directors of one of them recently undertook to pension the president of one of them, retiring by request, at \$37,500 a year.

The location of the management of the accumulations of the life insurance companies under consideration as making returns in Massachusetts demands mention and comment. Massachusetts companies control \$56,591,032; New York \$520,117,414; Connecticut, \$113,064,307; Wisconsin, \$56,098,896; New Jersey, \$51,386,072; Pennsylvania, \$43,844,850; Vermont, \$8,762,431 and Maine, \$5,863,278. There are no life insurance companies of any consequence in the United States which do not have business in Massachusetts and make returns to its insurance department. From this it may be seen that the sums paid in premiums from all over the country and accumulated on the level premium plan of insuring are controlled in 8 out of 44 states and subject to regulation by the statutes of the states where the companies are located. More than one half these immense accumulations are controlled in the city of New York. The state of New York has seen fit to restrict the investment of any part of the funds of life insurance companies in real estate mortgages to property situated in New York state or within 50 miles of the city of New York, so that a policy holder in a New York company, living in Boston for instance, if for any reason he should wish to borrow on the security of his real estate here, could not get a dollar from the company which might be holding even tens of thousands of dollars of his money for the purpose of paying him a debt ultimately sure to become due.

Little comment seems to be needed in connection with the statements (all derived from official sources) which have been made. The evil tendency from the accumulation of great funds and revenues, virtually removed from the control of the contributors, can be discovered without the necessity of pointing them out. The economical management of the funds and revenues of a state appears in sharp contrast. The improper restrictions which may be placed by one state on the property of citizens of other states under present conditions also appears. All these things suggest that life insurance can be more economically and satisfactorily furnished directly by the state than through the incorporation of companies and that if investment is to continue to be one of its features it could thus be placed more effectually in the control of the policy holders.

A. W. of Huron, S. D.:—I am very much pleased with your paper. We are agitating state control of liquor traffic, the initiative and referendum and an interstate railroad from the Gulf to the British line. The light is spreading and The New Nation is one of the great generators.

THE FOLLY OF THE WORKERS WHO STRIKE AND FIGHT, INSTEAD OF VOTING, FOR THEMSELVES.

We trust that as many of our readers as possible are following Mr. Howells' "Traveller from Altruria," now running in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. We extract the following from one of the conversations in the July instalment of the story:

The lawyer broke the awkward pause which followed: "I have heard it asserted that there is no country in the world, where the separation of the classes is so absolute as in ours. In fact, I once heard a Russian revolutionist, who had lived in exile all over Europe, say that he had never seen, anywhere, such a want of kindness between rich and poor, as he had observed in America. I doubted whether he was right. But he believed that, if it ever came to the industrial revolution with us, the fight would be more uncompromising than any such fight that the world had ever seen. There was no respect from low to high, he said, and no consideration from high to low, as there were in countries with traditions and old associations."

"Well," said the banker, "there may be something in that. Certainly, so far as the two forces have come into conflict here, there has been no disposition, on either side, to 'make war with the water of roses.' It's astonishing, in fact, to see how ruthless the fellows who have just got up are towards the fellows who are still down. And the best of us have been up only a generation or two—and the fellows who are still down know it."

"And what do you think would be the outcome of such a conflict?" I asked, with my soul divided between fear of it, and the perception of its excellence as material. My fancy vividly sketched the outline of a story which should forecast the struggle and its event, somewhat on the plan of the Battle of Dorking.

"We should beat," said the banker, breaking his cigar-ash off with his little finger; and I instantly cast him, with his ironic calm, for the part of a great patrician leader, in my Fall of the Republic. Of course I disguised him somewhat, and travestied his worldly bonhomie with the bluff sang-froid of the soldier; these things are easily done.

"What makes you think we should beat?" asked the manufacturer, not anxiously, but with a certain curiosity.

"Well, all the good jingo reasons: we have got the materials for beating. Those fellows throw away their strength whenever they begin to fight, and they've been so badly generaled, up to the present time, that they have wanted to fight at the outset of every quarrel. They have been beaten in every quarrel, but still they always want to begin by fighting. That is all right. When they have learned enough to begin by voting, then we shall have to look out. But if they keep on fighting, and always putting themselves in the wrong and getting the worst of it, perhaps we can fix the voting so that we needn't be any more afraid of that than we are of the fighting. It's astonishing how shortsighted and illogical they are. They have no conception of any cure for their grievances, except more wages and fewer hours."

"But," I asked, "do you really think they have any just grievances?"

"Of course not, as a business man," said the banker. "If I were a workingman, I should probably think differently. But we will suppose, for the sake of argument, that their day is too long and their pay is too short. How do they go about it to better themselves? They strike. Well, a strike is a fight, and in a fight, now-a-days, it is always skill and money that win. The workingmen can't stop till they have put themselves outside of the public sympathy which the newspapers say is so potent in their behalf; I never saw that it did them the least good. They begin by boycotting, and breaking the heads of the men

who want to work. They destroy property, and they interfere with business — the two absolutely sacred things in the American religion. Then we call out the militia and shoot a few of them, and their leaders declare the strike off. It is perfectly simple."

"But will it be quite as simple," I asked, reluctant in behalf of my projected romance, to have the matter so soon disposed of, "will it be quite as simple if their leaders should ever persuade the workmen to leave the militia, as they threaten to do, from time to time?"

"No, not quite as simple," the banker admitted. "Still, the fight would be always comparatively simple. In the first place, I doubt — though I won't be certain about it — whether there are a great many workmen in the militia now. I rather fancy it is made up, for the most part, of clerks and small tradesmen, and book-keepers, and such employees of business as have time and money for it. I may be mistaken."

No one seemed able to say whether he was mistaken or not; and, after waiting a moment, he proceeded:

"I feel pretty sure that is so in the city companies and regiments, at any rate, and that if every workingman left them, it would not seriously impair their effectiveness. But when the workmen have left the militia, what have they done? They have eliminated the only thing that disqualifies it for prompt and unsparing use against strikers. As long as they are in it, we might have our misgivings, but if they were once out of it, we should have none. And what would they gain? They would not be allowed to arm and organize as an inimical force. That was settled once for all in Chicago, in the International Groups. A few squads of policemen would break them up. Oh, no! Their only hope for mischief is to remain in the militia and weaken it by their disaffection in the event of a fight. But they have always managed so badly that I should not be surprised if they threw away this advantage, too. Why," the banker exclaimed, with his good humored laugh, "how preposterous they are, when you come to look at it! They are in the majority, the immense majority, if you count the farmers, and they prefer to behave as if they were the hopeless minority. They say they want an eight-hour law, and every now and then they strike and try to fight it. Why don't they vote it? They could make it the law in six months by such overwhelming numbers that no one would dare to evade or defy it. They can make any law they want, but they prefer to break such laws as we have. That 'alienates public sympathy,' the newspapers say, but the spectacle of their stupidity and helplessness is so lamentable that I could almost pity them. If they chose, it would take only a few years to transform our government into the likeness of anything they wanted. But they would rather not have what they want, apparently, if they can only keep themselves from getting it, and they have to work hard to do that!"

"I suppose," I said, "that they are misled by the un-American principles and methods of the socialists among them."

"Why, no," returned the banker, "I shouldn't say that. As far as I understand it, the socialists are the only fellows among them who propose to vote their ideas into laws, and nothing can be more American than that. I don't believe that the socialists stir up the strikes, at least among our workmen, although the newspapers convict them of it, generally without trying them. The socialists seem to accept the strikes as the inevitable outcome of the situation, and they make use of them as proofs of the industrial discontent. But luckily for the status, our labor leaders are not socialists, for your socialist, whatever you may say against him, has thought himself into a socialist. He generally knows that until the workmen stop fighting, and get down to voting — until they consent to be the majority — there is no hope for them. I am not talking of anarchists, mind you, but of socialists, whose philosophy is more law, not less, who look forward to an order that can't be disturbed."

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE POPULIST MOVEMENT AND RAILROAD WRECKING.

The Philadelphia Ledger Makes a Break. The Demand for Demonetization of Gold. Note and Comment.

The Philadelphia Ledger has become alarmed at the number of attempts to wreck and rob passenger trains in the United States. There have been 61 attempts to wreck trains and 21 attempts to rob them in the past six months. Massachusetts and Illinois lead the attempted wreckings, while Iowa, Indian territory and Oklahoma lead in the attempted robbing of trains.

The Ledger is not content to pass these statistics by without probing for causes. Why, it asks, are trains robbed in Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska? Listen to the Ledger's answer:

"Disagreeable as the suggestion may be, it is to be found in the attitude of the populists toward railroad companies. Governors and legislators have been preaching for years that railroad companies are the natural enemies of the farmers and that they ought to be despoiled by heavy taxation and compulsory reduction of rates. It is quite natural that, just as Guiteau translated violent language into violent acts, train robbers should arise in states where the populists have been preaching their pernicious doctrines. . . . We have often seen a mob, called into being by men of fair reputation and good, or at least defensible, purpose, getting beyond control of the leaders and committing excesses which they deplore. So also politicians of the populist type, who seek to undermine the principles of government and to warp the laws to serve their selfish purposes, lose control of their followers and find themselves incapable of putting restraints upon them. They propose to wreck a railroad according to law and rob its stockholders by statute; their fellows wreck the trains and rob the passengers by force of arms. So far as these statistics go, they are a significant warning against the preaching of such doctrines as tend to undermine the respect of the community for property rights and for the laws, found necessary in all civilized communities for the protection of those rights."

This hypothesis does the Ledger's railroad editor great credit. As Massachusetts, Illinois and Iowa are the greatest offenders in assaulting passenger trains, and as populists in these states are the alleged culprits, and as the populist vote is comparatively small in these states, the assumption is that populist train wreckers must migrate from Kansas, Colorado, the Dakotas and other commonwealths where a large portion of the community is impregnated with people's party doctrines. This seems quite reasonable.

The Ledger has hit upon a possible explanation of the way populists secure campaign funds. There have been 21 attempts to rob passenger trains during the six months past. Assuming that the money secured averaged \$5000, we have \$105,000. The taking of money from passengers in order to spite a railroad is rather far-fetched. At the

same time, as the Ledger is free to admit, a mob never stops to consider the best way to accomplish its purpose. All in all we must give the Ledger the credit of being a thick-and-thin defender of the system of privately-owned railroads.

To undermine the "respect of the community for property rights" is indeed serious business, and we wonder that the Ledger did not go on and compare the 61 attempts to wreck single trains with the figures in the last report of the interstate commerce commission. It appears that during the year covered by the report, no less than 16 railroad companies—not trains—were wrecked, 92 others were forced to surrender to larger roads, 7029 persons were killed by the cars (total murders same time in United States 6000), 33,881 persons injured and thousands of stockholders compelled to sacrifice their shares owing to wholesale watering of stock. Here is a "respect" for property rights and for life which we wonder the Ledger did not speak of. If all the railroad wreckers in the land are populists, thousands of them must have failed to vote at the presidential election.

Seriously we think that any editor who undertakes to divert public attention from the great economic issues of the day by claiming that the outlaws who "hold up" trains are inspired by populists has a pretty low opinion of American intelligence.

"Why not go to the root of the monetary evil," writes John Franklin Clark of New York city, "and let the reply of the United States to the action of the government of India be the demonetization of both gold and silver, and the adoption of the multiple standard for and by which the value of the money unit shall be established, and thus relegate so far as the United States is concerned, both gold and silver to their true position and value as commodities. In the end it must come to this the world over, if money remains in use, unless the people of the world submit to be the slaves of the so-called capitalists." We agree with our correspondent that any commodity basis for money is unscientific. In this connection we quote from the Cleveland Citizen one of the most influential labor papers in the West, and certainly very well informed. It says: "'Demonetize gold' is a war cry that is now spreading throughout the West and South."

✓ A petition is being circulated in Worcester county in this state for the demonetization of both gold and silver.

Labor, Politics and Nationalism.

Mr. Powderly tells a New York reporter that all departments of labor, including the farmer, are destined to be drawn together, and that this union will be of a political nature. We quote from his interview: "I consider the outlook favorable. There has been a falling off in the ranks, but the organizations are building up again. The

labor organization of the future, however, will be one in which all the departments of labor—I say departments instead of classes—will be represented. In the cities, when a meeting is being held nowadays, and the farmers are mentioned, someone cries, 'Oh, that's hayseed business.' Still the city man eats the farmer's grain, and the farmer is a toiler. The city worker should be well informed about the affairs of the farmer, and the farmer should be posted on the affairs of the city worker, for their interests are identical. The farmer will be a member of the labor organization that is to come. All organizations are political in one way or another. Should a strike take place, a judge issues warrants. It is the law. What is the remedy? Why let labor elect its judges and representatives and have the laws changed. Politics are necessary. The government must have ownership of all railroads, for they are simply public highways. Then railroad employees will receive fair treatment and good wages. When the government owns the railroads, one third more men will be employed, and all being consumers, other classes of industries will be gainers. Government ownership of railroads means even more than this. It means that transportation will be cheaper. It also means that no one will be discriminated against in the matter of rates, as is now the case, as thousands of farmers and manufacturers know. The government should also own the telegraph system of the country and operate it for the benefit of the people as the post office is operated. This would mean extremely low rates and the employment of more people. I believe that the labor organization of the future will be the means of bringing about this change.

Note and Comment.

The people's party of Essex county held a picnic at Marblehead on the Fourth, about 400 being present. Speeches were made by Henry R. Legate of Boston, George H. Cary, W. O. Wakefield and W. P. Conway of Lynn. Mr. Dolan of Marblehead presided. The whole affair was a decided success, and the committee are planning for similar meetings in various parts of the country.

The New York state convention of the people's party will be held at Sylvan Beach, Lake Oneida, nine miles from the city of Oneida, August 18. The farmer's encampment in Oneida at that time. The populist convention promises to be a formidable affair. Over 30,000 farmers will attend the encampment and the occasion will afford a fine opportunity for exchanging political views.

Some Albany (N. Y.) capitalists formed a company to build a large warehouse, and steps were taken to secure a railroad franchise for a half-mile spur to the New York Central and Hudson River railroad. Under the state laws railroad franchises must be put up to public auction and sold to the company which will pay the greatest percentage on its gross receipts. The warehouse capitalists bid one one-millionth per cent of its gross receipts, and as this was the only bid, they bagged the plum. It cost the city \$100 to advertise for bids for this franchise, and it will take about a thousand years to get this money back. It is about time for legislation for all the people.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

We are pleased to learn from the Braintree Reporter that the public lighting experiment of that city is proving a grand success. It says: "The commercial and house lighting current was turned on for the first time on Saturday night. Upwards of one thousand lights were attached and, as a whole, worked splendidly. Although the inside wiring of a few stores in the south part failed to work satisfactorily on the opening night, on Monday evening everything had been adjusted and everybody was loud in their praises of the successful work done by our efficient committee. It has been an acknowledged fact for a long time that Braintree has one of the best street lighting plants in the state, and now having added a commercial and house plant of such thorough workmanship and complete apartments, it stands among the first of towns in adopting electricity for lighting purposes."

Connecticut.

A Portland correspondent writes The New Nation: "An outside corporation has just laid pipes to bring water from the hills of Portland for our people. We are paying \$2300 for the use of a free hydrant. This alone is one half of six per cent interest on the water bonds. The citizens of the town are kicking themselves now because their eyes are open to the advantage of municipal ownership of public works. They now realize that it is cheaper to do their own work than to hire it done."

New York.

Rome is discussing the question of municipal lighting.

New Jersey.

Perth Amboy has just completed its water-works at a total cost of \$125,000. The works were turned over to the municipality last week, and the event was celebrated by the entire community, and many prominent citizens from various parts of the state participated therein.

Georgia.

The Macon Telegraph is making a noble fight for the city ownership of the water and gas plants. It loses no opportunity to urge upon the citizens the wisdom of buying the local companies out. The sentiment in favor of public ownership is growing in Macon.

Minnesota.

Springfield has voted to bond the city for a municipal electric light plant.

Missouri.

The Kansas City council committee on lighting has reported in favor of a municipal lighting system.

Wisconsin.

In his first baccalaureate sermon before the university of Wisconsin, President C. K. Adams, among other things, said: "Two currents of thought are finding expression at the present time. The first is the feeling, more or less

clearly defined, that it is the function of government to provide for whatever seems to be best adapted to the good of the community as a whole. The post office, land grants to railroads, coast surveys, etc., also the development of the public school system show this tendency. The second current of thought may be described as a general, all pervasive, restless discontent with the results of current political and economic thought. It is not my purpose to justify or denounce the fact of this discontent, but simply to call attention to its existence. It can hardly be denied that there is prevalent in other countries as well as our own the general belief that we have not yet reached the proper adjustment of economic relations. This discontent has shown itself in many forms. For you who are now about to commence the active duties of life, this subject seems to me to have peculiar significance. It will be your lot to see the development of great principles. The age of voluntary combination, perhaps the age of socialism is upon us."

At a recent meeting in Milwaukee of the various trades unions of the state, a State Federation of Labor was formed. Among the planks adopted were the following: "The ballot is labor's most effective weapon and in its use we must be educated and united. Our only hope of industrial emancipation lies in alliance with the progressive political forces of the times. Our greatest error in the past has been in the support of parties pledged to the perpetuation of an industrial system which has produced an arrogant plutocracy and impoverished the common people. The right of full and free expression of opinion is inalienable, and we favor universal suffrage regardless of sex. Our banking system is a source of oppression to labor and should be abolished. We believe the government should be the only banker. All railroads, telephones and telegraphs should be owned by the government and operated by the people. Street railways, gas, electric light, water supply plants, etc, should be wherever located. If labor had free access to the resources of nature, most of its ills which beset it would vanish. We declare our opposition to private ownership of the soil and the mines, and believe the government should control all the resources of nature. Our country swarms with real estate boomers, and the land speculators who plunder the people by appropriating wealth created solely by the increase of population. We favor the adoption of the initiative and referendum system of making laws and believe that the whole people and not corrupt bodies of professional politicians should enact our laws."

Indiana.

A \$300,000 skewer trust has been formed, with headquarters at Muncie.

Washington.

Tacoma has bought the plant of the Light and Water company, paying two million dollars for it.

South Dakota.

The Grant County Review: The idea of nationalizing the liquor traffic is rapidly gaining ground, even among hitherto staunch prohibitionists. This plan has long been advocated by the Review, and is now conceded by all practical and conservative thinkers to be the correct solution of a vexed problem. The following paragraph from the Madison Sentinel indicates that Mr. H. L. Loucks, the recognized leader of the Farmers' alliance has adopted the nationalistic plan: "Our people should all turn out to hear H. L. Loucks next Monday evening at the opera house. He speaks on the nationalization of the liquor traffic, a subject of interest to everyone. Mr. Loucks has always been one of the strongest friends of temperance, but he believes that the remedy lies in state control of the entire liquor question."

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provi-		Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5	sion	100	Music publishing and in-		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical com-		struments		Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	2	Naval stores combine	1	Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Nitro-glycerine		Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2	2	Oatmeal	3 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paint combine	2	Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill		Paper bag	2	Steel and iron	4
Boiler	15	Forge companies		Paper box	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Patent leather	5	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	1	Pearl barley		Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	10	Pitch	10	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	2	Plate glass	8	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	35	Plow		Tin plate	
Butchers' supply		General electric	50	Pocket cutlery	2	Tissue paper	10
Button	5	Glove	2	Pork combine	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	12	Powder	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed		Green glass	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	12	Trunk	3
beef		Gypsum stucco mills		Preservers' combine	8	Tube	11 1-2
Cash register	10	Harvester	1 1-2	Pulp	5	Turpentine	
Carbon candle	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	18	Type-founders	9
Cartridge	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Casket and burial goods	1	Hide dealers		Rock salt	5	Vapor stove	1
Castor oil	1-2	Illinois steel	50	Rubber General shoe	2	Wall paper	38
Cattle feeders		Indurated fibre	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	7	Watch	30
Celluloid	8	Iron and coal	10	Safe	2 1-2	Water-works pumping ma-	
Cigarette	25	Iron league	60	Safe No. 2	5	chinery	
Colorado coal combine	20	Jute bagging		Salt	1	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Label printing		Sandstone	1	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Leather board	1-2	Sanitary ware	3	White granite	
Copper ingot	20	Lime	8	Sash, door and blind	1 1-2	White lead	30
Cordage	15	Linseed oil	18	Saw	5	Window glass	20
Crockery	15	Lithograph	11 1-2	School book	2	Wire	10
Cotton duck	10	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	15	Wire rod	
Cotton press	3	Lumber	2	School slate		Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Manilla tissue	2	Screw		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Marble combine	20	Sewer pipe	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Match	7 1-2	Sheet copper	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Merchants' steel	25	Sheet steel	2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

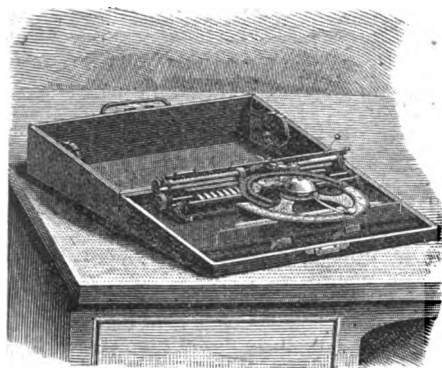
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atica, Kidney, Bladder and Liver ailments, can be helped or cured by this Magnetic appliance. Quickens blood, renews Vigor far more effectively than any medicine to be taken internally; Indorsed by eminent physicians. Sent to any part of the United States on receipt of price, \$2.00

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

"The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

We are glad to see it, — our eastern farmers' papers here in the East comparing notes on socialism and nationalism. The New England Farmer takes to task the Vermont Watchman for its definition of socialism and adds: "Socialism, as we understand it, is, in its essence, nothing but co-operation; in the somewhat technical why in which the word is commonly used it means co-operation on such a scale as to in-

clude all the people of a town, state or nation co-operating through the machinery of government. For instance, the post office management is an instance of socialistic work; when a town or city builds a sewer or constructs a system of water-works, we have more socialism." This is specifically nationalism. The Watchman responds that "if that were all, we should not have any objection to socialism." What it objects to is the tyranny of socialism. Perhaps it objects also to the tyranny of the United States post office. At any rate we trust this discussion will become contagious.

The People's Party not to be Made a One-Idea Party.

The importance of the struggle over the money question in the coming session of Congress, seems to "rattle" some of our contemporaries among the people's party papers. Undoubtedly the fight for bi-metalism now coming on is to be a big one, but it is not necessary nor advisable in stating this fact to belittle or discredit, or in any way to relegate to the background or to the future, the other principles of the Omaha platform. We do not object to any reasonable statement of the importance of the financial question. It is of the first order of magnitude; but we do object, and a large part of the people's party will be found very vigorously objecting to any talk that looks like side-tracking in the interest of the money question the other quite equally important reforms to which the party is pledged.

For example, there are divers orators and a few papers of our party which permit themselves to say such things as that all other issues must be postponed to the money question, that this is the paramount issue, that it is logically and necessarily the first issue and that until it is settled we cannot properly take up the other issues, that if we are beaten in the contest for bi-metalism we are crushed, and that if we win in that fight all the rest will logically follow.

These statements and others like them are one and all as untrue as they are impolitic. The people's party is not a party of one idea. It does not carry all its eggs in one basket. It does not march in single file.

Desirous as we are to see the full bi-metallic idea prevail, with the exclusive governmental issue of money, it is

not true in any sense that the rest of our program depends on the triumph of these ideas or would be rendered impracticable by their defeat. If that were so our outlook would indeed be dreary, for he must be a sanguine person who believes that, at best, our side can do more than to obtain a compromise on these points, while it is certainly possible that bi-metalism may be quite knocked out. Suppose the latter event to take place, what then will those people's party papers be able to say which have beforehand declared that all the prospects of the party depend on the result of the money fight? They will logically have to throw up the sponge, will they not? But the people's party will not throw up the sponge. Dear brethren, let us avoid hysterical politics.

There are three possible results of the silver and currency fight in Congress. It may result in a victory for the gold standard people, or it may result in a victory for full bi-metalism. Thirdly, it may result in compromises that will suit nobody and settle nothing and mean an indefinite protraction of the dispute. The last result is much more probable than either of the others.

Is anybody foolish enough to suppose that the people's party is going to wait the settlement of this possibly interminable wrangle before bringing to the front any other of its propositions? Are we to continue to tolerate the Western Union's telegraph monopoly? Are Kansas, Nebraska, California and all the states for that matter, to sit still while the railroads complete their iron net about them? Are we to adopt no policy of resistance to land monopolization East and West? Are we to do nothing about the coal combine? Are we to postpone state control of the traffic in intoxicants? Are we, in a word, to lift no hand or voice against any of the monopolies the people's party has challenged until, forsooth the money question is settled? Such talk is nonsensical and not to be tolerated. Bi-metalism is no doubt to be desired as a relief to the country and to be energetically contended for, but it is not true that the cause of human equality, to which the people's party is devoted, is in any more particular or important way dependent on that condition than many others, or would be more seriously set back by its defeat than by the defeat of other reforms. Surely it is within the resources of the human language to express the importance of a particular proposition without discrediting other propositions equally important.

The people's party, if it is to come to anything, has got to be what it calls itself, an alliance of the wage-worker with the farmer, and the Omaha platform furnishes the basis of such an alliance. If, however, the planks in which the wage-worker and the artisan are particularly interested are to be set aside as in any way less important, or "damned with faint praise" the idea of such an alliance had better be given up right away.

We stand by the Omaha platform in its entirety and we question the fidelity to the platform of those who apparently are interested in only one feature of it. If one part of the platform is to be "the paramount issue" and the others made secondary to it, we maintain that no body of less authority than another national convention is competent to so declare. We think this will be the opinion of the majority.

The Women in Line.

An interesting recent feature of the people's party move-

ment in Kansas is the organization of the "Women's Progressive Political League." This body is made up exclusively of women in sympathy with the principles of the people's party; women who are sympathetic with the republican and democratic parties not being eligible. With a view to clearing up misunderstandings on this subject the secretary of the league has just issued an address, quoted from elsewhere in this issue, in which she affirms that the organization is distinctly affiliated with the people's party and especially devoted among the other objects of that party to woman suffrage and public management of the liquor traffic. The rise of this organization may perhaps be regarded as suggestive of the prominent part which women everywhere are destined to take and the decisive influence they are sure to exert in the great movement for radical social reorganization which the people's party, with its nationalist principles, so far, most notably represents in this country. The interests of men are indeed bound up with the fate of this cause, but even beyond men, are women concerned in its triumph. While nationalism is the cause of manhood, it is pre-eminently the cause of womanhood, for while it promises man deliverance from economic despotism it promises woman deliverance at one blow from economic and sex slavery. The women of Kansas have from the start been "the better half" of the revolution there, and it is fitting that they should lead in calling women everywhere to take a stand openly in defense of principles in whose victory or defeat they have so much at stake.

The Liquor Business Always a State Monopoly, Whether Indirectly or Directly Exercised.

When it was first reported that Judge Hudson of one of the minor courts of South Carolina had decided against the state monopoly of the liquor traffic, it was supposed that the supreme court of the state had already decided in its favor and that the contrary ruling of a minor court would be of no importance. It appears however that the supreme court decided only an incidental point relating to the form of the bill and expressly reserved the question of its constitutionality. It seems, therefore, that this point remains to be settled by the supreme court on appeal, and an adverse decision may put an end to the whole experiment. It is for the interest of the state to get the question settled as soon as possible, as its dispensaries are now being enjoined right and left on the strength of Judge Hudson's decision.

The points of Judge Hudson's decision are of two kinds, the greater part of them being directed against particular features of the law, especially the extraordinary search and seizure powers and other high-handed interferences with personal liberty and property by which the provisions of the law are to be enforced.

When, however, his honor goes further and declares the assertion of a state monopoly of the liquor traffic or of any other trade or business to be under all circumstances opposed to the general principles of law and justice and to be dangerous to republican institutions and the liberties of the people, he is floundering in water that is over his head.

His main point is that such an assertion is an interference with the liberties of individuals to engage in business. He argues that the state would have no right to grant a monopoly to individuals to pursue an especial business as

against other individuals and consequently that it has no more the right to assume such a monopoly itself. Surely the judge was napping when he forgot that a principal business of state legislatures consists in granting privileges to groups of citizens to monopolize particular businesses. Every time a legislature grants a franchise, exclusive either in terms or practical effect, to a water company, a lighting or local transit company or to a railroad company, it grants a monopoly to certain individuals, and restricts the liberty of citizens in general to enter into that trade, both which things the judge says it has no constitutional right to do. The state cannot delegate powers which it has not the right to exercise. If it can grant a monopoly to others, it can much more assert that monopoly itself.

The judge is particularly unfortunate in applying his argument to the liquor selling business. By universal consent and practice, it is in the power of any state either to delegate the sale of liquor to private monopolies or altogether to prohibit it. Every liquor license issued establishes a private monopoly. Is there a law student in the country callow enough to argue that the state cannot retain in its own hands and itself exercise a monopoly which it admittedly has the right to delegate to others? Where was the right of monopoly before it was delegated to licensees?

Was it not in the hands and discretion of the state? Will Judge Hudson explain where else it could have been?

Or take it the other way. It is admitted that South Carolina or any other state has a right totally to prohibit to citizens the sale of liquor. Having thus, in the exercise of its undoubted right, totally prohibited the trade to citizens, wherein can the state be said to further injure its citizens or interfere with any liberties left them when it goes into the business itself? It is certainly odd that Judge Hudson did not think of this.

In the course of the extension of public management in the public interest over all business, which nationalism proposes, there may be various constitutional snags to be avoided or, if necessary, uprooted by constitutional amendments, state or federal; but certainly there are no such snags in the way of state monopoly of the liquor business, for in all parts of the country the states have long ago taken that business out of the free field of competition and placed it upon a strictly monopolistic basis. Prohibition states peddle out the monopoly to druggists, and license states to applicants with "pulls," but in both cases the sale of liquor is a monopoly delegated by the state and protected by the state police. In neither state is it a business open to the general public. The direct exercise by a state (as in South Carolina's case) of its monopoly, instead of its indirect exercise through licensed delegates, may surprise people by its novelty, but it involves not the slightest change in the legal and constitutional view of the matter. There is no new principle introduced, but only a change in the method of applying a long recognized principle.

While we defend and advocate the principle of the direct and responsible exercise by a state of its monopoly of the liquor traffic, as the best way of dealing with the liquor business, we are not to be understood as defending the South Carolina law. We condemn, on the contrary, in the strongest manner, the attempt to make a revenue out of

the business, and we also condemn its inquisitorial, violent and vexatious clauses, not only as outraging personal rights, but as offering a premium on its own violation.

Massachusetts Democrats find Public Ownership Good Politics.

The democrats of Massachusetts under their present leadership are playing a much better game of politics than their old opponents. The announcement is made that Mayor Matthews of Boston and not Josiah Quincy will be the party candidate for governor next autumn. If the following from the Advertiser can be relied upon, it must be confessed that the democrats realize the immense political importance of public ownership in this state.

He will run on his record in the gas fight, and on the promise, if governor, to stir up the sinecures and corporations more than Gov. Russell has ever thought of doing. The democratic party will be pledged to all that, while the Matthews people figure out that the republican platform will not be very aggressive on these lines with ex-Gov. Robinson, T. J. Coolidge, H. C. Lodge and Congressman Wright heading it. Matthews has nothing to do to secure the nomination, and, with his decision to run, can set to work at once to plan out his campaign, get his literature ready, and make his combinations. He expects and will receive the opposition of every gas and electric light corporation in the state, the managers of which sat by and saw the Bay State company overhauled, and are now realizing that this step is their own destruction, as it will lead to a great movement next year in favor of municipal lighting without any restrictions to protect the present private companies.

"IS IT SOCIALISTIC FOR THE STATE TO PERFORM THE STATE'S FUNCTIONS?"

S. S. Ketchum of Trinidad, Colorado, sends a letter to the Springfield Republican which is so full of hard sense that we quote it. He says:

"The evident truth of the charges made in the columns of the Republican against corporations holding contracts for the performance of state and municipal functions, and the fact that the mismanagement and corrupt practices of this class of corporations are no worse in Massachusetts than in any other state, and are as common now and as uncontrolled, leads to the natural inference that these evils are inherent in the system of delegating governmental functions and the farming out of public business to individuals and corporations. Justice Bradley of the United States supreme court says: 'When a railroad is chartered it is for the purpose of performing a duty which belongs to the state.' Why should this duty be farmed to a corporation? Again that court says of railroad companies: 'The function performed is that of the state.' Is it socialistic for government to perform the state's functions?"

"The same court said in another case: 'In modern times, it is true, government is in the habit in some countries of letting out the construction of important highways requiring a large expenditure of capital, to agents, generally corporate bodies created for the purpose, and giving them the right of taxing those who travel or transport goods thereon as a means of obtaining compensation for their outlay.' Is it any less burdensome for the people to pay the taxes imposed by a private corporation like a railroad company than to pay the taxes imposed by a public corporation like the state for the same purpose? And is not the debt of a railroad company substantially a public burden during the life of its contract?"

A LEAF FROM THE DEVIL'S JEST-BOOK.

Beside the sewing table chained and bent,
 They stitch for the lady, tyrannous and proud —
 For her a wedding-gown, for them a shroud;
 They stitch and stitch, but never mend the rent
 Torn in life's golden curtains. Glad Youth went,
 And left them alone with Time; and now if bowed
 With burdens they should sob and cry aloud,
 Wondering, the rich would look from their content.

And so this glimmering life at last recedes
 In unknown, endless depths beyond recall;
 And what's the worth of all our ancient creeds,
 If here, at the end of ages, this is all —
 A fair face floating through the merry ball,
 A dead face plashing in the river reeds?

CHARLES EDWIN MARKHAM in the Cal. Illustrated Mag.

THE OUTCOME OF THE BATTLE OF STANDARDS.

[Edward Bellamy in the Boston Globe, Sunday, July 16, 1893, on the question: "Will gold become the sole unit of value, and will silver cease to be used as money?"]

This question is merely an aspect of a larger one, namely, whether the money power is to grow to complete mastery or not. The interest of the monopolizers of money is in having its value as high as possible and its supply as small as possible, since thereby their control of the world by its means is made more complete, inevitable and easy of exercise. The movement toward the gold standard is a part of the great modern tendency to the centralization of the economic government of the world in the hands of a few.

The resistance to the gold unit in the interest of a bi-metallic or broader basis and larger money supply represents an effort of the people to repel this tendency and resist this domination. It is democratic and popular in sentiment and breathes the spirit of resistance to tyranny. Is it, then, to be a successful resistance? I must say that, while I heartily sympathize with it and will do all I can to further it, I doubt if it will be in the end successful, and this not at all for moral but entirely for what may be called strategic reasons.

As I said, the gold unit movement is a part of the great modern tendency to suppress the free competitive system in the interest of centralized and combined economic administration. In resisting it the bi-metallic or broader money basis party is, in strict economic terms, necessarily arrayed in defense of the old-fashioned free competitive system.

Now, while the free competitive system would be vastly better than the centralized despotism of capital which the bi-metallic party is resisting, it is a doomed and dying system to which the world will never return. Capitalistic oppression, using the new and all-conquering method of concentration, cannot therefore be successfully resisted from behind the decayed and dilapidated breastworks of free competition.

The forces arrayed on the popular side of this money standard struggle may make a more or less stubborn battle, but they will eventually be forced to surrender unless they take the higher ground of nationalism. The only way to

meet the method of concentration applied in the interest of the few is by applying the same method in the interest of the people. Modern artillery cannot be met by ancient ordnance.

So we may be sure in the end the battle between the money standards will become a battle between the present social system and a system that will need no money standard, because it will not measure men's rights that way. The money problem will never be solved; it will be abolished. Money is the root of all evil, and can never be made to grow straight or bear anything but apples of Sodom. It will never be effectually treated save by extirpation. Gold will not conquer silver, nor silver gold, but men will conquer both and put them under their feet.

WHAT THE FARMER THOUGHT OF THE STOCK ARGUMENTS AGAINST SOCIALISM.

The recent parliamentary campaign in Germany, although nominally begun on the issue of the army bill, became, before it was ended, merely a struggle between socialism and anti-socialism. The following anecdote from the other side is illustrative of the way the German farmers are beginning to comprehend the socialistic idea:

In a village of Bavaria, where for the first time since Adam the Socialist candidate led the polls, and a second election was necessary between him and the candidate of the ruling class, there sat, a few days after the first election the leading capitalist landlord of the region, the local parson, the village schoolmaster and the tiller of a small farm, around a little table at the inn. The small farmer had never before been the subject of such tender solicitude on the part of present company. All three had formerly habitually turned their noses upon him; now, however, they affected great friendship. From inquiring after his health, and such courtesies, the capitalist landlord, the parson and the school master turned to politics, as if by the purest accident, and for some time they talked at the farmer, running down the socialists, whose recent campaign-literature they knew had made a marked impression upon the small working farmers of the neighborhood.

Having prepared the ground in this way, at a wink from the capitalist landlord, the parson addressed the farmer directly, depicting to him the wickedness, godlessness and criminal disposition of the socialists, whose sole object, the parson declared, was to overthrow religion and abolish wedlock.

The farmer smiled upon the parson when his reverence stopped for breath, and shaking his head answered: "Religion has nothing whatever to do with politics, especially not with the Reichstag elections; socialists do not interfere with any one's predilections as to the way to reach heaven, they leave every one free to believe what he likes. As to the abolition of wedlock, I have yet failed to learn that the socialists are especially guilty of immorality, while on the other hand, one hears every day such charges against other people, including, I am sorry to say, sometimes even the clergy."

For a moment there was a painful pause among the trio, who had come to pull the wool over the farmer's eyes. They looked at one another, not knowing what to do, until,

nudged by the capitalist landlord, the teacher sailed in with a long speech, taken almost verbatim from Herr Richter's book against socialism, about the tyranny implied in the proposed commonwealth. "Everybody," the teacher closed with emphasis, "would have to work; early in the morning everyone would have to report to his overseer, who would distribute the work among them; and he who should refuse to work, would be driven to his task with a whip."

The smile on the farmer's countenance broadened. "It is just the reverse," he answered, "but even if it were actually so, what of it? Today I am forced to work, and to work long and hard; I am forced to be up early. By four o'clock in the morning, when others are still snoring and getting over their previous night's debauch, I am on the field, and I rarely get home again before night. If, indeed, everyone was forced to work in the socialist commonwealth I would at least have the pleasure of seeing a lot of people, whose bellies are full, and who have never done a stroke of work, also driven and forced to toil as I am now; moreover in that case I would have positive relief, their work would lighten my present unbearable burden. If all worked, I reckon eight hours a day would be ample!"

The big capitalist landlord kicked the parson and school master under the table urging them to keep at it, and the latter started anew. He took up the argument of the leveling tendency of socialism, and declared it would do away with family life, "there will be," he said, full of indignation, "big feed troughs, and the same sort of soup will be ladeled out to all!"

"Would it were so!" sighed the farmer, "That would suit me to a t. Today the weakest sort of soup is all that falls to me. But yonder, where the gentleman keeps house," nodding to the big property-holder, "and quite frequently also at your tables," nodding to the parson and the school-master, "there is so much good roast beef, chickens, ducks, pigeons, eggs and what not, that if it all were boiled up in the general soup, then we small farmers would get at least something of all those dainties, and would not go hungry as we do now."

The big property-holder grew red in the face, rose and without saying a word or even finishing his beer he left the company.

The parson and the school-master looked cheap and embarrassed, then tried to prolong the discussion, but the farmer put an end to it by rising and declaring with exasperating stolidity: "We are not afraid of the socialist commonwealth, it is our salvation, but even if it were all that you people affect to believe, it would be a decided improvement for us small farmers and all the poor people. So then, you may save your breath and know it now as well as later — the 'soes' will get our vote and that ends it."

COMPETITION A CURSE.

At a recent meeting of the National Furniture Manufacturer's association at St. Louis, Otto Stechhan of Indianapolis, Ind. was elected president. Mr. Stechhan is a manufacturer and successful business man, and has been a prominent member of the state board for industrial schools. In his address to the association, among other things, he said:

"Competition at one time was considered the life of

trade, but this maxim has long ago become a fallacy and competition, if anything, is a veritable curse instead of a blessing. Competition is the cause of all the attending evils associated with the manufacture of furniture. Margins have become so small that every insignificant item which enters into the cost of manufacture becomes a factor of importance. Every incidental must be calculated to a fraction if you wish to be able to hold your own, to say nothing of realizing a mere interest on your investment. The city manufacturer, if he would place his goods on the market at actual cost today, could still be undersold by his boom town competitor 10 per cent, and yet give him a reasonable margin on his output. But what does this indicate? Does it mean that the village manufacturer can purchase his lumber, hardware, varnish, mirror plates or other material at a less price than his competitor in the city? Or is it not a fact that such is not the case, but rather that it is done at the expense of human muscle and brain, at the expense of impoverished labor, of demoralized homes, and at the expense of the health and happiness of the people who are so unfortunate as to be compelled to work for starvation wages.

"Every \$9, \$10, yes, \$15, chamber suit, or \$3.50 lounge, or \$1.25 bedstead placed on the market today is a curse to the community, not referring to its poor intrinsic value. It means that labor has been degraded and pulled into the mire; that it has been brought on a level with convict labor; that we are producing a new race of slaves. It means that thousands of children are taken away from school at a time when they should be acquiring useful knowledge; that they are wearing out their young lives in the shops and factories, in the dust, grime and smoke. It means an impoverished race; it means slavery in its worst form.

"This gentlemen, is the situation of the furniture industry today; this is what we have to contend with, and we must look it in the face and endeavor to find a remedy; it is a question of patriotism, as much as one of a reasonable return for our invested capital. Personally I am so indignant at this deplorable state of affairs that I would be perfectly willing to join hands with the labor unions with a view of assisting them to have the light shine into the darkened homes of their deluded brethren who are making themselves innocent tools in bringing about a crisis in the furniture industry. The fact is that the difference in price of any piece of furniture placed on the market today represents just exactly to what extent the respective producer has been able to squeeze his laborers. The situation is getting more desperate every day, and we will be compelled to take some steps to reform on the impending question."

Senator Chandler says, talking about the silver question, "A panic, a depression of values and a ruin of business men and debtors, unparalleled in the nation's history, will follow from even an attempt made seriously and by any considerable power and influence to force gold mono-metallism upon the government of the United States."

Martin Beckhard in the Conservator: "In opposition to the individualistic philosophy we shall keep true to the principle that whatever concerns humanity is our business."

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

"It is told in Nehemiah," says Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "that when the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt after the captivity, women as well as men shared in the work. Our country now wants the hearts and brains of its daughters as well as the hearts and brains of its sons, for the solution of many perplexing and difficult problems." True enough, and the true way to enlist women in the service of civilization is to work for their economic independence as would be the case under nationalism. The Humanitarian, a monthly magazine printed in London, notes the fact that at none of the many meetings of women's associations in June was the industrial position of women mentioned. The logical course of agitation is first political equality and then economic equality.

A correspondent from New Mexico says that the statement copied by us from the World's Advanced Thought that the Holland Land company owns in New Mexico four and a half million acres of land is incorrect. The patented area of the grant which the company owns is 1,714,000 acres, of which 100,000 acres have been sold. We gladly make the correction. The change of figures does not, however, affect the conclusions drawn from these large holdings of land.

The Coming Nation mentions a draft drawn by a Kansas bank on a New York bank sent to a party in Pueblo, Cal., which draft the bank refused to cash. The Pueblo party then asked to have the money sent by registered letter or postal order. It is the government that shines in times like these.

The decision of the judge against the South Carolina liquor law is that it is unconstitutional because the state has no right to engage in trade in competition with individuals. Now let the Legislature amend the liquor law by removing the element of profit and this point will be avoided.

Western farmers are feeding wheat to their hogs. The millers' combine will be pleased at this, while the pork combine will take good care that the eastern consumers shall not get the benefit of it in the shape of a reduction of the retail price of pork.

"No word is so abused nowadays as the word socialism. Christ would have used it if he had lived in our time. His ideas are embodied in it. It is often linked with its opposite—anarchism—as if the two meant the same thing, whereas they are opposite poles of economic thought. They are as far apart as night is from day. It is often confused with force, whereas it is coming on us as gently as the sun dawns. It will finally be seen that Christianity holds socialism in its right hand." These are the words of no less a man than Rev. A. E. Dunning, editor of the Congregationalist, in his address before the Christian Endeavor convention at Montreal on Sunday, July 9.

There is talk of a nationalist assembly at Needham, Mass., on the Chautauqua plan next month. The place selected is a beautiful oak grove owned by C. Atherton Hicks, a member of the Needham Nationalist club, who will give information as to tents, terms, etc.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

NATIONALISTS TO MEET IN CHICAGO.

Plan for the Committee of Correspondence at its Meeting Next Month. Note and Comment.

The time is now at hand for the meeting of the national committee of correspondence which was organized by nationalists at Omaha last year. The New Nation has already announced that the committee will assemble at Chicago, August 30, at 2 P. M., at the residence of Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, 6230 Woodlawn avenue. Members not able to attend are requested to send proxies. As the committee was formed for the purpose of bringing nationalists together and to systematize the work of spreading the principles of nationalism, a cordial invitation is extended to nationalists in general to be present and join in the deliberations. At Mrs. Brown's and at the office of Jesse Cox, Room 13, 95 Fifth avenue, registers will be kept where nationalists may leave their names, addresses and consult bulletins of meetings, etc.

The plan of the committee as arranged at Omaha was one committeeman for each state, a sub-committeeman from each Congressional district, and a resident correspondent in each town and city.

At the Chicago meeting the elaboration or the amending of this plan will be considered. In order to facilitate matters the secretary has asked Eltweed Pomeroy, state committeeman for New Jersey, to sketch out a plan for the work of the committee. This he has done and it is printed below. Members of the committee have been asked to prepare five minute addresses on certain points in this plan, so that the committee will have a symposium on propaganda work. Persons having additional suggestions or any other plan of organization are urgently requested to give them in person at the Chicago meeting or by writing to Mason A. Green, General Secretary, 13 Winter street, Boston, Mass. Mr. Pomeroy's plan is substantially as follows:

PLAN FOR PROPAGANDA WORK.

Each state in the Union and province in Canada to be represented on committee.

Each town, village and ward of a city to have a correspondent.

Representatives and correspondents to be selected as the committee may direct.

The work naturally divides itself into (1) work of state representatives; (2) work of local correspondent.

State Representative: His work to be (1) the keeping of a register of the local correspondents and information as to the work. (2) Reports to headquarters about January 1 of the names and addresses of local correspondents and their work, which will be incorporated into the report of the secretary at the annual meeting. (3) Secure from local correspondents, as well as subscription lists, reform papers, labor and reform organization membership, papers, individual knowledge and information, a list of people in state which shall be classified as (a) active nationalists who are willing to work, (b) nationalists unable to do

propaganda work, (c) sympathizers and those likely to become nationalists. This list should be kept alphabetically and by towns, and the state representative should give the detail work to some club or to friends in order that it may not become a burden to him. (4) Supplying to local correspondents lists of reform books, tracts, newspapers and periodicals with special rates and trade prices if possible, urging their sale and the organization of local reading circles, where a book is loaned from friend to friend. (5) The preparation in co-operation with the local correspondents of a list of public speakers who are willing to perform that service for their traveling expenses, also the special topics they treat. (6) The appointment of a nationalist (preferably one who lives at the capital) who will follow legislation and act as the representative of the nationalists in urging special measures.

Local Correspondent: His work to be (1) securing names of nationalists, copies of lists to be forwarded to state representative. (2) Encouraging clubs for discussing nationalism, Cold Cut dining clubs, research clubs, lectures, rallies, etc. (3) Taking subscriptions for nationalist papers and selling and distributing reform books, tracts, etc. (4) Circulating of petitions for public ownership of local services like lighting, water-works and street cars, and of national services like government telegraph, railroads and the like. (5) Furnishing of nationalistic news to local papers and provoking discussion by communications. (6) Encouraging the formation of citizens' leagues for the purpose of agitating in favor of the municipal ownership of gas, street railways, markets, baths, etc.

Circumstances will determine the best way to agitate in towns and cities. Teachers and college professors are becoming interested in the growing demand for public ownership and in the growth of the nationalistic sentiment; so also the wage workers. The committee work should be made as self-supporting as possible. Some definite form of agitation, like pressure brought upon a board of aldermen or a Legislature has been found to be the best way to make a nationalist club effective, and money contributions for definite purposes are not difficult to obtain.

We trust that our readers will scan carefully this skeleton of Mr. Pomeroy's, and forward any suggestions they may have, so that the very best possible program may be submitted at the Chicago meeting. The object of the correspondence committee is to secure a minimum of organization with a maximum of concerted action.

The nationalistic agitation has now progressed far enough to enable many to give from practical experience suggestions as to the best way to push the work. Let these men and women give the committee the benefit of their experience even if they cannot go to Chicago. The above plan is only designed to be a skeleton of one way to reach the masses. We would only say in particular that nationalism is taking a deep hold upon women, who are nationalists from the nature of the case. The economic independence of women is their manifest destiny, and it seems the most direct way to the rights which they seek to secure. The committee may well remember this in planning out its work.

The Coming Man a Nationalist.

J. W. Reid of Reidville, S. C., secretary of the Farmers'

state alliance of South Carolina, has written for the local papers an elaborate analysis of the political situation and argues that the people's party is nearer his idea of the demands of the hour than any other party. He believes that the coming man will be a nationalist. He expects to see the country carried by the populists in 1896 and by the nationalists in 1900. In the course of the article he says: "Have you ever read Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. If not, do so as soon as convenient. It won't hurt you; on the contrary it may give you some new ideas and lead you into a new line of thought. When you have read it, ten chances to one your comment will be, a fine social, financial and political condition, but it is impossible. Such a state of affairs would be the millennium. To toss it off, with the remark that it is impossible, won't put a stop to it. Somehow or other it is a kind of a thing that won't down at the bidding of any one man or set of men. . . . Nationalism would solve all the knotty, social, financial and political problems on the basis of equal rights to all and special privileges to none." The Carolina Spartan, a democratic sheet, prints Mr. Reid's article with this observation, "While we may not endorse the ideas he advances, we certainly endorse his plain, straight-forward method of dealing with important questions. Such articles will do good. They are worth infinitely more than columns of editorials and communications praising scheming politicians who look only to self. Give the article a careful reading and then decide 'where you are at.'"

Industrial Conference of Southern California.

The great industrial conference at Long Beach, Cal. last week was a booming success. Speakers discussed all the planks of the Omaha platform. One episode is thus described by Editor Wilkins of the Fresno National Spectator: "Rev. R. M. Webster, a Congregational minister of Long Beach preached a sermon to the conference that they are still talking about. Mr. Webster is a nationalist, and he preached the religion that Christ taught. This was such a surprise to the audience that they applauded him again and again. If such sermons could be preached every Sunday in all the pulpits of the land, the churches would be crowded to overflowing by the very laboring people who today look upon the church as their bitterest enemy."

Nationalization of Liquor Good Politics as well as Sound in Principle.

The New York Voice appears to be getting the better of those prohibitionists who criticised its course in advocating state traffic in liquor in anti-prohibition states and municipalities. That the nationalization of the liquor plank promises to be good politics is very apparent. Take South Dakota. The liquor issue has in past years been the cause of ill-natured contentions in the conventions. Last year the platform committee of the people's party spent four hours in drafting a liquor plank and finally made no mention of the subject, although a majority of the convention were prohibitionists. This year the following plank passed unanimously: "We demand the nationalization of the liquor traffic, beginning with the state dispensary system, with the elimination of all profits to either individual, municipality or state." The position taken by papers like the Voice and by men like H. L. Loucks, president of the Farmers' alliance, is probably responsible for the conversion

of the South Dakota Prohibition league at its recent meeting. While no formal motion was passed, the league after a protracted discussion seemed practically in favor of nationalization of the liquor traffic. The people's party convention this year adjourned in the best of spirits, which is quite in contrast to the ruffled feelings of last year due to the unsettled rum issue.

Note and Comment.

The Winterset Review wants the Iowa people's party convention to adopt a state ownership and control of the liquor traffic.

Tom Watson, who was counted out in 10th Congressional district of Georgia, is holding tremendous populist meetings in various parts of the state. He will not be counted out next time.

Cleveland Citizen: The Prohibitionists met in convention in this city this week and nominated a state ticket. The populists met at Columbus on July 4 to nominate a ticket. The demands of these two parties are nearly identical — if the liquor question be excepted. Both are in favor of government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, government money and banks and other reforms of like character, and there is small reason why they should not get together. Now socialize the traffic by state control and abolish profits.

The Republican, a paper published at Cedar Rapids, says: "Men are now plowing corn in Nebraska who will live to see the overthrow of every trust and business monopoly in the nation. This means that he will live to see all railroads, telegraphs and telephones in the possession of the people, and the gold, silver and coal mines and all lands containing valuable minerals owned by the government. The party is now organizing which will live to see its accomplishment."

National Watchman, Washington, D. C.: "There can be no silver party. There is not enough in the silver question to warrant the formation of a party. Free coinage of silver is but a single factor in the great movement for reform."

The Virginia populists are evidently making ready for a rousing campaign this fall.

George H. Cary addressed the Boston People's Party club at Marble hall, 518 Tremont street, Thursday evening.

The Iowa populists have planned out a lively campaign for this summer and autumn. The state convention meets at Des Moines, September 5.

The democratic Buffalo Courier is practically committed to support the populists on local matters on a platform of public ownership. It says: "Every city ought to own its water-works. And if water-works why not gas and electric light works, street cars and telephones?"

The Woman's Progressive Political league, a strong organization in Topeka, has issued a circular declaring: "In view of a misunderstanding largely conveyed through the press, as to the object of our organization — we, the ladies

of the Woman's Progressive Political league, wish to state that we are a people's party organization first, last and all the time. And we advocate all reforms tending to the relief of the people, including woman suffrage and control of the liquor traffic."

In the face of the vote of the socialist labor party at Chicago sitting down hard upon the people's party, the Pittsburg (Pa.) socialists are uniting with the populists in forming a local ticket.

Even democratic papers in Texas admit that the next time Judge Nugent runs for governor on the populist ticket he will be elected.

The populist central committee of Washington state is preparing a pamphlet containing reform articles written by prominent populists.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: The third party is a reading party. It is also a writing and thinking party. Right or wrong it has reached a magnitude far beyond our expectations, and it means revolution.

Chairman Hackney of last year's republican convention in Kansas has been denouncing his party for not passing a good railroad law, as the railroads in his opinion "are the greatest enemy of Kansas." It is understood that Hackney is about to join the populists.

The Union Printer believes in government ownership of the telegraph, but is not pleased with the resolution passed by the International Typographical union favoring government telegraph because it will draw the union into politics. If the printers of this country ever get their rights as producers, it will be through the ballot and the ballot only.

Oregon Populist, Albany: "It has been so long since we nationalized the postal service that the people really forget the wonderful advantages to be gained by nationalism. No, there are double the number of converts to this noble cause there were 18 months ago, and we have absolutely lost none, however it may appear. It is true and undefiled Christianity, spelled with a big C."

The Wall street cry for a repeal of the Sherman silver-purchasing act is based upon the argument that the present crisis is occasioned by a currency that is being depreciated by silver inflation. An inflated currency means always a boom in the prices of products. That is, the cheaper a dollar the less in commodity one has to give to get a dollar. But wheat, wool and other produce is steadily declining. The logic of Wall street is absurd on the face of it.

"The very idea of a community of goods involves the idea of the highest possible virtue, a virtue to which as yet no considerable portion of the human race has attained." So remarks A. H. Moncur Sime in a London periodical. He thinks therefore that the time has not yet come for socialistic experiments. He wants first to educate people to a higher plane. The very idea of an umbrella involves the highest state of dryness in a rain storm. The first great thing to do is to educate people up to a state of dryness in which they will be worthy of umbrellas when they are passed round. This is the logic of Moncur Sime.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The report of the Haverhill Water commissioners shows that water rates have been reduced the past year. Under private management many large real estate owners secured special rates. Now all are treated alike, and the result is favorable to public ownership. The city advertised for bids for a new 20-inch iron main, but found that it could do the work \$1,334 cheaper than the lowest bidder. The work was therefore done under the supervision of the superintendent to the satisfaction of the public.

The Newburyport water company wishes to get rid of its plant and offers to pass its rights and privileges over to the city for a reasonable price. The impression is that the city will accept if the figures can be agreed upon.

A citizen of Lynn, recently petitioned the city government to change the grade crossing of an electric and a steam car road. The street car company also petitioned for a change to a less frequented street, or be relieved from responsibility for accident. Then came petitions opposing the request, the men circulating them being, it is said, friends of the street railway. At the hearing members of the city government charged the company with insincerity in presenting their petition for a change. The upshot of the matter is that no change will be made in spite of the popular demand for it. A few more episodes of this kind will make Lynn ripe for a municipal street railway system.

New York.

A special committee of the common council of Rome has been authorized to employ an engineer to make surveys and prepare plans for an electric lighting plant.

Ohio.

Elmwood Place is to vote in a few days on a proposition to build an electric light plant.

Michigan.

Dowagiac has decided on popular vote to buy a \$10,000 electric light plant.

Kansas.

Pittsburg Kansan: Public ownership of the mines will settle forever the troubles between miners and operators.

Miscellaneous.

The Great West, St. Paul, Minn.: President H. L. Loucks and his Dakota Ruralist are making a strong argument for nationalizing the liquor traffic. It seems to be the window of light on the great issue. The New York Voice has adopted the principle—and thousands of stern prohibitionists—as a step onward. It robs the saloon of its tremendous money power, profit power.

Cleveland Citizen: The fear of government tyranny and oppression is childish. It simply means that the people distrust themselves, for the government is, or should be, simply the instrument of their will. If they learn to trust,

to mold and shape the government, they may place all the industries in its hands without fear that it will usurp functions not properly delegated to it. All the so-called tyranny of government has been small compared with the tyranny and oppression of individuals. If the government operated all industries, every worker would receive the full fruits of his toil. This will be the final solution of the social question. Call it socialism, or give it any name you please, but it is the only system that will secure justice for those who toil.

The Nation, Red Cloud, Neb.: Amid the crash of banks and demoralization of business is the time to show the people the necessity of government postal banks. Postal notes and money orders are a start in that direction already. One hundred and thirty-nine million dollars were sent in a year by this means without loss to senders. If the post office can do that much banking business with absolute safety it can do more.

Foreign.

A writer in the American Architect and Building News has this to say about municipal tenement houses in London: "One result of the advent of the London county council to power has been the increased activity that is being shown in municipal housing of the poor. The council's predecessors confined their attention to the preparation of sites for artisans' dwellings, leaving the actual buildings to be erected by private enterprise. But it was found that this system involved many disadvantages. The control of the municipality was limited to the approval of the plans and the general supervision of the work, but these safeguards, excellent enough in theory, were not found to work altogether satisfactorily. The influences operating on the minds of the private speculators were necessarily chiefly of a financial character, and this did not tend to encourage the highest development of sanitation and general convenience that the available resources might have warranted. The first direction in which the London common council turned their attention was to common lodging-houses. The combined dwellings, which are now being erected in various parts of London, are of the same nature as those already erected by the companies, but of an improved type. Each tenement, for example, is entirely self-contained and consists of a living-room, one or two bedrooms, a scullery containing sink and copper, a disconnecting lobby open to the outside air, from which the water-closet is approached. The council have, I understand, been approached with the view of constructing a woman's lodging-house on parallel lines to that erected for men and seem to be entertaining the proposal. The chief argument that has been urged against municipal enterprise in this direction is the tendency that it will have to stifle private enterprise, but this prophecy has not yet been in any way verified. London is large enough to provide room for many persons to work and if the ultimate result proves to be the general improvement of the whole of this class of buildings, the slight risk of interference will be held by most people to have been justified."

Milan is so satisfied with its municipal lighting experiment that it is now building a street railway system.

It is proposed to establish an immense iron manufacturing plant in Mexico, probably at Monclova, in the state of Coahuila, where there are extensive iron deposits located adjacent to the finest bituminous coal beds in that country. It is intended that this one concern shall supply the present demands of the country, although auxiliary plants already in existence in Durango and other plans will probably be continued in operation. About seven different companies are interested in the scheme, their combined capital amounting to several millions.

THE ARMED CAMP OF COMMERCE.

<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>	<i>Trusts.</i>	<i>Capital in Millions.</i>
Acid	2	Distilling and cattlefeeding	34	Mineral water	25	Shot	
Alcohol	5	Dressed beef and provi-		Morocco leather	2	Smelters	25
American corn harvesters	5	sion	100	Music publishing and in-		Snath	1-2
American wringer	2 1-2	Dye and chemical com-		struments		Spring bed and mattress	
Axe	15	bine	2	Naval stores combine	1	Soap	1-2
Barbed wire	10	Electric supply	10	Nitro-glycerine		Soda water apparatus	3 1-2
Bleachery combine	10	Electrical combination No.2	2	Oatmeal	3 1-2	Sponge	1-2
Biscuit and cracker	12	Envelope	5	Oil cloth	2 1-2	Standard oil	90
Bituminous coal	15	Flint glass	8	Paint combine		Starch	10
Bolt and nut	10	Flour mill		Paper bag		Steel and iron	4
Boller	15	Forge companies		Paper box	5	Steel rail	50
Borax	2	Fork and hoe	1	Patent leather	5	Straw board	8
Brass	10	Fruit jar	1	Pearl barley		Structural steel	5
Broom	2 1-2	Fur combine	10	Pitch	10	Sugar refiners'	75
Brush	2	Galvanized iron and steel	2	Plate glass	8	Table glass and crockery	
Buckwheat	5	Gas [New York]	35	Plow		Tin plate	
Butchers' supply		General electric	50	Pocket cutlery	2	Tissue paper	10
Button	5	Glove	2	Pork combine	20	Tobacco	35
Canned goods		Gossamer rubber	12	Powder	1 1-2	Tombstone	
Canned meat and dressed		Green glass	4	Preserved jelly m'f'g	12	Trunk	3
beef		Gypsum stucco mills		Preservers' combine	8	Tube	11 1-2
Cash register	10	Harvester	1 1-2	Pulp	5	Turpentine	
Carbon candle	3	Hinge	1	Ribbon	18	Type-founders	9
Cartridge	10	Hop	1-2	Rice	2 1-2	Umbrella	8
Casket and burial goods	1	Hide dealers		Rock salt	5	Vapor stove	1
Castor oil	1-2	Illinois steel	50	Rubber General shoe	2	Wall paper	38
Cattle feeders		Indurated fibre	1-2	Rubber trust No. 2	7	Watch	30
Celluloid	8	Iron and coal	10	Safe	2 1-2	Water-works, pumping ma-	
Cigarette	25	Iron league	60	Safe No. 2	5	chinery	
Colorado coal combine	20	Jute bagging		Salt	1	Wheel	1
Condensed milk	15	Label printing		Sandstone	1	Whip	1-2
Confectioners	2	Leather board	1-2	Sanitary ware	3	White granite	
Copper ingot	20	Lime	3	Sash, door and blind	1 1-2	White lead	30
Cordage	15	Linseed oil	18	Saw	5	Window glass	20
Crockery	15	Lithograph	11 1-2	School book	2	Wire	10
Cotton duck	10	Locomotive tire	2	School furniture	15	Wire rod	
Cotton press	3	Lumber	2	School slate		Wood screw	10
Cotton seed oil	41	Manilla tissue	2	Screw		Wool hat	1 1-2
Cotton thread combine	7	Marble combine	20	Sewer pipe	2	Wrapping paper	1
Cutlery	1 1-2	Match	7 1-2	Sheet copper	40	Wrought-iron pipe	
Cut nail		Merchants' steel	25	Sheet steel	2	Yellow pine	2

Free competition has fostered the monopolization of industries to such an extent that the price of nearly every necessity of life is fixed by a private trust. We have taken the trouble to prepare a partial list of the more important private trusts built mainly on the ruin or surrender of small businesses. The item of capitalization is continually changing, as the stock usually increases as fast as new companies are taken into the combination. While our figures are in many cases estimated, they may be safely accepted as the approximate capitalization for the purposes of discussing the business situation. Several trusts we have not even attempted to estimate. Whether we look at the moral or the commercial side of the question, the disappearance of small industries is alarming. Take the white lead trust, which is known on the stock exchange as the National Lead company. Its outstanding certificates aggregate 30 million dollars. In 1889 the trust controlled a majority of the stock in 31 companies, including the plant of three smelters and one refinery for the production of pig lead. Over eight millions of the stock is water. There is probably not a company of the original 31 which is not the result of local combination and rivalry disastrous to small concerns. Tariff reduction tends to solidify rather than destroy the trust. Of the 4,047 recognized millionaires, only 1,125 won their fortunes in protected industries.

Among the most dangerous combinations of the land is the Western Union Telegraph company. Upon it is based a daily newspaper monopoly which has had a tendency to lower the general tone of editorial discussion upon this subject.

The New Nation is circulating a petition asking Congress to take over the telegraph and telephone and run it for the people. The spirit of reform now moving upon the waters is economic and practical in temper. The people's party has made a record of a million votes as a starter. One demand in its platform is for the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone. Let every populist and reformer join the great company that will knock at the door of Congress next session to demand the public ownership of means of communication. Send for a petition, a copy of which we print below, and request all reform papers to reproduce it in its columns:

[Return to The New Nation, 13 Winter Street, Boston, Mass., by Nov. 1, 1893, at latest.]

TO THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

Your petitioners, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residents of the State of _____ respectfully represent that the telegraph service of this country has become a burdensome monopoly in the hands of a company extorting in charges more than twice as much as the people of other countries, favored with government lines, are obliged to pay, — a company that uses to the utmost its great capital to eradicate all fair competition, and exerts a baneful control over the press upon which the citizens are forced to rely for information.

We also represent that on the expiring of the telephonic patents, now soon to occur, a similar monopoly in that method of transmitting intelligence is likely to be established, as grievous to the people as that of the telegraph.

We therefore respectfully petition your honorable bodies to pass laws establishing a Government telegraph and telephone service

[When this sheet is full, paste on strong paper of equal width and continue signatures.]

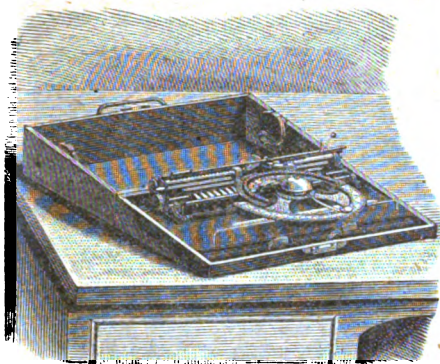
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TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC:

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Do you believe in the nationalization of industry and thereby the promotion of the brotherhood of humanity, or, are you with us in the work of nationalizing the railroads, telegraph, telephone, express or any of the so-called natural monopolies? Do you wish to be identified with us and count for something? If so, you can render important assistance to our work. The way we propose is this: We have opened a CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIP of this First Club, asking for members all over this Union, requiring an admission fee of \$1.00, and a yearly due of \$1.00, the money to be applied by the club to Nationalist work, pure and simple. Each corresponding member is entitled to all the publications to be issued by the club, and will be considered a centre for the distribution of such publications. We give a Certificate of Membership, handsomely gotten up, to each Corresponding Member. Come in and share the victories to come.

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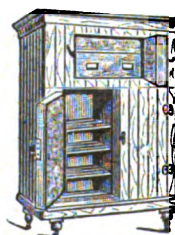
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF
THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

Vol. 3. No. 30.

Boston, Mass., July 29, 1893.

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PANY.

Entered at the post-office at Boston, Mass., as second-class matter, Feb. 13, 1891.

The "dominant issue" of the people's party and the only dominant issue is the equalizing of human conditions. The several features of the party's program are important only as means to that end.

The interests of railroad corporations and shipping are served by the elevation of millionaire Perkins to the United States Senate from California.

We urge upon our friends circulating memorials to Congress in favor of government ownership of the telegraph and telephone to forward them to this office as fast as the blanks are filled with names and we will forward more blanks upon application.

Still another kind of socialism has been invented. The new sort is called "free socialism" and describes the doctrine of the people who accept Dr. Hertzka's social solution outlined in his book, "Freeland." The free socialists have a London organ called "the Social Problem."

The New York Outlook well says: "It is high time that such phrases as 'silver lunatics' and 'gold bugs' were banished from discussion." If any rational outcome of the money question is to be reached, mere denunciation must cease.

The New York Tribune was figuring out the other day

how many troops New York state and Pennsylvania could put into the field as against the forces of the silver favoring states in case of civil war. Such talk is playing with fire.

The Minnesota supreme court takes leave to differ with Judges Ricks and Taft. It decided July 20 that unions, strikes and boycotts are lawful. Any man has a right to refuse to work for or deal with any man or class of men he sees fit, and this right, which one man may exercise singly, any number of men may exercise jointly.

Nearly 200 national banks closed their doors the first six months of this year, against less than 50 the same period last year. The number of private bank failures is probably larger, besides dozens of savings banks. Is not this a pretty good argument for postal banks for exchange and deposit as called for by the Omaha platform?

The Paris riots seem to have finally simmered down. It would be a most unpardonable blunder as well as a crime for the French socialists to attempt a violent revolution at a time when they have such encouraging prospects of converting the nation by peaceful propaganda. They already control the local government of many cities besides Paris, and a recent vote showed that they have 134 sympathizers in the national parliament.

The German Emperor has succeeded in getting his army bill adopted by the new Reichstag. Meanwhile the important fact has developed that there is a sectional line of cleavage between North and South Germany on the military question. The government got its votes almost entirely in Prussia and North Germany. Bavaria, Wurtemberg and the other South German states are almost a unit against the increased army. This is a dangerous sort of schism to appear in a newly cemented empire and if it develops further, as seems likely, the emperor may soon have to choose between militarism and the preservation of national unity. Perhaps the beginning of European disarmament is

to come this way. That would mean the triumph of socialism.

The Amoskeag company of Manchester, N. H., the largest producers of manufactured cotton in the world, will shut down during August. The 16 mills of this corporation employ 8000 hands, and the monthly pay roll is \$225,000. These figures come from the company itself and are of more importance than the figures used by politicians on the stump. It appears that in Manchester the cotton mill workers are earning less than a dollar a day while the mills run. Let it be remembered also that 4500 of the 8000 employees are women and girls. Such is the nobility of labor under competition.

When will the old party dailies drop the idle charge that the main motive for the silver coinage agitation is the self-interest of people engaged in silver mining? How much silver is mined in the southern states, how much in Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, South and North Dakota or on the Pacific coast? The silver mining states are Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, Idaho and Montana, thinly-populated communities which did not cast one in ten of the votes thrown for free coinage in 1892. The so-called silver states represent but a trifling fraction of the silver party in Congress, as everybody ought to know. What is the use of lying?

Senator Morton has cut off 242 employees in the bureau of animal industry, which inspects meat before it is sent to market. He has asked the meat packers if they are willing to do their own inspecting. Morton is blossoming out as a grand statesman.

The American Institute of Christian Sociology started at Chautauqua promises to assume proportions. Its aim is to apply Christian ethics to economic problems. Prof. Richard T. Ely will probably be chosen president.

A Word of Explanation.

Reform journals as a rule do not keep large bank balances. It is not therefore surprising, although greatly regrettable, that the present monetary stringency should have forced a considerable number of our people's party contemporaries to suspend. Others are in straits and have issued appeals to their friends. Naturally The New Nation has not wholly escaped the general disaster. The depression in business has cut off temporarily, at least, some of our resources, and we find it necessary to reduce expenses. As a temporary measure, it has therefore been decided, while the present stress continues, to issue an eight instead of a twelve-page paper. As most of the reduction in space will come out of the advertising pages, there will be no great loss of reading matter and we trust, none in the interest and usefulness of the paper.

Meanwhile we take the occasion to say to our friends and fellow-adventurers in this great cause of human equality, that the responsibility for the continuance of the

reform work should not be left to rest too exclusively upon the shoulders of the conductors of the journals of the movement, who rarely, and certainly not in the case of this paper, have any prospect of personal profit to encourage them.

The present time is especially one when we who are nationalists should stand together and hold up one another's hands that our propaganda may suffer no abatement of energy, for the signs grow thick that in the nation and the world we are on the verge of a mighty crisis. In times of storm and stress such as are coming, when men's hearts shall fail them for fear and the foundations seem to be moving, they become eager listeners to any who can tell them of a way out. With the industrial and commercial systems toppling over on their heads, they do not need to be told that our economic arrangements are wrong and rotten, and the more radical the reconstruction proposed, the more it commends itself to them. Now, above all other times, is our opportunity to push our work and make our mark upon the nation.

Will the Extension of Governmental Functions Restrict Individual Freedom?

The Hartford Post finds the South Carolina plan of state control of the liquor business an entering wedge for the general application of the nationalistic idea of public operation to all businesses. It recognizes that this is the tendency of the day, and that if public opinion continues to favor it, decisions like Judge Hudson's against the constitutionality of such measures will only delay the movement long enough for the necessary constitutional amendments to be passed. The Post finds this outlook deplorable. It says:

The theory of the state is that it is self-limited. If then the state constantly casts off its limits, it follows that the individual is more and more deprived of his liberty.

Now if this were so The New Nation would deplore the tendency to the public conduct of business as strongly as the Post. But it is not so. It is not true that in proportion as the state, that is, the people in their collective character, extends its functions, the liberty of the individual is curtailed. For example, in frontier communities, before a regular government has been established, everybody carries arms and is obliged to for purposes of safety. Individuals are moreover upheld by public opinion in asserting their rights, if necessary by violence, and avenging wrongs even to the shedding of blood. When the community becomes settled, government, that is to say, the collective power of the people, is set up, and prohibits the carrying of arms or the exercise of force of any sort by individuals in the assertion of rights or the redress of wrongs. The state, in a word, takes away from individuals and monopolizes for its agents exclusively, the exercise of armed force. Does this extension of the function of the state to a field formerly left to individual initiative, operate to lessen the freedom of the individual? Does it not, on the contrary, for the first time establish freedom by putting an end to lawless oppressions and securing to all citizens

entire safety and protection in legitimate activities? The Post will scarcely question this.

Let us, however, take another, purely economic, illustration. Formerly governments did not regard the lighting of the streets a public function. It was left to private initiative, and the citizens either stayed at home after dark or went about with lanterns and clubs to beat off footpads. When the government assumed the work of street lighting as a public function, was the result to deprive the citizens of any liberties? Was not the result, on the contrary, to give them the freedom of the city by night as well as day? The only liberty curtailed was the liberty of the foot-pad.

These instances are merely illustrative of the effect of extensions of governmental, that is to say, collective functions of communities, to increase the freedom and multiply the liberties of the individual and to protect his rights. Any reader will have no difficulty in finding a hundred further illustrations of the same principle.

There is no instance in which nationalists urge the public assumption of business in which they are not prepared to prove to the satisfaction of everybody that such assumption will deliver the citizens from some tyranny which they now suffer at the hands of their fellows, none in which they can not show that it will make the life of the citizen more free and independent, more dignified and opulent than before.

Let the Post consider what are the sort of businesses which the nationalists propose shall be made public businesses by being brought under municipal, state or national control? In all instances these businesses, such as the gas and electric lighting, local transit, telephone and telegraph service, railroads, coal supply, insurance, liquor business, etc., etc., are technical or practical monopolies, whose frauds are a stench in the nostrils of the people and whose oppressions are stirring their ire to the verge of a revolutionary uprising. Nationalism comes as a deliverer of the people. The nationalist is the only American today whom the liberty cap fits.

The trouble with the Post and with all those who argue that the extension of governmental functions, as proposed by nationalism, means restriction of individual liberties, is that they fail to see that in a democratic state, governmental action, in distinction from private action, merely means collective or united action for the common benefit, instead of action by individuals for their personal advantage at the expense of other individuals. It is "we" against "I," "our" advantage instead of "my" or "your" advantage.

It is the contention of the nationalists that while all strictly self-regarding matters should be absolutely, inviolably and without exception the domain of private judgment, all activities directly involving common interests, the most important of which is the productive and distributive system of the country, should be conducted upon the basis of national co-operation by the equal voice of all, for the equal advantage of all.

When the Post gets time to think the matter over, it will, we are confident, agree that such an extension of what it calls governmental power, really means the extension of the power of every citizen in the nation, and the limitation of the power of a few monopolists only.

If a Presidential Election were to Take Place Tomorrow.

If the presidential election were to be held over again tomorrow, what would be the result? We believe that Harrison would lead and Weaver would crowd Cleveland badly for the second place, if indeed he did not beat him. Harrison would lead, not because the republican party has gained any votes, taking the country through, since November, but because Cleveland has lost enormously. The chief cause of this loss has, of course, been the business depression which, in the West and South, whatever may be the case in the East, is generally ascribed to the monetary policy and program of which Cleveland is the uncompromising and aggressive champion. If the election were to come over again tomorrow, Cleveland could not by the remotest possibility get an electoral vote west of the Mississippi river, and not all the shot-guns in the democratic party could hold for him more than three or four states in the solid South. On the other hand Harrison, while he has not had occasion to assert himself so positively upon the money question, is believed to be practically of the same school of faith on financial matters to which Cleveland, or at least John Sherman, belongs. He would not, therefore, in case the supposed election came off, get any of the votes Cleveland would lose in the West and South. They would go with a rush to Weaver, and place him second in the race and possibly first.

This last intimation may seem rash, but look at it; while the certain defection of the South would chiefly weaken Cleveland and thus tend relatively to help Harrison, it is by no means certain that the republicans could hold their strongholds in the Ohio basin and the middle and eastern states. The old greenback element which in the past has overthrown the republicans in their banner states, is growing in an extraordinary manner under the influence of the present monetary situation, and would make such a powerful diversion in any election that might now take place as would make results doubtful in several states usually safe for the republicans.

Of course the election is not going to come tomorrow, but it is going to come in 1896, and a Congressional election, to which the same arguments apply, is coming next year. If the times continue to grow worse, if indeed there shall not be a return of good times such as can scarcely be looked for, within the next six months, we shall be likely to see in 1894 something like a political cataclysm. The election of 1892 was a remarkable break-down of old conditions and parties, but it was not a circumstance to what may be expected in 1894 and 1896.

Going to Work the Right Way.

The recent success of the Belgian people in wresting from the government the right of suffrage, is having a most notable effect in Austria-Hungary, where great workmen's demonstrations in favor of manhood suffrage are being reported from all parts of the empire. Already the government shows signs of yielding and talks of partial concessions, which the workmen refuse. This is a most encouraging movement. First political democracy, then economic democracy. That is the true order of progress, and there is no short cut. The socialistic state can never be firmly established by the methods of anarchism. It

must be established by the orderly use of the political power of the people. Laws must be changed by legislation and constitutions by constitutional methods. Therefore the first step toward radical social reorganization in any nation is the conquest of free suffrage by the people without distinction of sex.

Gov. Altgeld's Pardon of Fielden, Schwab and Neebe.

The pardon by Gov. Altgeld of Illinois of Schwab, Fielden and Neebe, three of the men charged with complicity in the bomb-throwing at Chicago, May 4, 1886, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, has excited a great deal of comment. We have postponed giving any opinion on the matter until by an examination of the grounds given by the governor, we might know what we were talking about, a precaution which seems to have been generally neglected by our contemporaries of the daily press, especially at the East. Having now had opportunity to examine the statement by the governor of the facts upon which he acted, we are bound to say that we cannot see how any conscientious executive entrusted with the pardoning power could have properly refused pardons in these cases.

As to the case of Fielden, one of the pardoned men, Gov. Altgeld quotes from a letter by Judge Gary who presided at the trial, written Nov. 8, 1887, to the governor of Illinois, in favor of the commutation of his sentence, in which the judge spoke highly of Fielden's personal character and record as a peaceable workman and declared him "more a misguided enthusiast than a criminal," expressly stating, furthermore, that there was no evidence that he knew of any intention to throw a bomb.

District Attorney Grinnell, who conducted the prosecution in an appended note to Gary's letter, indorsed all that the latter said in favor of Fielden and added as to Schwab (another of the men now pardoned) these words: "It is my further desire to say that I believe Schwab was the pliant weak tool of a stronger will and more designing person. Schwab seems to be friendless."

Carter H. Harrison, then and now mayor of Chicago, in a published letter, quoted by Altgeld, says that he was in the court room when the trial's were closed and the counsel for Neebe (another of the pardoned men), moved that the case as against him be dismissed. Harrison says in his letter that District Attorney Grinnell at that time "stated to us that he did not think there was sufficient testimony to convict Neebe," but that he should oppose the motion, fearing that his discharge might weaken the case against the other accused persons. E. S. Winston, corporation counsel of Chicago in 1886, corroborates over his signature this conversation as stated by Carter.

Judge Gary, in finally deciding not to discharge Neebe said: "Whether he had anything to do with the dissemination of advice to commit murder, is I think a debatable question, which the jury ought to pass on."

Now it will be borne in mind that the prosecution did not pretend that any of the accused, either those afterwards hung or those who were imprisoned, had anything to do directly with throwing the bomb. It was admitted that the identity of the bomb-thrower could not be established and that he was probably at large. The ground of condemnation was the doctrine that persons who use inflammatory

language, inciting large bodies of men to crime are responsible for whatever crimes may be supposed to have been perpetrated in consequence of the incitement. This is at best a very loose and dangerous inferential line of evidence on which to base a criminal conviction, but as to Neebe's case, the judge himself, as has been seen, admitted that there was doubt whether he could even be connected with the act of inciting to violence, not to speak of the violence itself.

We have here reviewed but a small part of the recorded facts of the trial upon which Gov. Altgeld based his pardon, but we think quite enough to place upon the defensive those papers and persons, who without stopping to inquire into the merits of the case, have poured out vials of wrath upon Gov. Altgeld's head for an act, on which the only reasonable criticism seems to be that it ought to have been done long ago.

Nationalism is as much opposed to the philosophy and practice of anarchism as it is to the present order of things, and we think that nationalists in general would much prefer the present order of things, bad as it is, — to anything the anarchists have to offer in substitution. But we cannot follow the logic of those who argue that because bomb-throwing is worse than other crimes men should be convicted and punished for it on less evidence than would be thought essential to convict of more trivial offenses. That is the logic of lynchers.

In concluding, we would in all sincerity recommend able editors, orators and other public instructors to post themselves upon the facts of those famous Chicago trials. They are going to be more and more talked about, and as the discussion proceeds those whose only preparation for it is prejudice are likely to appear at an increasing disadvantage.

Editorial Notes.

The New York Commercial Bulletin thinks that Australasia is held back by interprovincial tariffs, too much borrowing of money abroad and government railroads. One would therefore expect to find there anti-public ownership sentiment. It is right the other way. Postal savings banks and more public ownership are the demand. Public works in Australia have enabled the colonies to weather the recent financial panic precipitated by a gold currency of insufficient volume, while New Zealand by its nationalistic policy, snaps its finger in the face of the private capitalist.

It would be strange if the long awaited general European war were to be started by a spark in way off Farther India, the jumping off place of the Asiatic continent, but that is one of the bare possibilities. France has made a quarrel with Siam and demands a big slice of Siamese territory. Siam at present is all that separates the French and English possessions in Farther India and England has a strong interest in keeping up the barrier. Consequently she is protesting and stands ready to interfere if France goes too far. The king of Siam was anciently a tributary of the emperor of China and the latter intimates a disposition to back him up. The Russian press meanwhile unanimously and enthusiastically declares that Russia must support France. Here you have the materials for a very pretty bonfire.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS.

Opinions of Three Distinct Persons. Western Republic
Talk. Note and Comment.

The topic that seemed to be uppermost in the minds of the speakers at the Woodstock (Ct.) Fourth of July celebration was the growth of industrial combinations and the evils of private money-making corporations. President Low of Columbia college said: "This is an age of combination, of great organizations. The individual capitalist is disappearing in the corporation. The individual laborer is disappearing in the trades-union. The power of the machine in politics is recognized of all men. Now, I do not call attention to these tendencies to quarrel with them, but rather to emphasize the spirit that is needful to make them wholesome. The capacity to organize and to combine is itself indicative of a high grade of intelligence and of power. We may reasonably expect from society triumphs greater than the past has ever seen as a result of these tendencies, if we can strip them of their dangers and reap only their benefits."

Judge Brewer of the United States supreme court was not so guarded. He asked: "Is it not bartering away the experiences of the past, are we not selling our birthright for a mess of pottage, when we encourage or even tolerate the domination of the combine, when we look in silence upon the growing servitude of the individual to the organization?"

United States Senator Hawley followed in the same vein and then touched upon the reforms proposed by nationalists and socialists, — public ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, etc. And this is the way he greets the new political economy: "We are asked to become slaves. I would rather, I think, be the abject African slave of some thoughtful good-hearted fellow of the slaveholding regime than to be the slave of a soulless corporation composed of 50,000 workingmen led by socialistic demagogues, because I could make an impression upon the one good-hearted man by my entreaties; but what impression could I make upon an organization of men to whom I could not appeal individually, on the ground of the necessities of my wife and children and myself?"

These distinguished men confess practically that competition is a failure, and then misstate the nature of the relief proposed. We are not asked to become slaves of others, but to become our own masters. Economic equality under law would afford the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of all, and when another year comes round Woodstock orators will be forced by public opinion to explain why the science of political economy should not

include the humblest member of the community in its problem.

Note and Comment.

The National Reform Press association meets at Chicago, Ill., September 4.

Several populist papers have started up in North Carolina.

The call in the West for a government telegraph so that something besides gold-ring and monopoly news can get into the daily papers has become decidedly more formidable during the past three months.

The labor organizations of Kansas have taken up Powderly's suggestion and propose to go into politics in earnest. A county convention was held at Topeka on the 27th. Shawnee is the banner republican county. A labor ticket will play havoc with the G. O. P. there.

An eastern tourist in the West reports that he heard many references to a western republic. Now let our eastern papers take up in a patriotic temper the analysis of the situation in order to discover the reasons for this tremendous revolt against the political economy of the day. It will not do to call Gov. Waite a fire-eater, Gov. Penoyer a crank, Gov. Lewelling a rioter and so on. Kansas has a smaller percentage of illiterate people than any state in the Union; its people are largely of New England stock. If an election were to take place tomorrow, the populists would carry the state by 50,000 majority. Gentlemen, why is it?

In 1888 the Cleveland administration proposed the calling in of the old greenbacks and the issuing of 2½ per cent bonds, which were to be sold to national banks only on the basis of their circulation. We hear that treasury experts are collecting data with a view of retiring these greenbacks. Does Cleveland propose to revive this old scheme? To retire a non-interest bearing legal tender in order to give national banks a bond at 2½ to loan out their bank money at high interest, would indeed be a fine policy.

Adolfo Posado has an article in a Spanish periodical on moral responsibility among animals. "Morality, love, disinterestedness" he says, "are such marked characteristics among some divisions of the animal creation that we could very well learn from them. Pelicans fish in common and feed their blind and lame." The employers who discharged 280,000 wage-workers in the United States last month are not pelicans. Moral responsibilities decline as competition advances.

Herbert Spencer, in his new book, admits that in London 30 per cent of the population frequent dispensaries and hospitals when ill. During 40 years the increase of this percentage has been five times the increase of population. This is certainly a survival of the fittest which must alarm even a cold philosopher like Spencer. "Cure alone" he says, "must come through affliction and state beneficiaries must give way to a healthy condition of self-help." If this means private charity, he only lays a wreath of flowers upon the grave of his survival of the fittest; for competition is the mother of poverty and charity a disease of the competitive system.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The town of Rockport has held three meetings this year to consider the public water-works question. At the second meeting the town voted to put in its own water-works. At that time a bill granting a water franchise to a private company was in the governor's hands. As it was too late in the season for new legislation, a bargain was struck with the private company to surrender the franchise for a nominal sum, provided the town withdrew its objections to the governor's signing of the bill. After the bill was signed the company showed no disposition to keep the alleged bargain, and this precipitated a third town meeting a week ago Saturday night, which was one of the most exciting in its history. The town voted to ratify the action of the committee in purchasing the franchises, and arranged for legal counsel if the purchase was tested in the courts. If the purchase is declared void, the town will appeal to the Legislature for the privilege of putting in its own water-works. Rockport is solid for a public water-works plant.

A dispatch from Framingham says that T. V. Powderly in his speech before the Chautauqua circle favored government ownership of the telegraph first and then the railroads and the coal mines.

New York.

The courts have decided that the city of Dunkirk can legally furnish private families with electric lights. The city will enlarge its power-house at once and put in plant for domestic service.

Colorado.

Gov. Waite, whose recent speech on the money question has created such a sensation in the East, is the Gov. Waite who told the graduates of a state college that public ownership was the true way to deal with private monopolies. He said that "the United States post office is a proof that a monopoly organized in the interest of the people is a blessing and not a curse. The remedy of all monopolies of every kind and nature involving a public franchise is found in their reorganization in the public interest."

Kansas.

Topeka Advocate: There was a law passed by the last Legislature requiring all railroads in Kansas to put in scales on or before July 1, 1893, suitable to weigh grain in carload lots, at all stations from which 100 cars or more of grain were shipped in 1892. In not a single instance have the roads complied with the law. Not a single scale has been put in anywhere in the state, and the companies give it out plainly that they do not intend to put them in. Still people talk about control of railroads. The way to control them is to own them, and that is the only way.

Washington.

The recent transfer by the Tacoma Light and Water company of its entire plant, valued at two million dollars, to the city of Tacoma, was the largest transaction in muni-

cipal public ownership ever reported in the northwest. The city now controls all the water and lighting rights.

Miscellaneous.

Gratiot (Mich.) Journal: The only conditions compatible with the practice of Christian principles are those of socialism, in which the government stands for the consensus of the whole; and this whole, as one being of which individuals are but members, takes upon itself the protection of the weak, the direction of industry and the dispensing of earnings. Whether or not these views be characterized as visionary and utopian, the facts remain and cannot be ignored. The heaven is at work; and, whether it works the change in ten years or one thousand, it is destined to come.

Coming Nation, Greensburg, Ind.: Railroads can today be built and equipped for less than \$15,000 per mile, according to figures of experts, yet they are capitalized at four to five times that much, and the public robbed to pay a return on the fictitious capital. The government could print money and pay it to workmen as it did to the soldiers, and build and equip a double-track road from New York to San Francisco for 100 million dollars, and thus increase the volume of money and furnish the public transportation at cost and settle forever railroad extortion. It is estimated to cost not over \$5 per passenger on such a road between the oceans at the present rate of wages paid employees.

Foreign.

The local authorities of Neuchatel, Locle and La Chaux de Fonds in Switzerland own jointly a concession to utilize the water power of the river Reuss. The plan includes the building of an enormous reservoir near a hydro-electric station, the transformation of the hydraulic power into electric energy and its transmission for lighting and power purposes to Locle, a distance of about 7 1-2 miles, and to La Chaux de Fonds, a distance of between 10 1-2 and 12 1-2 miles.

London, a weekly paper, is authority for the statement that Calcutta is ahead not only of all English, but of all European cities in the activity and wide functions of her municipality. The Calcutta municipal council manages her water supply, makes the mains which contain the water, owns a municipal railway, makes the rails and builds the cars, supplies public light and manufactures lamp-posts. The city owns a municipal carpenters' shop well equipped with machine tools and with a petroleum motor as motive power. The turning and fitting shops are well supplied. All the conservancy water-carts are built and kept in repair by municipal workmen.

"Another noticeable feature concerning the panic": writes Henry Stuart from New South Wales to the New York Voice. "The New South Wales government came to the aid of four of the banks which had withstood the runs, by supplying them with notes made legal tender for six months. The government fixed the amount of notes to be supplied to each of these banks, but as these notes are to be payable in gold at the end of six months, the difficulty is far from over. The government has also advanced legal tender notes to depositors in each of the closed banks to half the amount of the deposits, taking as security deposit slips certified by the bank managers or receivers, for the legal tender notes advanced. This government action only applies to the single colony of New South Wales, the governments of the other colonies not having done so. Another feature of interest and also an object lesson for the democracy is the manner in which the bankers rushed for government or state interference and assistance and received it, while at the same time every banker scouts the idea of a state bank."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

M. A. C. of Washington, D.C.: — Have ever increasing interest and admiration at the conduct and contents of The New Nation.

C. F. of Paterson, N.J.: — Enclosed please find \$2, for one subscription and \$1 for the missionary fund.

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J. H. R. of Canton, O.: — I regard The New Nation as the brightest and most consistent paper published. Let the good work go on.

W. K. R. H. of Newport, R.I.: — You will please find enclosed postal note for \$3. Please renew my subscription for The New Nation. For the other \$2, please devote it to the free distribution The New Nation fund and oblige.

E. P. H. of Brodhead, Wis.: — What do you say to starting petitions to Congress (the same as government ownership of telegraph and telephone) for the demonetization of both gold and silver—petitions like those in circulation in Worcester county in your state?

M. of New York City: — Enclosed find \$10 to help the missionary fund. It is not to be expected that you should supply papers for nothing. I hope every subscriber will feel it to be his duty to do what he can to spread the circulation of The New Nation. It will be money well spent.

J. W. H. of Atlanta, Ga.: — The New Nation is greatly appreciated by all who have a chance to read it. As soon as my paper is read by my family, it is passed on to others and by this means is doing much good and would bring many subscribers but for lack of money.

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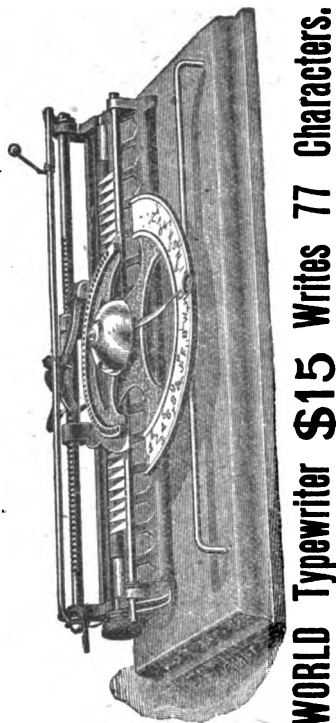
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This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

"A run on a postal savings bank would never be thought of," observes the American Nonconformist.

These hard times ought to be worth a million of converts to the necessity of nationalism. Our opponents tell us that nationalism would not work if it were tried. Perhaps it would and perhaps it wouldn't, but the present system is being tried and there's no doubt that it doesn't work.

In spite of Artemas Ward's advice "Don't prophesy unless you're sure," we venture the prediction that the action of Congress on the money question will be a compromise between the gold and silver men. Neither side is going to win a victory. Any other sort of talk is mere bluff.

The papers are full of accounts of reductions of wages.

With the fear before them of losing work altogether, men, who at other times would fiercely resist cut downs, are glad to get employment at any price. Employers are not slow to see and seize the opportunity. It is a good time to talk nationalism to workingmen. There is no other help.

The governing committee of the New York stock exchange has been given power to expel any member who makes any statement "tending to injure the credit of any security listed on the exchange." The great crime of booming stocks beyond their value goes unwhipped of justice. The governing committee will find before it is done with this business that the task of keeping up the market price of water in stocks is a difficult one.

Three hundred thousand English coal miners went on a strike last week and the balance of the coal miners of England are thinking of joining them. Only last year there was an equally extensive and long protracted strike, which ended as this is likely to in the defeat of the men. Whatever else may be the outcome of this struggle untold suffering is certain to be. The nationalization of the coal mines is evidently as much needed in England as here.

The California banks refuse to advance money on the wheat and fruit crops. As a result many grain fields are going to waste. Thousands of orchards are also standing heavy with ripe fruit, because the owners cannot secure advances of money. A beautiful currency system we are living under. The cranks who demand that Uncle Sam become the people's banker will soon be in a majority if these things keep on.

A business crisis always means defeat to the dominant party. The panic of 1873 was followed by the overthrow of the republican party in the elections of 1874 and 1876. The panic of 1893 will most probably be followed by the overthrow of the democracy in the elections of 1894 and 1896. But though the republicans may profit by the demo-

cratic reverses, the third party will be the chief gainer. The old see-saw is over. American politics are a three-handed game now.

The Minnesota constitution about five years ago was amended so as to declare certain forms of business monopoly a criminal conspiracy. Statutes enforcing this provision were enacted and a lumber combination in the state duly prosecuted. But the Minnesota supreme court has decided the anti-combine law unconstitutional. The judge who delivered the decision was elected by a combination of republicans and democrats. Minnesota's experience with trusts will strengthen the demand for the public ownership of the mines and virgin forests. The judges, like the coal mines, seem to be private property.

It is to be hoped that some one will be found during the approaching session of Congress to demand in very pointed terms why Secretary Carlisle has taken it upon himself by a previously unheard of and utterly indefensible interpretation of the Sherman law silver purchase clause, to refuse to make the required monthly purchase of four and a half million ounces of silver. That the administration should oppose silver coinage is fair enough, but that it should seek to further its "campaign of education," by breaking the law in order to bear the price of silver, is an outrage. If the executive department is to set aside the accepted meaning of laws by such private interpretations, the legislative branch might as well be left out of our plan of government.

✓ This Fall's Great Opportunity for the People's Party in Massachusetts.

The state convention of the people's party of New York has been called for August 15, and in Virginia, North Carolina and elsewhere the campaign has already vigorously begun. Soon it will be time for the party in Massachusetts to be girding up its loins for the annual tussle.

There are reasons why the people's party ticket in Massachusetts may be expected to poll a very much larger vote this November, than it did in either of its previous campaigns. The storm center, which has been centred over the great grain states West of the Mississippi, has moved East, or rather has spread East, for it broods as black as ever over the West. With the economic storm center moves the political storm center. Before the first frosts come the New England artisan is likely to have a fellow feeling for the western farmers that he has not had before. It is hard to interest prosperous men in economic questions or radical reforms, but with savings' banks bursting, mills shutting down, shops discharging their help and winter coming on, the average workingman develops an interest in knowing what's the matter and how to remedy it, which is as alarming to the old parties as it is encouraging to reformers.

All we have needed heretofore has been the attention of the people. The business situation will insure us their attention this fall, and it only remains for us to take the fullest possible advantage of it.

It is now understood that the republican convention in this state is to be postponed to the latest date, which will enable the candidates to be legally placed on the official ballot. It had already been announced that the democratic

policy was to be a very late convention. Both parties want the shortest possible campaign; and no wonder, for with the business crisis to account for, they don't relish meeting the people. The ship of state is on the rocks and they who have taken turns steering her, naturally wish to avoid a prolonged interview with the owners and underwriters. The reason they want late nominations and a brief campaign is precisely why the people's party wants prompt nominations and a long and vigorous campaign, with a full discussion of the situation, its causes and its cure. The emergency of the old parties is the opportunity of the new party. Let us rise to the occasion. We have been fighting an uphill fight for two years past. Now we have the advantage.

✓ A Better Plan Than Young Women Ushers.

Rev. Mr. Pray of Duryea Presbyterian Mission, Brooklyn, N.Y., has appointed young women ushers in hopes to draw in the young men. Why does not the enterprising gentleman try the effect of preaching the plain gospel of Jesus Christ, which was and is the truth and limitless obligation of human brotherhood? The preaching of this doctrine, not, mind you, as a barren platitude, but in the way Christ preached it, as the basis of an immediate radical social reformation, would be as startling a novelty in a modern Christian church as Mr. Pray's young women ushers, and would prove, we are confident, much more attractive to those "common people" who are said to have heard Christ so gladly. We trust Mr. Pray will consider our suggestion.

✓ The Price of Men the Next Thing to Come Down.

"There is nothing left to do but to reduce wages," says ex-mayor Abram S. Hewitt. "Ore cannot be obtained any cheaper; coal and everything else are as cheap as possible, so wages must come down."

Mr. Hewitt is entirely sound in his political economy. Wages generally are going to come down and come down hard. The New Nation, in reviewing the general tendency to lower prices which has been going on for several years, and is now being accelerated at a panic rate, has heretofore predicted a general downward tendency of wages as inevitable. The time for the fulfilment of that prediction is at hand. Moreover, the reduction of wages, when it comes, will be a permanent one. Wages in these United States have been and are higher than they ever will be again, so long as the wage system exists.

This is not on account of any particular policies or events. Don't cherish any such delusion. It is not the fault of the republicans, nor of the democrats, nor of the tariff policy, nor of the money policy. These and other influences have indeed more or less aggravated and accelerated the downward tendency of wages, but no conceivable policy consistent with the preservation of the conduct of industry by private capitalism, would have prevented or seriously checked that tendency.

The only reason the condition of the workers of this country has heretofore been better than that of the European peasant and proletarian is that the country was new and unoccupied, a land of virgin resources too ample, for a time, to be monopolized by any class. It is a new and unoccupied country no longer; its once ample and virgin resources

have been largely monopolized and the conditions in general of an old country, in which the system of private capitalism has fully done its work, are being established.

The process of approximation to old country conditions has been going on with especial and extraordinary rapidity within the past decade or two, and we are about to witness its accumulated results in a big drop-down in the state of the working masses. The western farmers felt the pressure first and were the first to rise in revolt. At the beginning theirs was a blind revolt, but they are swiftly feeling their way toward the only way out which is the way of nationalism.

Now it is to be the turn of the wage-earner, the artisan. Wholesale reduction of wages are soon to follow the present crisis. It will be vain, utterly vain, to resist them by strikes or combinations of any sort. The tendency downward is the inevitable working of the law of the capitalistic system of industry, and cannot be successfully opposed while that system is retained. At first the wage-earners will not realize this any more than the farmers did. They will seek relief by all sorts of foolish devices and nostrums. But like the farmers, they will not be too slow, we trust, in seeing that the only way out is the application of democratic rule to the economic as to the political administration and the organization of the industrial and commercial systems of the country as a co-operative republic for the equal advantage of its citizens.

The only way to resist the downward tendency of wages is to abolish the wage-system. That is the knock-out blow for capitalism. Strikes it merely laughs at.

Nationalists the Only Full Believers in Women's Rights.

The Woman's Journal is evidently under misapprehension as to the position of The New Nation on the question of women's rights. In the issue of July 22, it refers to our recent editorial on Judge Brewer's Fourth of July Woodstock speech, in which the judge claims that the socialistic movement conflicts with individual liberty. The Journal says:

Mr. Edward Bellamy, editor of The New Nation, reviewing the speech, stoutly denies that there is any such conflict, except in the minds of those who do not understand what the socialist movement is aiming at. He says, in explanation of the socialistic movement, that as, in the feudal system of the middle ages, in the course of time the kings took to themselves the power of the barons and ran the whole business, and the change was a vast gain to the people, so now the people, whose sovereignty has succeeded to that of the kings, are about to take away the power of the irresponsible rulers called capitalists, and administer the economic government of the country, as they already nominally administer the political government, by the equal voice of all in the equal interest of all. Mr. Bellamy feels the step on his own toes, but does not see that his new panacea leaves women to be, as they are today, not with an "equal voice," but as a subject class, with no voice at all.

The Journal must have failed to keep track of The New Nation's utterances, if it is ignorant, as it seems to be, of the fact that The New Nation is in favor of women's political equality with men as well as of her economic equality. The New Nation has constantly favored the immediate extension of full political suffrage to women and the people's party platform of Massachusetts contains a plank demanding that step. And now as to the Journal's position. Does or does not the Journal favor nationalism or any other plan which will guarantee not only the political but the eco-

nomical equality of women with men? If it does, it has maintained an eloquent silence on the subject. If it does not, if it would stop short with political equality, it has no right to call itself the Woman's Journal, for it very inadequately represents the cause of woman. The nationalist is the only thorough going and radical advocate of women's rights.

Narrow Escape of the Republican Party from "New Ideas."

That representative republican organ, the New York Press, sounds a note of alarm. It appears that there is a plot on foot to taint the membership of the League of Republican clubs with the socialistic virus. We are told that Dr. W. H. Van Swartwout applied to Mr. Jewell, New York state organizer for the League of Republican Clubs, to be enrolled on the list of speakers to address the clubs. He represented himself as a good republican and said that he had some new ideas to present. This certainly should have been enough to put Mr. Jewell on his guard, for no good republican has had any new ideas for 20 years past, or wanted to have any. It appears, however, that he was caught napping, for he gave Dr. Swartwout permission to address the Hamilton republican club of Harlem. His subject was the impending business crisis, and according to the account of the Press, he "attacked the present system of government and preached a new gospel, a combination between the theories of Herr Most and the dazzling ideals of Edward Bellamy. As soon as he sat down his utterances were repudiated by President Coulter of the club. A woman who accompanied Dr. Van Swartwout and claimed to be his wife, then talked in the same strain."

Observe in passing the delicacy of the expression "claimed to be his wife." This is republican journalism.

Despite the "repudiation" by Mr. Coulter, the "new ideas" seem to have had the disturbing effect on the club usually consequent upon abrupt changes of diet, for the Press states that Organizer Jewell not only shut down on Dr. Swartwout, but at once "issued a circular letter to the clubs in the state warning them of a scheme to secure their indorsement of a socialistic movement. Mr. Jewell does not believe that many would fall into the trap, but he does not propose to take any chances."

Mr. Jewell is evidently an energetic person when once his suspicions are aroused, but his precautions do not seem sufficient. The only way to make sure that the lambs of his flock will not be tainted by socialism is to insist on putting cotton in their ears, for "it is in the air." He is said by the Press to believe that "the whole thing is a plot to throw discredit on the party through the anarchistic talk of these people at the various clubs throughout the state." He says further: "The democratic party has allowed itself to become allied with disrupters of society, and it is now reaping the fruits of its unholy bargain. The republican party has no use for Altgelds."

The Erie railroad goes into the hands of a receiver for the fourth time. The total stock and bond capitalization of the road is now 175 million dollars at the rate of \$332,554 per mile. Here is a fine instance of private enterprise. The road could be duplicated for less than a fourth of its present capitalization.

DESPOTISM OF A PAST AGE.

Knights of Labor Journal: "The New Nation takes the New York Post to task for a blunder it made in an editorial headed 'The Other Side of Municipal Ownership.' The Post stated that the supreme court of Massachusetts had declared that a bill empowering cities and towns to own gas and electric light plants, etc., would be unconstitutional. The New Nation shows that the Post is in error and that the contrary is the case. Into the discussion between the Post and The New Nation as to the respective merits of municipal and private or corporate ownership, we will not here enter. The nationalist champion has much the better case and needs no assistance. But the statement of the Post, mistaken though it be, is worthy of more than passing comment. The power of courts to decide what the legislatures — i. e., the people — may or may not do in the matter of governing themselves is a despotism as intolerable and as unjustifiable as the power of a czar or a kaiser to veto the will of the people. Assuming that the decision of the court is in accord with past legislation, which it may or may not be, it simply amounts to the living being ruled by the dead. It involves no disrespect to those who have gone before us to doubt their greater fitness to decide what the legislation of today should be. The men who laid the foundations of the commonwealth of Massachusetts had many admirable qualities, but they were hardly possessed of the knowledge necessary to legislate wisely for an age of gas, steam, electric light. The pathway to all liberty is over the prostrate fragments of broken constitutions. What is good in the legislation of the past we should preserve, but the people should not allow the courts to fasten that old man of the sea by an effete constitutionalism upon their backs."

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

Tom Watson: "The finer our churches are the bigger Krupp makes his cannon."

While transactions in pig tin were quoted at 19.80c. on the floor of the exchange the other day, large blocks were sold outside the exchange at 19.37½c. for August delivery. These exchanges are becoming more and more plain gambling hells.

President Huntington of the Southern Pacific railroad, proves to be the power behind the throne that secured Millionaire Perkins' appointment to the United States Senate from California. Huntington is understood to want a man in Stanford's seat "who would not fight the big corporations through desire to make them pay money, or ambition to make political capital as an anti-monopolist." But California has drifted so far toward the populist camp that millionaire Senators cannot save her.

The state liquor dispensary at Darlington, S.C., which was closed under the injunction granted by Judge Hudson, on the ground that the public conduct of liquor law of South Carolina was unconstitutional, has been opened by order of Justice Pope. One of the results of the new law is the closing of several houses of prostitution in Charleston, the proprietors moving to other states.

*CONCERNING NATIONALISM.**A GOVERNMENT RAILROAD PROPOSED.*

New Trade Unionism. Demonetization of Gold. Retirement of Powderly. Note and Comment.

The Lincoln (Neb.) convention called to consider the building of a public railroad from the Dakotas to the Gulf, adjourned to reassemble at Topeka, Kan., in December, when a complete plan for a road to be owned by five states, will be submitted. Experts engaged to mature plans say that the road can be built for \$15,000 per mile. This includes right of way, depots, telegraph lines, rolling stock, etc.

The public is so accustomed to formidable figures in railroad statistics that \$15,000 per mile may seem visionary. The secret is that the Gulf road is to be built by the people and run to serve them and not to rob them. The railroads of the United States are capitalized at \$60,942 per mile. These western populists propose to build a road for an amount that is actually less than the water per mile in existing roads.

That the Lincoln convention people realize the nature of their project is shown in the closing paragraph of the address, which they ordered to be printed. "The road" it says, "would furnish a much-needed object lesson to demonstrate the advisability of government ownership of the railroads and telegraph system of the United States that is being so strenuously advocated by a large and increasing element of our people."

The new trade unionism, that is, the trade unionism that begins, not ends, at the ballot box, is growing rapidly. The Brotherhood of American Carmen is discussing a proposal to repeal that clause of their constitution prohibiting political discussion in the lodge room. This is a good sign. Everybody must go into politics if the republic is to be saved.

Many of the manufacturers are taking advantage of the bankers' panic to close their mills and when they start up it will be found that wages have gone down and prices of products somewhat advanced. Such is the result of economic conditions imposed by the old parties. The folly of keeping politics out of the labor unions! Nothing but politics should be admitted there for the present.

The populists won over a number of republicans at their picnic in Norton, Kan., the other day, at which gathering there were over 8000 people. In Wellington, Kan., the republicans put up a ticket with six republicans and one democrat. We submit that the populists are doing the best politics. It takes an expert now-a-days to tell the difference between a republican and democrat.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press declares that the Kansas pop-

ulists are not Americans. The trouble is that the old party papers have set up a new definition of an American, — advocate of private monopolies.

A national bank is a private monopoly. The depositor puts his money in it for business convenience. When there is a crisis he cannot secure loans even on gilt edge securities except at 40 to 70 per cent interest. The banks do not, however, apply the bank rule to themselves. They present their securities at the clearing house and receive certificates which make the securities perform the function of ready money. Then they call upon the depositors to have confidence. When the depositors ask the banks to have confidence, they are laughed at. The bankers' rule in a panic is: If you want your money, you can't have it; if you don't, you can. The solemn truth is that the national bank system is going to pieces because it is a private monopoly. Let the people be their own bankers.

T. V. Powderly has for years held a brief from organized labor. He is the broadest minded labor advocate in the field. Fewer strikes and more public ownership has been his contention. It would be a misfortune if he should retire from the Knights of Labor at this crisis. We trust the rumor to that effect is ill-founded. At all events, let no wage-worker who is not a Knight of Labor make a point in favor of his union when Powderly leaves the field. He fights for all producers and his hands should be held up. A man who encourages a union of all labor forces, a union of farmer and laborer, a union of the victims of the competitive system and labor cannot be spared.

The Lynn Boys Eager for the Fray.

The populists of Lynn are ready for another political charge. The boys are fighters, and as the panic with heavy heel rests on the community, they are eager to present the remedies. The people's party club met at Lynn last evening and discussed the situation. Evidently the banner populist city of the state proposes to set the old parties a stiff pace in the campaign for governor.

He Talks Like a Populist.

The attention of our eastern bankers is called to the fact that more men have expressed themselves in favor of demonetizing gold during the last two months than ever before in our history. This is a straw worth considering. There is such a thing as carrying the game of monopolizing money too far. Ex-Gov. Thomas A. Osborne of Kansas, a republican and a national bank director, is ready, he says to abandon gold as a standard as there is not enough to do the exchange business of the world properly. He says: "Just as soon as we can become accustomed to accept the idea that money is a thing to represent exchange and is in value based upon labor, we will be able to cut ourselves loose from the money ideas of the Old World and create a system of our own. I would pay all our indebtedness in the thing in which it was incurred. I am aware these views may be

considered peculiar, but they are not wild nor visionary. They are based on common sense and if adopted would tend to put an end to the speculation in money and cause the investment of American wealth in American enterprises, and thereby bring the wealth and the labor of the country into closer and more harmonious relations."

Note and Comment.

The people's party of Essex county, Mass., holds a public meeting at Salem Willows next Monday afternoon. Speaking begins at 2.30. The public is cordially invited.

The Kansas populists have adopted the plan of nominating their candidates for the United States Senate at their state conventions.

The summer encampment of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union will be held at Mt. Gretna, Lancaster county, Pa. The time has not been announced.

The Kansas republicans finding that the tariff issue is a back number, are trying their hand at stirring up religious strife. Meantime, the economic problem holds the field.

Henry Vincent has retired from the Nonconformist and will take charge of the Chicago Express. The Vincent brothers after years of hard work, pushed the Nonconformist to the forefront of reform journals.

Republican papers prefer to see the brethren in Virginia voting with democrats rather than with populists. The bonds of sympathy between the two old parties are multiplying. They will die in each other's arms.

Tom Watson campaign is striking terror in the hearts of the Georgia democracy. He addressed a crowd the other day numbering over 23,000. Men drove 30 miles to hear him.

The Visala (Cal.) Times, democratic, advocates the government ownership of the railroads. "All this" says the Tulare Valley Citizen, "is simon pure people's party doctrine and is considered rank fanaticism, if not treason, by democratic party bosses."

The people's party of Nebraska celebrated its third anniversary last Saturday by holding meetings in the various counties. The new party has a fine record. It has smashed a republican majority of 25,000, elected and re-elected two members of Congress, captured a seat in the United States Senate, one half of the judicial districts and 30 county governments. At the coming election the democratic party will not cut any figure, while the republicans will probably be beaten by the populists.

The New York Times represents Mrs. Lease as mournfully admitting that the "exposure" by the Times of the military organizations of Kansas "had caused great consternation among the populists." As the Times' exposure was limited to its own misinformation, we are inclined to doubt the reported words of Mrs. Lease. The Kansas populists are fighting nobly. The consternation is much more likely to be in the other camp. Digitized by Google

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Attleboro at a special meeting Saturday, voted to hold all the water rights of Seven Mile river for a public water supply.

Hingham voted on July 27 to establish an electric light plant under the municipal lighting act of 1891. A committee, headed by F. M. Husey, was chosen to carry the vote into effect. The treasurer was authorized to issue \$50,000 in municipal lighting bonds.

A moment has been started in Chelsea for a public lighting plant. This demand has been precipitated by the application of a private company for a lighting franchise from the city. The Tribune and the Press of Cambridge are crossing swords over the municipal lighting issue, the Press favoring a public lighting plant. If the Cambridge public follows closely this discussion, there can be but little doubt that the popular verdict will be favor of a municipal lighting plant.

The Cambridge Tribune points to cites the town of Herrington as an example of the ruinous results of a public lighting plant. The town of Herrington ought to be a better judge than the Tribune on this issue. The citizens paid \$100 per light per year to a private corporation and then established a public lighting plant. A committee of the common council of Youngstown, O., applied to Herrington as to public sentiment on the change and were told that the citizens believed that the change from a privately owned to a public owned plant was wise.

The Newtonville and Watertown street railway company has recently erected a power house at Newtonville and proposes to sell power to business firms in Watertown. The New Nation predicted a year ago that these street railway companies holding electric franchises would eventually furnish power to small manufacturers. It is little short of a crime to give to private corporations the monopoly of local transportation and of furnishing power to mills and factories.

Rhode Island.

A joint special committee on city lighting plant at Pawtucket has recommended that \$113,000 be appropriated for a municipal lighting plant.

Indiana.

Boswell is also agitating for an electric lighting plant.

The Crawfordsville electric lighting plant runs 141 arc lights, 2000 candle power. The fuel used is natural water gas. These lights cost the city \$25.50 per year. When the lighting was done by a private corporation, citizens were charged \$71.42 per lamp. Public ownership cannot be dislodged in Crawfordsville.

Texas.

Austin has just completed a dam 1150 feet long and 68 feet high, at a cost of \$1,400,000. By this means the city utilizes the Colorado river as a water power. It will be able

to run its water and lighting plants and have 9,500 horsepower available 60 hours a week for manufacturing purposes. The back-water of the dam forms a lake 30 miles long on which there are several steamers. The industries that this power will start up will employ 15,000 or more and as it is a public work for the benefit of all, the people of Austin are practically unanimous in its support. "Who will dare to say," exclaims the Dakota Ruralist with genuine satisfaction over this experiment in public ownership, "that nationalism is not in the air!"

Michigan.

The question of issuing \$100,000 in bonds for a combined electric lighting and water plant at Niles is to be determined by a special election.

Kansas.

Norton Liberator: If the government would condemn the coal mines and take control of them, wherever and whenever a strike occurs, nobody would be thrown out of work and there would never more be any trouble. This it should do, and some day when justice reigns it will be done.

Louisiana.

New Orleans Issue: A bill of freight sent from Auburn N. Y., recently, to Omaha cost \$42.50. From Omaha to Bellevue, Idaho, about the same distance, the charge on the same freight was \$457. Is it any wonder that the old parties are losing their grip in the west, and that public ownership of railways is now one of the greater issues?

California.

The citizens of Santa Anna are to vote on the issuance of bonds for a public electric light plant.

Miscellaneous.

Omaha Bee: The nationalists are circulating petitions urging Congress to pass laws establishing a government telegraph and telephone service. Some good may come from the Bellamyite agitation after all.

Spirit of Reform, Belmont, N.Y.: Whoever had any difficulty with the post office department when matters were clearly taken before the proper officer? No one. Certainly not, and such is ever the effect when the government controls the affairs of interest to all the people. Place the railroads, telegraphs, telephones, etc., in the hands of the government and the complaints of inequality in their management will be at an end. No one deports himself in the same courteous, upright manner as he who holds his position only upon proof of honesty and ability.

San Francisco Star: Telegraphing is only a more rapid method of carrying the letters of the people. It belongs, by all rights and considerations, to the postal department of any national government.

The Twentieth Century makes a good point when it says: "A 30 ton electric locomotive has been completed at the Lynn (Mass.) shops of the General Electric company. Its normal speed is 30 miles an hour, with capacity far greater. Were we living under a co-operative commonwealth every skilled machinist that could be spared from other lines of industry would be set at work turning out electric locomotives until every railroad was provided, and the old steam engines were melted over. There is wasted energy in the tides, in the waterfalls and mountain streams that properly harnessed would provide the power. Yet the blighting hand of private ownership and private monopoly holds back the tide of progress, and idle men starve in the land where all could have plenty."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

A. A. S. of Boston:—I enclose \$1 for missionary fund.

J. L. S. of Jersey City:—The New Nation is stirring up thought all over the country.

M. F. C. of Nantucket:—Enclosed please find \$1, my mite for sending The New Nation to some one who is robbed of even a mite.

N. C. H. of San Francisco:—Your paper is the meatiest publication in America today. Your prophecies are coming to the front and I believe the climax is very much nearer than it looked a year ago.

L. A. D. of Miamisburg, O.:—I consider your paper the best medium to do missionary work that I know of. I like your idea of mixing religion with politics and real practical reform.

I. M. D. of Highlandville:—I enclose \$2. Please renew my subscription and apply the extra dollar for extra copies. The paper is worth \$2 a year anyway.

J. H. B. of Auburn Park, Ill.:—I enjoy your paper very much and recommend it to others whenever an opportunity offers. May you always thus clearly and fearlessly present the cause of the people.

R. H. H. of Philadelphia. — The balance (\$1.20) is for your missionary fund. I think much of The New Nation and have great faith in its ability to continue.

"A sign of hard times," says the Springfield Republican, "is the reduction of the size of the New Nation of Boston, Edward Bellamy's paper, from 12 pages to 8. In the interest of good newspaper work, let us trust this is in fact a merely temporary setback. The New Nation is a bright, cheerful out-and-outer, one of the few readable papers that have ever been devoted to a specialty. . . . These people (populists), rationally are bound to sustain it, for it is far the ablest socialistic journal in the country, and they will lose a great deal if they allow it to fail from lack of support."

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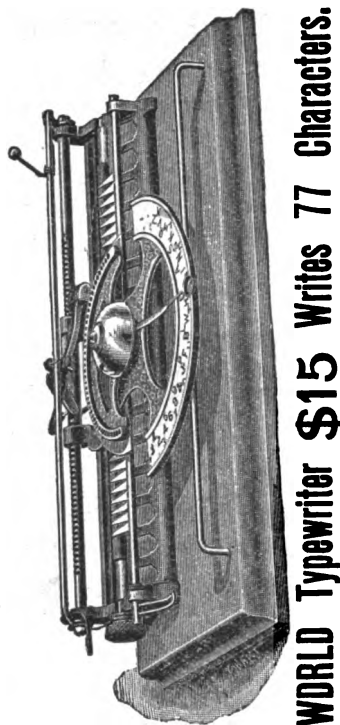
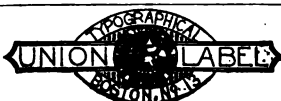
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

With the silver mining industry paralyzed and mills, shops and factories closing by hundreds and all sorts of industrial enterprises threatening suspension, we are likely soon to face the "unemployed" problem, in very large and ugly shape.

The money question is important, very important, but don't forget that it is but one of several equally important and pressing reforms to which the people's party pledged. "Keep in the middle of the road" and fight shy of leaders who are men of one idea. They will not last long.

The "change of ratio" proposition for free coinage of silver at 20 to 1 of gold, instead of the old ratio of 16 to 1, meets with great acceptance. As it is out of the question that a 16 to 1 bill can be passed over the certain veto of the

president, the 20 to 1 ratio is a compromise which may be indicated by the course of circumstances as desirable. The first point of the bi-metallist is to secure free coinage on any terms. The ratio can subsequently be modified one way or the other as the course of events may indicate.

The Pennsylvania railroad system will lose over three millions on the world's fair business. Travel is light and some 50 coaches ordered to meet the demand have not turned a wheel. Rates are above what they would be if there was a Sunday school convention at Chicago. Rates from Boston to Chicago are only \$2 less than the rates given the Boston delegates to the Omaha convention last year. How long will the people submit to the tyranny of private railroads?

There are two bills, in particular which, among others, the people's party has a right to expect its several representatives in Congress to introduce at the present session. The first is a bill for the annexation of the telegraph and telephone systems of the country to the post office department, with compensation at duplication cost for existing private plants that may be taken over; the second bill is one to appoint a commission of inquiry to ascertain the duplication cost of the railroad system of the country with a view to national purchase and operation.

We are sincerely sorry for the democratic editors who, after swearing all through the last campaign and until they almost believed it themselves, that the McKinley bill and tariff reform were the only issues, are now required per orders from the counting room to prove that after all the real issue is the Sherman bill and not the McKinley bill, and that the tariff is of no particular or pressing importance until the silver question is disposed of. It must strain even the elastic conscience of an old party editor to perform so abrupt a right-about as this. Where can these editorial writers expect to go to when they die?

If the express purpose of the old party press had been

to sow sectional bitterness between East and West and start a new secession movement, it could not have acted more shrewdly than it has. By a consistent policy of abuse, grossest misrepresentation and wholesale vilification of entire states and groups of states and sections of the country, it has aroused a feeling of reciprocal bitterness, till there is no wonder that we begin to hear talk of a new secession and a western republic. For this the cold-blooded policy of the eastern press is far more responsible than the few hot-blooded men whom it has provoked to wild utterances, but on both sides this is treasonable business. Down with it.

The weakest point of President Cleveland's message to Congress is his attempt to justify the administration's calamitous policy of paying in gold only the bullion certificates which were expressly made payable in silver or gold. To have paid them in silver, the president argues, would have discriminated against gold and thus destroyed the parity of the metals. Very good, but does not the man see that paying them exclusively in gold, by discriminating against silver, had the same effect? What the administration should have done was to have followed the practice of the French government in like cases, and paid the bullion certificates half in gold and half in silver. This would have been in reality to preserve the parity of the metals, as the law commanded.

The Root Cause of all Panics, Crises and Hard Times and the Remedy.

We have in the present business crisis a great object lesson of the unscientific construction of the existing business system and the calamities which society must suffer until it is replaced by a rational plan. We must pay very heavily for this lesson; let us therefore study it carefully and get its value.

To the question what makes these or any other hard times, ten men you may meet on the street will give as many answers. One will say too much silver, another, too little, another will say speculation and inflated credits, another will talk about the tariff, and so on.

Now various of these causes have had something to do with accelerating or aggravating the present crisis, but the main underlying and only effective cause of this, as of all other crises and hard times in general, lies far deeper and is inherent in the existing economic system. It is the lack of an equilibrium between the producing and consuming power of communities. The vast majority of men, the working masses of the world and of each community in it, do not receive for their labor anything like the equivalent of its product, and they consequently have not the power to buy and consume as much as they produce.

The result is and must be an accumulation in the hands of a few of the surplus product which the community as a whole is unable to buy back and reabsorb. There may be bitter need and want of these surplus goods among the members of the community, the men and women who produced them; they may be half-starved, half-clothed and houseless, but not having received for their work the full value of its product they are unable to buy back the things they need, and so we have store-houses bursting with grain

and factories full of bales of cloth, defended by police and militia from naked and starving mobs.

This is the "over-production," which is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the economic system we endure and which, always going on to a greater or less extent, periodically reaches such proportions as to cause a great crisis or general stoppage of production. This, of course, by further reducing the previously inadequate purchasing power of the masses, still more completely stops the market, and so matters go from worse to worse until sufficient goods have been "thrown overboard," "sacrificed" spoiled and wasted to relieve a little the glut, and production can begin again. All the while, do not forget, there has been among the people such an intensity of need and want, as would in a moment have absorbed ten times over the "over-production" could it have been distributed among them.

When a political economist tells you that the existing system is based upon the interworking of demand and supply, tell him that he lies. It is on the contrary a most ingenious and effective plan for preventing supply from meeting demand or getting within gunshot of it. And so your economist will presently confess by admitting that by "demand" political economy does not mean the demand of men as measured by their needs, but the demand of men measured by the money they have. In the sense of political economy it is money alone that talks.

It has, of course, always been true that the workers have not received the full value of their produce, but owing to the vast multiplication of the productive power of the worker by machinery in modern times, the discrepancy between what the workers produce and what they receive and are able to consume, is vastly more than in any previous age. Wages, that is the share of their product received by many kinds of workers, are doubtless more on the whole than before the introduction of machinery, but to be in the same proportion to the product they must have been multiplied by 10 and sometimes 20. The consequence of the prodigiously increased modern excess of the product of the worker over his power of consumption as represented by his wages, has been on the one hand to make "over-production" a constant condition, and to leave a vast mass of unemployed labor, which under the present economic system cannot be employed without making the over-production still worse since every one so employed would necessarily produce much more than he could buy back with his wages and consume.

Sometimes nations can temporarily provide for their over-production beyond the money power of their people to consume, by opening foreign markets. That is to say the people of other countries who are not such effective producers consume a part of the excess of the product over and above the power of the home producers to purchase. Thus we see England, France and Germany sending fleets and armies to compel Chinese, Africans and South Sea Islanders to admit goods which the millions of needy English, French and German workmen who produced them would have been glad to buy up and consume had they received the equivalent of their product and were thus able to do it.

The principal new markets of the world are being rapidly glutted like the old markets which seek them for relief, and the time is now near, indeed we are already entering

on it, when a general glut and international bankruptcy must take place on a scale never before possible. The signs are at hand of such a cataclysm.

No doubt there are palliations and minor measures which may give partial and temporary relief in certain stages of a business crisis like that now upon us, but it is most discouraging to hear men talk as if any system of tariff, of money, of taxation, or what not, could finally be more than a palliative of a condition of things which is the necessary result of the lack of equilibrium between the producing and consuming power of communities, and cannot possibly be escaped until that equilibrium is established. If a basin is fed by a two-inch pipe and emptied by a one-inch pipe it will be clogged; and in like manner though a nation should have an ideal tariff, money and taxation system, revealed from heaven itself, so long as the laborer did not receive the personal or average equivalent of his product, wherewith to buy and use the same amount, chronic over-production, hard times, and an unemployed class, with periodical complete breakdowns of business will continue. Let, however, the desired equilibrium be established, and there will be at once work for every hand with no possibility of over-production till all are satisfied and leisure comes to be more prized than luxury.

It is the plan of nationalism to bring about an invariable equilibrium of consumption and production by the principle of economic equality, with a uniform law of economic service, together with such organization and co-ordination of industry and all useful service as is necessary to give practical effect to such a social order.

Let us as nationalists, in the present crisis, lend hearty support to all palliative measures promising good results. But above all we should use the opportunity to press upon the public attention the necessity and adequacy of nationalism as the one way out.

The Pope's Encyclical on Socialism.

Dispatches from Rome give what purports to be the text of the long expected encyclical of the pope upon socialism. If the text is accurate, it shows that Leo has made considerable progress in his study of the social question since his first deliverances upon the subject. In former utterances he has not seemed to be able to distinguish between the collectivist and state socialists with their rational ideal and legitimate methods of agitation, and the violent anarchists, but has visited all schools of socialism with indiscriminate denunciation. Upon this point the present encyclical contains the follow notable words:

Nor should it be forgotten that many who bring themselves under the banner of socialism repudiate everything illegal in the program of anarchy, affecting only those things which regard the resolving of the urgent difficulties of economical and political reform demanded by the exigencies of society. The chaff must be separated from the wheat and just demands must be satisfied if a still more terrible upheaval is to be avoided.

Pursuing the same line of argument the encyclical declares that democratic socialism has now developed a strength of which it is necessary to take account, and calls on governments "to adopt wise and prudent tactics in order to bring about spontaneously those economic reforms which are favored by equity, justice, mercy and religion."

This eminently humane and statesmanlike counsel may

be profitably recommended to the old party press and politicians of the United States, whose attitude toward the nationalistic movement is that of the bull toward the locomotive.

We shall await with interest the full and official text of the encyclical, for if the dispatches give an accurate idea of its tone, it is certainly the most significant of the many remarkable utterances of the very remarkable man now at the head of the Roman church, and we trust destined long to remain there.

Educated Men Need Not Apply.

A circular has been sent from Germany to leading foreign countries asking information as to the prospects of employment to university men in the learned or skilled professions. The appeal calls attention afresh to the well-known fact that Germany is becoming terribly overstocked with highly educated men. In this respect, however, little help can be given by other countries. They are all in the same predicament. The time is past when a fine education was a guarantee of a good position or indeed of any at all. On the other hand, the culture and refinement which such an education implies is often only a drawback to its possessor by making the coarser forms of wage-slavery more painfully humiliating to him than if he had not hoped for better things. The multiplication of higher institutions of learning now going on so rapidly, is a cruelty to young men, if the present order is to remain. But it is not to remain, and in these disappointed and embittered men of education, the great revolution will find its leaders.

A Telling Argument in the Coming Campaign.

The savings banks are protecting themselves on every hand against "runs," by requiring notice of 30, 60 and even 90 days before depositors can draw money. Under the circumstances this course is often the only proper one, for of course no bank could pay interest on its deposits unless it had them lent out on interest, and it is therefore impossible that it should pay its depositors until it has had time to call in its loans or realize on its investments, and to have to do this too hastily on a dull market, means tremendous sacrifices, the loss of which must in the end fall on the depositors. On the other hand, if a bank's assets are really unequal to its liabilities, there is all the more reason why a notice should be required, for in this case such assets as there are ought to be equally divided among depositors and not given to the first comers, leaving those who had shown confidence in the bank to lose all.

Nevertheless the notice plan, while necessary under the present savings bank system is a great hardship to depositors, who, on account of the hard times and lack of work, need just then more than at any other time to have ready use of their savings. Many a man is being evicted from his tenement and refused credit by his grocer these days, who if he could get the money he has in the savings bank could pay all his bills.

Surely, after the experience they have been having these days, the savings banks depositors of the United States ought to be ready to listen to the argument for postal savings banks, as called for by the Omaha platform of the people's party. These banks would have the full credit and resources

of the United States behind them. In no conceivable panic could there be any anxiety as to the safety of any deposits there might in them. There would never be runs on these banks and there would never be any need of 30, 60 or 90 day notices.

In the political campaign of this fall, the press and orators of the people's party, thanks to a business crisis, will have no lack of points to make against the present system and in favor of a better one, but none of them in its way is likely to be stronger, clearer and more convincing, especially in a manufacturing town, than the argument for a postal savings bank system, proof against runs and able to dispense with notices. In every town that has a savings bank, this is a point which will capture the audience.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

The gold-bearing reefs of Johannesburg, South Africa, are proving to be remarkably rich in gold. Let us assume that the yield becomes greater than the world's annual product of silver. All the honest money men would then clamor for its demonetization as some of them did when gold was discovered in California. If the purchasing power of money depends upon its being "cornered", which is literally true under the gold theory, why not make laws permitting Uncle Sam and not Wall street to do the "cornering?"

Col. Hughes, who refused to obey his superior officer at Topeka last winter, is being court marshaled, and the republicans of the state, realizing that Hughes has no defense as he admits that he mutinied, are giving Gov. Waite, of Colorado points on lurid language. State Senator Miller exclaims: "Tens of thousands of republicans own their own weapons, shotguns or Winchester rifles, that are more effective than the muskets furnished by the state, and their owners are experts in their use. Let rifle and shotgun companies be organized and drilled."

The New York Journal of Commerce feels a "certain sense of satisfaction" at the bank collapse in Denver, because it sees in this bankruptcy the result of Gov. Waite's recent speech on the "re-organization of the states' militia by the populist governor" of Kansas. The Journal admits that these banks were in normal condition before the runs upon them. Thus it follows that the banking system cannot stand without confidence. The same can be said of a counterfeit dollar. The banking monopoly is fast going to pieces.

Cleveland's message: "The knowledge in business circles among our own people that our government cannot make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value, nor keep inferior money on a parity with superior money by its own independent efforts has resulted in such a lack of confidence at home in the stability of currency values that capital refuses its aid to new enterprises while millions are actually withdrawn from the channels of trade and commerce to become idle and unproductive in the hands of timid owners." How wretchedly inaccurate this is! The government's fiat never drops below its face value. A silver dollar will pay a legal debt or tax where a pint of diamonds will not. There is no such thing as inferior and superior money issued by the government as legal tender.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

ANOTHER GOVERNMENT RAILROAD SCHEME.

People's Party News in Various Parts of the Country. Meeting of the Nationalists in Chicago. Note and Comment.

The executive committee of the populist national committee which attended the Chicago silver congress has issued an address calling for an anti-gold standard currency. They assert that the people's party movement has a broader economic basis than currency, and they only emphasize silver because the thought of the country is upon silver.

J. H. Davis, of Texas, Col. A. C. Fisk, of Colorado, Geo. F. Washburn, of Massachusetts, and other populists, have matured a plan for the general absorption of the railroad system by the government. They propose that the United States issue bonds for legal and just indebtedness of the railroads. If the bonds amount to two-thirds of the value of the roads, the remaining one-third, it is proposed, shall be paid for with legal tender treasury notes. A Chicago dispatch detailing this plan says further:

"Objection was raised to the populists' plan to pay one-third in treasury notes, which would greatly increase the price of products in the country, but it was claimed that, even though the full amount should be issued, 65,000,000 of people could better absorb \$2,000,000,000 of treasury notes now than 25,000,000 people did in 1867, and that this issuance of treasury notes would give immediate financial relief and inaugurate a period of prosperity unparalleled in the history of the world.

"The populists, however, do not propose that the government shall buy all the railroads at once, but so gradually that no shock would be felt in the money market. Beginning with the western roads, they would be taken in the order of their application, some being ready now.

"The populists say that, while their party is opposed to any new issuance of national bonds, no objection could be offered to an even exchange for bonds which already exist, and that the bonds could be gradually paid and in a few years the government would own the railroads."

Bankers it is argued, would be favorable to the plan because they want more bonds as a basis of circulation; merchants and farmers would fall in because they want low transportation rates without discrimination; while labor would welcome the security of tenure of employment in government railroads.

It is announced that persons interested in this plan to nationalize railroads are in Washington for the purpose of urging members of Congress to support legislation in this direction. J. H. Davis, who was the populist candidate for attorney general of Texas in 1892, discussed this plan extensively in his stumping tour last year, and he found a strong sentiment in the state for the public ownership of railroads. The people in that and other states are growing tired of hiring capitalists to come in and fleece them in the transportation business. It is not yet clear just what form the demand for government roads will take, but Mr. Davis'

plan serves as a text at this time to discuss an issue that is bound to come to the front.

✓ The Virginia Populists Line Up.

The populist convention at Lynchburg, Va., on the 3d, was attended by about 500 delegates. Great enthusiasm prevailed, and there was a general feeling that a vigorous campaign would make havoc with the democratic party. The following ticket was put in the field: For governor, E. R. Cocke, of Cumberland; for lieutenant governor, J. Brad Beverly, of Fanquier; for attorney general, William S. Gravely, of Henry.

✓ People's Party Growing in Georgia.

The democrats carried Washington county, Ga., in January. The county has just been carried by the populist at a special election. In DeKalb county a democratic majority of 1,200 was reduced to 312. These are examples of the way the new party is going to pieces in Georgia.

Nationalists to Visit Chicago.

Nationalists in this vicinity who propose to attend the meeting of the national committee for propaganda work at Chicago, Aug. 30, will leave Boston at 9 A. M., on Monday, the 28th, from the Lowell depot, and going by way of Montreal, will reach Chicago Tuesday at 10 P. M. The party will go in a tourist car. Tickets for the round trip, good until Nov. 15, \$29.60; berth (in tourist car) \$2. The return trip will be over the Baltimore and Ohio, via Washington, with privilege of stopping over at important points. It will be necessary to order the car about ten days in advance, and consequently those desiring to go with the party are requested to communicate at once with Mason A. Green, 13 Winter street, Boston. A cordial invitation is extended to nationalists, both men and women, to join the party and meet with the committee at Chicago.

✓ George Gould Lets the Cat Out of the Bag.

George Gould, son of Jay, is just back from Europe, and has been interviewed. He finds the business situation here to be terrible and declares that there can be no help till the Sherman law is repealed. In the next breath, being asked what is the financial situation in England he replied, "Bad, I may add just as bad as it is here." How is this, George? They have no Sherman bill in England and no silver, they enjoy all the advantages of the gold standard. If business is just as bad there as here, how is the gold standard going to help us? Gould knows and so every keen observer that the present business depression is nearly or quite worldwide, and that the Sherman act had nothing whatever to do with causing it, and its repeal would do nothing to relieve it. The repeal is sought in pursuance of a deliberate policy of self-aggrandizement by the kings of finance, who take advantage of the crisis merely as a means of gaining their ends by intimidating the people. We acquit of intentional complicity in this conspiracy, the great majority of editors, business men and financiers who are keeping up the howl about the terrible effects of silver. The most of these are dupes of the coterie of magnates who pull the strings. Of this latter number Gould's subtlety and prominence in the world of finance make it altogether probable that he is one. He should, however, be more careful about letting the cat

out of the bag, as in the above admissions to the condition of business in England, great citadel of the gold standard and chief example of its beauties. Such admissions set people to thinking.

✓ Essex County Populists hold an Open-air Meeting.

The populists held an out-door meeting at Salem Willows, Mass., Monday afternoon. About 500 were present and the best feeling prevailed. If it had not been for the rain which continued nearly to the hour of meeting there would have been 1000 present. W. D. Dwinell, of Danvers, presided, and speeches were made by Henry R. Legate, of Boston, E. Gerry Brown, of Brockton and others. The populist meetings this year are notably larger than in former years.

Note and Comment.

The central committee of the people's party of Massachusetts will meet at the Quincy House, Boston, on the afternoon of the 18th. A full attendance is requested.

Mrs. Bina A. Otis was a delegate to the Shawnee county, (Kan.) populist convention, and was placed on the platform committee.

The town of Noble, Ill., had last year a populist vote of 64. This year the old parties were forced to unite to beat the new party. Next year even fusion will not keep the populists out of power. This is true of hundreds of Western towns.

C. H. Spahr, of the Outlook, writing from South Carolina, says: Every populist is instinctively in favor of state control of the liquid traffic, just as every prohibitionist is instinctively in favor of state control of monopolies.

Republicans say that Oklahoma shall not be admitted into the Union until they know how many "populists to the square inch she fosters." This means that Oklahoma will not be admitted if the republicans can prevent it.

Topeka Advocate: "As to the fusion question, it is our opinion that after the approaching session of Congress has closed its work, there will not be democrats enough left in Kansas to fuse with."

There are four tickets in the field in Shawnee county, Kan., but the real light is between the republican and populists, with chances in favor of the latter. The democrats are now the third party in the country.

Jerry Simpson received seven votes for speaker of the House of Representatives on Monday and was chosen to accompany Mr. Crisp to the chair. It is well for populists to become familiar with the path to the chair.

National Spectator, Fresno, Cal.: So long as we allow the private ownership of mines, so long will those owners corner their product or limit its output. Nationalize the the mines and you'll destroy the corners.

Henry Chaplin, ex-president of the board of agriculture, made an assault upon the Gladstone government in the British Commons Tuesday, for the closing of the India mints to the free coinage of silver. "A more flagrant act of public plunder," he said, "had never been perpetrated by a civilized government." Mr. Balfour and Sir John Lubbock supported Chaplin.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

Beverly adopted a public water works act last week. This was passed in concurrence with Salem.

New York.

The board of aldermen of Kingston has adopted a report in relation to a system of water works to be built by the city. It is proposed to bring the water from Esopus Creek, at Bishop's Falls, about eleven miles away. The report submitted estimates the cost of the works at \$550,000. If the taxpayers vote in favor of the new system city bonds will be issued to cover the cost.

Wisconsin.

The street lighting committee of Madison, has taken the initiative towards municipal lighting by advertising for bids for doing the city lighting for a period of years by private corporation, and also for putting in an electric lighting plant for the city, complete, except grounds and building, which the city now has.

Nebraska.

The new municipal electric light plant in Lexington has recently been tested and voted a perfect success.

Pennsylvania.

The citizens of Etna will vote on the 22d upon the proposition to buy the local water-works and establish an electric light plant.

Maryland.

The refusal of the Brush electric light company to comply with the ordinance of the city of Baltimore imposing a tax on each of its poles, as announced by its counsel, promises to lead to the forfeiture of the company's contracts for the city lighting, and the establishment of a municipal lighting plant. As The New Nation has stated, steps are being taken to secure from the Legislature authority for the city to do its own lighting.

Oregon.

The nationalists of Portland organized a club in June and have held several meetings. The First Nationalist club of Portland starts off under flying colors and we shall be prepared to hear of projects for municipal reform on the lines of public ownership in that city.

Michigan.

Mayor W. S. Pingree, of Detroit has gained another victory for the city over the gas ring, Judge Frazer having denied the petition of the Detroit Gas company for an injunction to restrain the board of works from preventing the connection of the old Mutual and Detroit Gas light systems with the mains across Woodward avenue. This injunction will prevent the consolidation of the gas companies and justifies the order of the mayor in sending the police to arrest the employees of the gas companies who were tearing up the Woodward avenue pavement. When Pingree began his fight the gas companies were charging \$1.25 per thou-

sand feet for gas, 50 cents extra if a day late in payment, and a money penalty if less than 1000 feet was consumed in a month. The lake cities were paying on an average of \$1.06 and Pingree sued the companies as a private citizen for over charges. The case is still in court. Meantime, under the mayor's lead, Detroit will have a public electric lighting system, and before many years possibly a public street railway system. Pingree's fight has attracted wide attention, one New York paper devoting a full page recently to Pingree's contests with private monopolists.

Kentucky.

The English syndicate which recently bought the Cumberland Falls water power for the purpose of furnishing electric lights and power for factories should be given notice by the towns of the state that they can do the work much cheaper and better.

Canada.

The Canadian sugar refiners show a disposition also to combine. A dispatch from Moncton, N. B., says: "A special meeting of the stockholders of the Moncton sugar refinery was held at their office on the 2d, when it was unanimously agreed to amalgamate the Nova Scotia, Halifax and Moncton refineries. The object of the combine is to enable the respective refineries, being given more capital to improve their machinery and plant, and to more successfully compete with other Canadian companies." This combine and resulting competition will force the "other Canadian companies" to get in out of the wet. The business of refining sugar in America is in the hands of monopolists.

Miscellaneous.

Union Signal, Milwaukee, Wis.: Government banks, government issue of money and government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, are measures of reform that are not so far off as many think. The logic of events is bringing us to them rapidly.

A subscriber from Montpelier in forwarding a list of 183 names to The New Nation on the government telegraph and telephone petition, writes: "It contains the names of our strongest and brightest men. I found very few who would not sign it."

Foreign.

A special committee recently appointed by the Glasgow corporation to consider the matter of municipal telephony, has unanimously decided to recommend the town council to apply to the postmaster-general for a telephone license. According to the London correspondent of the Electrical Engineer, the committee presented an exhaustive report, in which it is stated that estimates furnished by experts show that an efficient system of telephony can be laid down in that country for an average capital expenditure of \$75 a subscriber, which would permit of an annual rental of \$25 or even less.

The British board of trade has submitted to Parliament a report respecting the applications made during the past year to the board under the electric lighting acts, 1882 and 1890. The object of the applications, which are made by companies and municipal corporations and other local authorities, is to obtain powers to establish electricity works and supply from them electrical energy for both public and private illumination. Applications are made for both licenses and provisional orders; a license may be for a period not exceeding seven years, when it may be renewed, but a provisional order has a duration of 42 years, at the expiration of which, the undertaking may, if it is desired, be acquired by the local authorities. During the past year there were 18 applications for provisional orders; of these 11 were made by town authorities and the remaining seven by companies. Of the 18 requests, 17 were granted.

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

A veteran New England newspaper man says in a private note: "The progressive cause needs nothing so much as a keen, incisive, vigorous and yet never extravagant paper such as yours. It ought to prosper."

J. H. R. of Aver, Mass: I would continue my subscription if The New Nation were reduced to two pages. I would get more ideas from them than from 24 pages of some of the other papers.

R. H. of Dowagiac Mice: As long as there is one page of it, I shall be one of your readers.

The Lynn People's Party Club, at its last meeting, appointed ward committees to solicit subscriptions for The New Nation. Cordial speeches were made by several members.

R. F. F. of Pottstown, Pa: The great social economic reform movement is now represented by a considerable number of very earnest, very able, brilliant and interesting champions, but none more able and excellent, none more sound, philosophic, level-headed and consistent than The New Nation, a safe standard to stand by.

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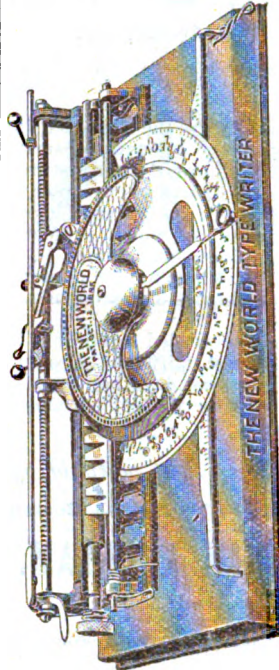
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Do you believe in the nationalization of industry and thereby the promotion of the brotherhood of humanity, or, are you with us in the work of nationalizing the railroads, telegraph, telephone, express or any of the so-called natural monopolies? Do you wish to be identified with us and count for something? If so, you can render important assistance to our work. The way we propose is this: We have opened a CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIP of this First Club, asking for members all over this Union, requiring an admission fee of \$1.00, and a yearly due of \$1.00, the money to be applied by the club to Nationalist work, pure and simple. Each corresponding member is entitled to all the publications to be issued by the club, and will be considered a centre for the distribution of such publications. We give a Certificate of Membership, handsomely gotten up, to each Corresponding Member. Come in and share the victories to come.

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This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

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Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The world's fair now seems pretty certain to be a financial failure on account of the effect of hard times in keeping people at home. As things are, Americans do not need to go to Chicago to study the true inwardness of "our splendid civilization." The crisis has brought it home to them.

"The fact that silver immediately fell in price when India demonetized it, is proof that it would go up if the United States remonetized it," says the New Orleans Issue. Can you think of any answer to that?

The People, of New York, the English speaking organ of the Socialistic Labor party in America, publishes a list of the amendments to the platform of the party adopted at the Chicago convention of July last. Among them we are astonished to see a resolution condemning and de-

nouncing the people's party and warning workingmen to have nothing to do with it. The resolution declares the people's party movement "fully as antagonistic to the interest and aims of the proletariat as the rule of plutocracy itself can be." This talk is very bad and false.

The New York Recorder, a prominent metropolitan daily, hitherto a bourbon republican, gold-standard sheet, has astonished the public by coming out enthusiastically for the free coinage of silver. This is a significant straw. Other eastern dailies are on the anxious seat.

The Boston Herald estimates that within the 17 days ending today, 37 million dollars of gold will have reached New York and Boston from foreign countries, a prodigious inflow for which there is no precedent. When the gold went away the Herald said it was the Sherman law that did it. Will the Herald kindly explain what is bringing it back? The Sherman law has not been repealed. None of us know everything, but let us at least try to be honest.

All the late news from Washington indicates the impossibility of an unconditional repeal of the Sherman law. The most bigoted gold worshippers are admitting that it simply cannot be done. It begins to look as if any bill on the currency which Cleveland will have a chance to sign will be one admitting silver to coinage on better terms at least than it now enjoys, just what those terms may be remaining as yet uncertain.

The International Socialistic Congress, after a session of seven days in Zurich, Switzerland, has just closed. Its resolutions do not begin to be so radical as those of the Omaha platform. Only ten hours a day in factories for women and six for girls, with no night work, is their demand for labor, and a very moderate one it is. They also declare for universal suffrage in all civilized nations, which is quite right, but not a very startling idea to Americans. We have the heartiest sympathy with the European socialists, but really

they are not radical enough. They ought to join the people's party and go in for something substantial.

It is astonishing what devices the old fogies will invent sooner than adopt the plain common-sense plan of banking by Uncle Sam. The last instance is that of Senator Hunton of Virginia, who proposes that the United States shall guarantee the deposits in national banks, so that in case of their failure, depositors may lose nothing. It would not do for the government to carry on the banking business, oh no; but it is perfectly proper for it to pay the losses of the business.

How the Silver and Currency Agitation is Breaking Ground for Nationalism.

Sometimes a nationalist, eager to see the straight issue forced to the front, of public versus private organization and operation of industry for the benefit of the people equally instead of the emolument of capitalists, asks impatiently, what has the money question and the currency dispute to do with nationalism. Directly they have little to do with it, but indirectly much.

The questions of gold or silver money or both, of hard money or paper money, of more money or less, are points on which equally sound nationalists may differ entirely. The proposition that the issue of money be exclusively a function of the people through their national government, may be regarded with propriety as a nationalistic idea, but on the other hand, nationalism in its fulfillment, will dispense with money of all sorts, in the present sense of the word, by reducing the whole business of buying and selling to a single direct non-transferable relation of account between each individual and the nation. The man who maintains that money and currency questions have, strictly speaking, nothing to do with nationalism can, therefore, make out his argument very easily.

Nevertheless indirectly, but not on that account in a less important sense, the agitation over the money question now prevalent in the United States, has and is likely to have much to do with nationalism.

This is so and is to be so, for the reason that this agitation, so far as it is a popular one, is an expression of the demand of the people for a larger share in the wealth of the country. It is a phase under which the discontent of the masses with the growing economic inequalities in the nation is manifesting itself. It is only as this discontent shall grow and this demand become intensified and imperative that the radical plan of nationalism is likely to find hearing and acceptance. Regarded in this light, as being in its underlying motive a movement for a more equal division of the national wealth among the people, the money agitation, even in its crudest forms must be looked upon as doing a great work in breaking the ground for nationalism and preparing the people for its program. What is first and most of all needed for the success of our propaganda is that the people should be aroused to the fact and to the wrong of economic inequality. Any agitation that has that effect, cannot fail to bring grist to our mill, for we alone have the mill-stones to grind it. The multitude who hope for deliverance from economic tyranny through improvements in the currency are destined to disappointment, first in procuring

the improvements and secondly in their benefit to them when procured. Then, such of them as do not give up the fight for equality and surrender at discretion, will turn to us. Taught by experience and reflection, they will recognize the truth of our teaching that the trouble is with the economic system itself, and not in the better or poorer lubricating quality of the oil used on the machinery. Most of the old greenbackers are now nationalists, and the masses of the silver, free coinage, party in the South and West, are in the course of being educated up to nationalism.

A Proper Occasion for Calling Legislatures Together.

Gov. Altgeld is considering the propriety of calling an extra session of the Illinois Legislature to consider the problem of providing employment for the vast numbers of men thrown out of work by the present crisis. This strikes the old party papers as a very absurd and dangerous thing to do. It appears to us that, if the governor has any suggestions to make as to providing employment for these men, or even if he has none, he could have no better occasion than the unemployed problem for calling the Legislature together.

According to the Chicago papers, there are 100,000 unemployed men in Chicago and 50,000 in and about Pittsburgh, while the New York World estimates the number of unemployed men in New York at 96,000. In every large city of the country they are to be estimated at from 10,000 to five times that number. In some of the Rocky Mountain states, since the decline of silver, half the working population has been turned adrift.

Taking the country through, instead of the one million unemployed men, which is the complement in good times, we probably have two million unemployed today.

This means a great emergency and if legislatures are ever of any use, now certainly is the time to use them. Nothing less than war itself could create a more urgent call for the exertion of any power or wisdom there may be in the collective action of communities.

Denver has appropriated \$5000 for the employment of unemployed men on road building. Unless the work was needed and could be afforded this was not good economy, but it was sound humanity, and until we get nationalism, which will combine economy with humanity, The New Nation is for humanity every time. Besides, as our esteemed contemporary the Springfield Republican well says, Denver could better afford to spend \$5000 in providing work for hungry men than five times that amount for militia to repress their rioting.

This problem of the unemployed, traced to its root, becomes one with the entire social problem, for there are unemployed rich as well as unemployed poor.

Call then, most excellent governors, your legislatures everywhere together to consider this great question, why it is that in a world so greatly needing more work done, there is no work to do; why there is "over-production" while hundreds of thousands of willing workers cannot feed and clothe their children. There is no question that ever was or ever will be so worthy of attention by the people's representatives as this great question of employment and the proper distribution of its fruits. Heart-breaking as is the misery that now is forcing home this problem upon pub-

lie consideration it will have been a blessing in disguise if it shall compel good men to search out the root of the evil, which is economic inequality, and to look for the remedy, which is national co-operation by the equal service of all for the equal benefit of all.

The Silver Scare Already Made Ridiculous by the Course of Business.

Gold has now for a fortnight been pouring back into this country from England in twice the volume at which it was recently going out. Great Britain is already in as big a panic over the outflow as our wise financiers were over the export from this side a little while ago, and according to the British press "distrust" and "lack of confidence" are making the same havoc in business over there which they have been responsible for with us.

Will some of our sapient editors, who have led the howl about the terrible effects of the Sherman bill please explain the situation? If the silver purchase clause of the Sherman bill caused the export of gold, what is it that is bringing it back twice as fast as it ever went out, with the Sherman bill still on the statute books and likely to remain there, unless something more silvery takes its place? Has England got a Sherman law too that is driving the gold away from that country? If the "distrust" and "lack of confidence" which are causing so much trouble here are the results of the fear of silver, how shall we account for the distrust and lack of confidence of which the British papers are so bitterly complaining, seeing that in Great Britain gold mono-metalism reigns?

Of all fool cries that ever stampeded presumably rational men, this howl about the disastrous influence of the Sherman silver purchase bill has been about the most idiotic, and the course of business within six weeks will have proven this to the satisfaction of all honest persons who do not already see the point.

The simple cynical truth of the matter is that our business crisis, arising from far different and far deeper causes, has been taken advantage of by certain potent capitalistic interests for wholly selfish ends, to force the country upon a gold standard basis. These capitalistic interests have been able to make a tool of the administration and fools of a great many people who ought to have known better. That is the whole story.

A Chapter of Political Dishonesty.

In a communication to the Boston Traveller, Henry R. Legate, recently of The New Nation staff, calls attention to facts of considerable interest in view of the recent loud appeals of the democratic press to United States Attorney General Olney to enforce the law against the trusts. It appears that Olney was attorney for Greenhut, president of the Distilling and Cattle Feeding company, otherwise known as the whiskey trust, when he was indicted in December, 1891, on suit of the United States for violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, passed July 2, 1890, the case being brought in the Massachusetts district. In this case Mr. Olney, in an answer filed by him over his signature Feb. 23, 1892, moved to quash the indictment on several grounds, the most important of which was the alleged unconstitutionality of the anti-trust act. The precise language

of Mr. Olney on this point appears under the fifth section of the said answer in which he speaks of the anti-trust law as follows:

Fifth. That the act entitled An Act to Protect Trade and Commerce Against Unlawful Restraints and Monopolies, passed July 2, 1890, is not within the power of Congress, and is unconstitutional and void.

This is the gentleman to whom the democratic press bids us look hopefully for an aggressive campaign against the trusts. It will be remembered that on no subject has Mr. Cleveland at all times been more eloquent than in regard to the necessity of suppressing trusts. In his inaugural last March he said:

These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interests of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by federal power, the general government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions.

Even had Mr. Cleveland not thus personally and gushingly promised the people to attack the trusts, he was pledged to that course by the democratic platform, which was most violent in its denunciation of them and its demand for their suppression. One of the chief democratic indictments against the republican party has been that it permitted the trusts to exist.

Such being the facts Mr. Cleveland appoints as attorney general to carry out this war against trusts, a lawyer who had just put himself on record in a most prominent case, as holding the anti-trust law to be unconstitutional, null and void.

The honest democrat who can stand this sort of thing must, have a strong stomach. He ought never to be sea sick.

What Carlisle Believed Before He was Secretary.

John J. Carlisle is Cleveland's secretary of treasury and his chief instrument in the present high-handed attempt to put an end to bi-metalism and establish supreme the single gold standard. In a speech Feb. 21, 1878, Mr. Carlisle in the House of Representatives used the following language as to the disastrous effects of demonetizing silver:

I know that the world's stock of precious metals is none too large, and is not likely to become so. Mankind will be fortunate indeed if the annual production of gold and silver coin shall keep pace with the annual increase of population, commerce, and industry. According to my views of the subject, the conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world.

Bradstreet reports that in the past two months one million men have been thrown out of employment, compared with about 400,000 at the close of 1884, the previous year of greatest depression.

Wm. McAdoo, assistant secretary of the navy, calls public ownership a "bastard and alien idea," and he feels called upon to score the farmers of the West for entertaining "paternalism." He urges a revival of social virtues and a return of the home spirit. It will be curious to see how long such milk and water diet will be accepted in this country. There is certainly little demand for it in the West.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

SHALL MINNESOTA HAVE A STATE GRAIN ELEVATOR?

The Home Spirit and Economic Distress. Meeting of the Nationalists in Chicago. Note and Comment.

Persons in the vicinity of Boston wishing to go to Chicago to attend the meeting of nationalists there on the 30th, are reminded that the plan is to start from Boston on the 28th. Round trip tickets, \$29.60; sleeper, \$2. The party will go in a tourist car via Montreal and return via Washington any time before November 15. For further particulars apply to Mason A. Green, 13 Winter street, Boston.

The Minnesota state railroad and warehouse commissioners were directed by a recent act to construct a grain elevator at the head of Lake Superior at public expense and run the same for the benefit of the people. This act was the reaction from a series of combines which put the public at the mercy of private capitalists.

An application for an injunction against the commissioners is pending and the arguments will command great interest in the northwest, for it amounts to a contest for the possession of a strategic point in the great struggle between monopoly and the masses.

That the constitutional objections against the public grain elevator are not well founded, we believe is generally admitted by lawyers. The St. Paul Pioneer Press virtually concedes this and holds that the fight against the law must be made on economic grounds. It argues:

"The serious question seems to be, could the Legislature invest it with the power? Could it authorize the railroad and warehouse commissioners to levy charges such as would create a fund for the erection of an elevator, thus imposing on private business what is claimed to be an 'unjust and unequal tax,' in order that the state might be enabled to enter into competition with it? That issue is vital; but it also involves a principle of government so deeply fixed and so wide in its application that the courts must hesitate before they pronounce upon it. For instance, when the postal business was first made a branch of the federal service and supported from the federal revenues, something was done very like what is here complained of. And such stretches of power have been combated on the ground of public policy, but the objection is seldom sustained on the ground of unconstitutionality. As has been stated, the objection to the state elevator scheme is economic. The very idea is wrong. It is an assumption by the state of something that does not belong to it. It would be much more defensible if the state had determined to take entire control of the elevator business, and had provided for the purchase of existing plants and forbidden any private citizen to compete with it. This might have been arbitrary, but would have been intelligible and also defensible on general grounds."

The admissions of the Press in the above leave very little for the monopolists to stand upon. There is a conspiracy to rob the people by controlling the grain supply. The state of Minnesota proposes to capture a stronghold and the Press protests that the state take all the elevator

plants or none. The people of Minnesota in their present temper will not stand upon the order of the capture of the grain monopoly. If the public good demands public grain elevators in Minnesota, there will be grain elevators, and if private dealers have bills of damages, let them be duly presented and legally collected. It is high time for us to be about the people's business.

A high democratic official recently said in a public address that the time has come to cultivate the home spirit and practice the social virtues. This chimes in beautifully with the large opportunities for leisure thrust upon working people this summer. The democratic statesman may have had Manchester, N.H., in his mind when he attempted to boom the domestic virtues and make a point for the democracy. There are 8000 out of work in that city through the closing of 16 mills. Some 4500 of them are women and girls. They now have the livelong day for the cultivation of the home spirit, decorating the walls with virtuous legends and looking to heaven for rent money.

Here in Boston, in spite of the roseate pictures of prosperity now being painted by a prominent democratic power, it is a living fact that there are out of employment 2000 clothing trade workers, 400 painters and decorators, 350 cigar-makers, 550 carpenters, 300 brick-layers, 500 furniture workers, 200 freight-handlers, 300 steam-fitters and plumbers, 200 gentlemen tailors, 100 boiler-makers, 500 carpet-workers and so on up to an army of 20,000 organized labor men. To this may be added some 10,000 lower grade and miscellaneous wage workers. What a chance there is here for developing and enriching the home spirit!

A member of the national committee has another plan for relieving popular distress in the West. He proposes to people the sand hills of northwestern Nebraska. Of course, anybody knows that if a farmer owning a rich tract of land in the Dakotas, say, cannot make a living, the next best thing is to try his hand on sand hills. The railroads will see to it that freight rates are held high enough to keep life from being monotonous; and then, if he has any wheat which he does not care to ship, he can feed it to the hogs as is being done in many sections in the West. This alone would give a boom to domestic virtues and democratic principles that would make one's head swim.

Mr. Cleveland's message in behalf of a "cornered" currency in the interest of labor is another bit of statesmanship, which like ex-mayor Hewitt's expressed belief that wages are to come down, must warm the hearts of all patriotic citizen producers. If this keeps on, the whole mass of producers will have nothing to but to sit by the fireside and cultivate the home spirit from morning to night.

Note and Comment.

The giving of Chas. H. Jones of the St. Louis Republic editorial charge of the New York World, has started rumors

that the World is to try its hand at financial reform as the West understands it.

The Baltimore Sun, one of the most influential organs in the South, calls the Virginia populist platform a strong document. "If the populist party of Virginia have now a chance" it says, "it is to be hoped that they will improve it wisely." The men who know the most about the new party in the Old Dominion are the least inclined to laugh it down. Populists are on the road to victory. The 700 delegates at the Lynchburg convention were in dead earnest and the party in the state is fighting to win.

Progressive Age, Minneapolis: If it is socialism to uphold the public school, to advance the government ownership of railways, the telegraph and the telephone; if it is socialism to ask for a monetary system that will place the people beyond the crushing reach of the monopolist, if to oppose monopoly and assert that the people of these United States should constitute the governing power, then the representative populist is a socialist.

Weaver received over 40,000 votes in North Carolina last November. Since that date the Farmers' alliance of the state has turned populist and many republicans are talking of throwing the old party vote into the people's party. If this is done, the state will go against the democracy by about 10,000. Thus it seems that both Virginia and North Carolina are in a fair way to fall into the hands of the new party.

Cleveland Citizen: The prohibitionists met in convention in this city this week and nominated a state ticket. The populists met at Columbus July 4 to nominate a ticket. The demands of these two parties are nearly identical, if the liquor question is excepted. Both are in favor of government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, government money and banks, and other reforms of like character, and there is small reason why they should not go together. Now socialize the traffic by state control and abolish profits.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

A Wall street firm of brokers pledged some Evansville and Terre Haute railroad stock quoted at 127, for a loan on call. The stock declined and the money was demanded. The brokers could not respond, and the stock was sold under the rule at 73, to Standard Oil men who were promptly elected directors of the road.

Golden State, Stockton, Cal.: "San Joaquin county needs irrigation. All her idle men need employment. All her business men need to supply them. This county could execute a note to the state due in nine years, say, for \$500,000 of said fund without interest! This money could be used to construct a system of canals that would cause every section of our county to leap forth under the glow of universal prosperity."

The Boston Herald makes the direct statement that a silver dollar is no longer of any use except as a token and that the repeal of the Sherman act without any supplementary legislation is the demand of the hour. As a silver token dollar will buy as much as a gold dollar and will pay

debts as well, why abandon it at a time of financial distress precipitated by a lack of money?

Indiana Phalanx: If the nationalization of the liquor traffic is the proper solution of this question, every voter should support the people's party, it being the special champion of that plan.

"It cannot be that these Leases and Diggsses and Cornings represent more than a small minority of the female sex of Kansas, and the real women of the state must at last come to the rescue, resist the rising tide of unfeminine demagoguery and save posterity from ignominious extinction. The fate of Kansas is clearly in the hands of those women whose voices have not yet been heard, and of the democratic party, and depends just now on the defeat of female suffrage and the populists." This is what the New York Times feels called upon to say concerning the political activity of women in Kansas, occasioned by the pending constitutional amendment giving the elective franchise to women. Female suffrage and populist principles are bound to triumph in Kansas nevertheless.

An eastern paper prints a column article headed "Favorable for the Farmers." From this it might seem that the worst of the mortgage business is over. "It is believed" says the article, "that the present situation is so much better than it was when foreclosures were thickest that the companies now carrying farms will find them profitable property, and that they will come out of their foreclosures, in the main, in good shape." This is favorable to the mortgagees, we should say, but not to the farmers of the West. Papers in various parts of Nebraska a month back, contain from three to five columns of sheriffs' sales and farm mortgage foreclosures.

Boston Herald: "The treasury is stronger than any bank, or indeed than all the banks put together. The bank notes circulate upon the credit of the government. The taker of the notes never looks to see what bank is responsible for their payment. If you were to tell him that its president was in jail and its cashier was in Canada, he would not care a copper. The bank notes pass on Uncle Sam's indorsement. It is a really comical feature of the situation that the government, instead of being paid by the banks for this guarantee, actually pays them, and quite handsomely, too, for the privilege of backing their paper."

The New York Voice: Few believe that the distribution of the mails should be done by other than the general government. Many American cities have their systems of lighting, owned and operated by the municipality; most of them have municipal water-works and municipal sewers. Some of us believe with Senator Edmunds in a governmental telegraph system; some of us believe in postal savings banks; some of us believe in enlarging the government's parcels post till we have a complete governmental express system and some of us believe that if the government can operate bankrupt railroads through receivers, to the advantage of the stock-holders and the public, it can operate railroads that are not bankrupt with equal success. All these beliefs are socialistic in their nature and are steps toward a complete socialism.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Illinois.

Marengo, Ill., is to vote on the question of issuing bonds for the establishment of a public electric lighting plant.

The city council of Rochelle has passed an ordinance appropriating \$10,000 for the purpose of constructing, and operating an electric light plant; the city to issue one hundred \$100 bonds, bearing six per cent interest.

Indiana.

Indianapolis Journal: The enormous profit made by the owners of street-railway franchises in all large cities shows that their value is only appreciated by experts in the business. No growing city has ever yet put a price on one of these that capitalists have not been ready to jump at it, and in no instance have they failed to make large profits on their investment. This is a strong argument in favor of cities owning and controlling their own street-railway plants.

Washington.

Washington Populist, Spokane: Now that the city owns its water system and power it should take up the question of municipal ownership of the electric light system and get ready to adopt it next spring. The Populist proposes to fight this proposition through to a successful issue.

Nebraska.

There is a growing belief in Omaha that the city should invest in a system of water-works. The Omaha Bee has for years looked upon municipal ownership with much favor and the labor organizations are also strong that way.

South Dakota.

J. R. Lowe, president of the South Dakota Farmers' alliance, in his address said: "Thought has been developing sharply along a new line during the last few years. Evolution through the acquirement of more knowledge has taken a step in advance towards the nationalization of the liquor traffic. The liquor business in this state lives owing to the avarice of mankind, the element of profit in this business inducing the more reckless to hazard the chance of detection and punishment because of the large profits gained in the sale of liquor. Eliminate the profit and you strike a fatal blow to the business; make it impossible for private citizens to make anything out of the prohibitory law or the municipality from filling its exchequer by winking at its violation, and you have driven a nail in the coffin lid of the liquor business that it will be hard to overcome."

Miscellaneous.

Even the dealers in stocks are coming to think that something is very wrong in the system. Witness this passage from a private circular sent out by a broker's agency to customers: "It is the system under which the world is doing business which has outgrown its usefulness and is so rotten as to require fresh patching all the time; a patch here and a patch there fails to strengthen the main fabric and soon becomes so useless as to require another. If anyone is inclined to feel that the co-operative system in place of the

present competitive system would not work, let us ask him to answer the question honestly: does the present one work, and if it does not, why is it not going to grow worse with the natural increase of population until it must of absolute necessity give way to something better."

The assault of Reading officials upon New England forced the New York, New Haven and Hartford road to absorb the Old Colony. Then followed the disorderly retreat of Reading. The public is now given to understand that powerful railroad interests are banging away at Reading for the purpose of absorbing it. Eventually, it may be inferred, Reading will drop into the Vanderbilt basket.

Northwestern Tribune-Rural, Spokane, Wash.: From the present political parties, from the present religion must arise a grander, nobler, purer, refined manhood. And the present order of things will be but the manure out of which shall grow and develop the new race. We are unconsciously marching to a diviner civilization. Edward Bellamy may yet live to see, in some measure at least, his plan of human life fulfilled.

When the National Cordage company, popularly known as the cordage trust, collapsed, there were no end of editors pointing to the wreck as an evidence that the trust is not workable and must fall by its own weight. The fact is that the cordage trust did not include a certain very powerful cordage interest and was thrown down by competition. From reports of the negotiations now going on it is apparent that a new trust including the Waterbury interests is destined to rise on the ruins of the first trust; and if the word of the promoters can be relied upon, the prices for rope and binder twine will immediately be advanced from 8 1-2 cents to 11 cents per pound.

Foreign.

The Weiner Private Telegraph company has sold its Brunn exchange to the government of Berlin for 90,000 florins.

The town clerk of Birmingham, Eng., writing to a citizen of Boston says that the corporation owns baths, wash-houses, markets, industrial and technical schools, gas and water works and a considerable area of land in the center of the city.

Arthur Warren, writing from London to the Boston Herald, says: "Suppose the London common council some day began to utilize the enormous power of the Thames. There is force enough here to supply electrical light and heat to this metropolis of six million people. The Thames runs through the middle of the metropolitan area, so a work of this kind would be greatly simplified. Then what a change would come over London. We should get rid forever of the dismal smoke cloud which begrimes all things out door and in. The advances that science is making everywhere will very soon solve for us many of the hitherto inscrutable problems. Here is London with most superb opportunities in the midst of her own territory, and here the principle of communal action is beginning to receive practical application to an extent undreamed of hitherto by metropolitan communities elsewhere. These possibilities of the future are very likely to become actualities as soon as the socialistic spirit gets a little stronger hold upon the ratepayers. When public opinion is a little better prepared for public action this opportunity will, no doubt, be seized, and London will be lighted and heated by electrical currents obtained from dynamos driven by the Thames. The opportunity lies in the public ownership of this lighting, heating and power plant. Within a comparatively short time all the street railways in London will be owned and operated by the council."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

L. L. R. of Little Falls, Minn.: I am lost without the clear, able reasoning of The New Nation. The heaven is working out here.

Mrs. M. H. of Spokane Wash.: You will never know the comfort your journal brings to sore hearts in times that try men's souls.

I. E. H. of Ann Arbor, Mich.: The New Nation is the only thing of interest in the shape of a paper that I get.

W. D. H.: Send The New Nation to 15 people with my good will. I have just read the last number through with great delight and entire approval. Check for \$15 enclosed.

J. A. L. of Bright, Miss., forwards a well-filled petition for a government telegraph and telephone with the remark: "If I had time to carry the petition around I could get nearly all of the farmers to sign it."

"A Constant Reader" of Brooklyn, N. Y.: Enclosed please find \$1.0 for the missionary fund spoken of in your issue of July 15, to send packages of The New Nation for free distribution, where it will, in your judgment, do the most good.

J. L. G. of Lexington, Ore.: Herewith find enclosed 79 names on petition for the government control of telegraph and telephone. The good work is progressing splendidly in eastern Oregon. The state will carry a good people's party plurality for president in '96. The New Nation is invincible.

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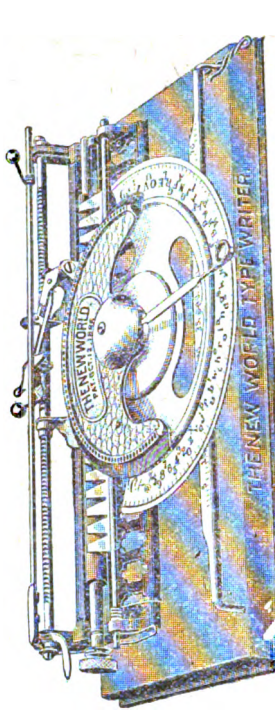
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This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

These are great days for making converts to nationalism. The dry weather is damaging other crops, but the hard times ought to give us a rousing crop of nationalists.

The "call" to the unemployed which led to last week's bread riot in New York contained some foolish utterances, but was dead right in saying that "such crises as now confront us are the natural outcomings of our unequal system of society."

We call the attention of our readers to the conversion of Controller Myers to public ownership of New York's rapid transit system. The occasion of this decision is the refusal of the Manhattan Elevated railway company to extend its lines on the terms offered it by the rapid transit commission. President Steinway of the rapid transit commission is with the controller on this issue. The New

York World, Recorder and News favor it, and if the commission realize the strength of the public ownership sentiment, we are convinced that it will at once mature plans for the building of the new routes by the city.

The mill owners of Fall River talk of suspending or else reducing wages 20 per cent. Half of them have already suspended and 15,000 operatives are on the street. Last year the mills declared 16 and 20 per cent dividends, but did not increase wages. The game they play with the operatives is "Heads I win, tails you lose." There is no use abusing the mill owners; the remedy is for the people to become the mill owners.

At Chautauqua the other day a socialist, invited to address the meeting, delivered an address bitterly denouncing the church for its subservience to capitalism. A clergyman tried to stop the speaker, but was himself sat upon by the audience, which insisted on hearing all the socialist had to say. The significance of this incident appears in the fact that the Chautauqua audiences are eminently religious and mainly church members. The fact is the church is on trial today as never before and its conscientious members feel it, and are willing to listen to even very hot words from honest men. We earnestly counsel nationalists everywhere to seek and to improve opportunities for bringing our ideas before religious bodies.

When the anti-trust convention met in Chicago, we called attention to the various interstate conferences in the West to consider questions that are purely economic. The government railroad convention was about assembling in Lincoln, Neb., and other interstate gatherings were announced. We now learn through the New York Times that a western and southern convention for a closer commercial union of western and southern states is proposed by Kansas state officials. Unequal economic conditions provoke such sectional combinations, and every patriotic inhabitant, particularly in the East, is under obligations, as he values his citizenship, to recognize the nature of the laws which are

turning the most wealthy of countries into a "garden and a grave."

In his Mansion House speech of London the 3d of the month, Mr. Balfour, leader of the British conservative party said: "I doubt whether there is a single economist of reputation, under 60 years of age, who will commit himself to the view that it is impossible to maintain the double standard; if there be such a man, I don't know his name." This is rather rough on the American professors of political economy who supposed they were following safe British lead in denouncing free silver coinage as a ridiculous impossibility. As some of them are under 60 years of age they cannot be "economists of reputation." As to the other, they may know more when they are older.

The One Great Moral of the Crisis.

In the midst of the private, personal, family and business anxieties which must needs press upon us all during this crisis, it is to be hoped that we are losing none of the points in the great object lesson it is from day to day affording of the crazy character of the world's business system. If in times of ordinary prosperity any of us from our observation of the way the world gets its work done, have been led to become nationalists, how strongly must the present spectacle tend to confirm our faith!

How strikingly for one thing does a business crisis bring out the fact that the state and course of production and distribution is essentially public business! In easy times a man may get into the habit of regarding his particular branch of industry or commerce as his own business, as a private concern, but how quickly do the first shocks of a great crisis take this conceit out of him by proving that his business is everybody's business and that everybody's business is his business and that the whole business fabric, far from being made up of disconnected parts, is a machine of which no part can get out of order without affecting more or less the other parts, and in which no serious disturbance can take place without stopping all the wheels! Surely when a man has come to see so clearly as all must in a time like this, the essentially public nature of the functions of the business system, it ought not be hard to make him admit that public control is the only proper way of administering it if accidents and break-downs are to be prevented. How would a ship sail, if instead of having one helm for the whole vessel, it had as many helms as sailors and each sailor was trying to steer a different course? For these many generations mankind has recognized that the public defense, by the means of diplomacy and war is essentially a public business, and instead of leaving this function to individuals to carry on, as once was done, it has been nationalized under a single control. But a war with Great Britain, France or any other country would not cost this country half the loss and suffering that a prolonged business crisis would. That is to say, the national defense against foreign nations is a far less important public interest than the regular and prosperous course of the industries and commerce by which our people live. If then we nationalize the public defense in order that it may be more

efficiently conducted, should we not much more nationalize the productive and distributive systems?

Were the business system once nationalized, the nation might, according to the course of the seasons and the varying bounty of nature, be more or less prosperous in different years, but the words "panic" and "crisis," as applied to commerce and industry, would drop out of the dictionary.

What the Iowa Prohibitionists Should Now Do.

The republican party of Iowa, after holding to prohibition as a party principle for many years and losing the state on that issue to the democracy three times running, has repudiated it. The state convention, held last week, adopted a plank declaring prohibition to be no longer a principle of the party. This has greatly angered the prohibitionists and they will do what they can to wreck the party by an organized bolt, but the party being already wrecked cannot suffer much more than it has. In any case the only result can be to secure a greater victory to the democratic party, which always opposes prohibition, so that under no circumstances can the latter policy gain anything. Our advice to our temperance friends in Iowa is to recognize the situation and push the idea of state management of the liquor traffic with local option as to prohibition. It is the only way to save anything from the wreck.

An Eye-opener for Opponents of Railroad Nationalization.

No lesson is so convincing as an object lesson, that is to say, a practical concrete illustration of an idea. Such an object lesson on the subject of national operation of the railroad system, is afforded by the recent nationalization of one of the great transcontinental railroad systems of the United States, the Northern Pacific. What! you had not heard of it? You should read the papers.

Last week Tuesday, the Northern Pacific railroad, for the second time in its history, passed into the hands of a receiver. That is to say, United States officials appointed by the federal judiciary, took entire charge of it and will continue for an indefinite time to operate it. So far as the conduct of the business of the road is concerned, it has been, that is to say, nationalized. The entire control and administration of all the details of the several departments of railroad operation, the passenger department, the freight department, the motive power department, the construction and repair departments, the paymaster department, with the appointment, dismissal and discipline of the vast body of employees, will be wholly in the hands of United States officials.

The only respect in which this national receivership of the road differs from its complete nationalization, is that the arrangement is to be temporary only, lasting until such time as the superior honesty and efficiency of government management shall have restored the losses and disorders resulting from its previous mismanagement by the directors and president, after which it will be restored to them or their successors to be wrecked over again.

Does anybody doubt the efficacy of this sort of treatment of sick railroads by the method of government management? Not at all. The most bigoted opponent of nationalism does not question it. It is the family remedy for rotten railroading in these United States, and hundreds of

railroad lines, raised up from beds of sickness, are living evidences of its efficacy. Neither Lydia Pinkham, Perry's Pectoral or Hood's Sarsaparilla can boast such an array of testimonials as the nationalization remedy for diseased railroads.

Need we insult the intelligence of our readers by pursuing the argument further? If national management succeeds with sick and broken down railroads, surely it ought to prove a triumph with well and healthy ones.

The next time you meet a man who doesn't believe in railroad nationalization, give him the receivership argument right between the eyes. It will open them. These fellows who oppose nationalism are not really so much stupider than the rest of us. They simply have never stopped to think.

Will the Leaders of Society Heed the Warning?

Last week there took place at New York a quite serious bread riot, in which 5000 men were engaged. It was the after-piece of a meeting at which resolutions were adopted reciting the misery of the unemployed multitudes of the city, calling for aid from the well-to-do, and meanwhile recommending concerted non-payment of rent as a slight relief to the sufferers. If the business crisis continues, this will prove to be but the first of many bread riots and far more serious ones that we shall see before snow flies, let alone the bitterer prospect of the winter.

This being so, it is suitable to consider how we should regard such demonstrations, what moral we should draw from them. They are undoubtedly violent outbreaks in breach of the peace, and the remedies proposed by the participants in them are usually crude and impracticable in a high degree. It is easy for the editor in his comfortable sanctum and the economist in his study chair to criticise the half frenzied doings and sayings of starving workingmen, but whose fault is it that it is left them to take the initiative in seeking a remedy for the breakdowns of the economic system?

With no wish to extenuate any violent acts or utterances on the part of the needy, we charge the responsibility for them home to the educated and wealthy classes, whose business it was and is to seek the social solution. If they who by their superior gifts are the responsible leaders of society refuse to apply their brains to the settlement of the social problem, it does not lie in their mouths to complain when the horny-handed toiler tackles that problem in the only way he knows, by main force.

Once more we repeat the warning we have often raised. There is time yet here in America to solve the economic problem peacefully, if the educated and wealthy will do their part. But there is not any time to waste. The sky darkens and the time is short. If they who should and might lead the way by peaceful methods to a better civilization see fit to let slip, as heretofore, the brief opportunity still left them, the guilt of their blood will be on their own heads when the storm breaks loose.

India May Soon Remonetize Silver.

If the complete demonetization of silver by Congress can be postponed a few weeks longer, as it certainly will be, it now looks as if India would be forced to remonetize the

metal, a step which would knock the main argument out from under the anti-silver crusade in this country. London dispatches state that the India council is meeting with complete failure in carrying out the financial program based on its demonetization of silver.

The entire British press is now discussing whether the whole demonetization policy was not a stupid blunder. The London Times says, "We fear that a majority of the council over-estimated the rapidity with which the cessation of coinage would begin to give the rupee monopoly value" and adds, "Perhaps the stoppage of minting in a year may produce some effect, but even that is in no way certain." The London Standard declares the whole Indian demonetization policy "a complete confession of failure seldom paralleled in the action of governments." The London Financial News says of the last step of the Indian council, "It virtually nullifies the step taken on June 26 [demonetization of silver], and logically must sooner or later lead to the question whether after all, it is not better for the Indian government to admit its blunder and reopen the mint."

Language of this sort from the leading papers of the great capital of gold mono-metallism must make the weak-kneed bi-metallists who allowed themselves to be stampeded by Indian demonetization, feel rather cheap.

Taking this news of the failure of demonetization in India, so soon following upon its attempt, in connection with the remarkably rapid recent growth of bi-metallic sentiment in England, as evidenced by the recent utterances of Mr. Balfour, leader of the tory party, Mr. Chaplin and others, it looks as if we might be upon the verge of a general reaction against the mono-metallic craze.

A Short Lesson in Political Economy.

Our esteemed contemporary the Boston Herald, argues that although other prices go down, owing to the appreciation of money or other cause, wages may not, because, it says, the rate of wages always depends upon the productivity of labor and nothing else. The Herald should confine itself to ridiculing "silver lunatics" and "western hay-seeds," at which it is proficient, and not venture into the field of political economy. The value of a worker's product has no direct or necessary bearing upon the proportion of that product which he receives as wages. What that is depends upon the pressure of competition for employment among workers. The wages are always as low as the employer can force them, by availing himself of that competition. Where labor is scarce wages may equal half or two thirds a given product by the worker; where labor is in excess of demand wages may be forced down to a third or a quarter of the same product. In an indirect way the productivity of labor does effect wages, but in an opposite way to that imagined by the Herald. If the product of labor is increased, as by machinery, so that less hands are needed, the effect, by increasing the competition for work, is to lower wages.

Twentieth Century: Some explanation is due, if the New York World tells the truth, of the action of the sub-treasury with over thirty-six million silver dollars in its vault, refusing a customer with several thousand dollar greenbacks to exchange them for silver at par. Who has 60 cent dollars for sale?

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

RAILROADS IN THE HANDS OF RECEIVERS.

The National Bank Monopoly. A Demand for Postal Savings Banks. Populists in Massachusetts. Note and Comment.

One can ride from the Atlantic to the Pacific or from the Gulf to Canada over railroads now in the hands of receivers. People in over 20 states can visit the world's fair over these roads which aggregate 17,000 miles of track, over one tenth of the mileage of the country.

These bankrupt roads were placed in receivers' hands because the roads were not run to suit the stockholders. Now why not put into receiver's hands those gilt-edged roads which are not run for the benefit of the people, the silent partners and patrons? It is high time for the silent partners to have their say.

"After the fashion of railway and manufacturing managers who are discharging their men," says a prominent operator, "the public is discharging its brokers. If business gets worse in the street, look out for bread riots in the stock exchange."

The national banks of a city are little less than branches of a common concern run by private persons for the benefit of themselves as against the public. There are 54 national banks in Boston. Two clerks from each institution repair daily to the clearing house with checks and drafts received by each on the other banks. The distributing clerks deliver these checks and drafts to the clerks of the banks on which they are drawn, and the receiving clerks then figure up how much money is due on these transactions, and leave the memoranda with the clearing house. At noon these balances must be deposited in cash at the clearing house and the creditor banks can then draw out the amounts. But between 10 o'clock, when the receiving and distributing clerks assemble and 12, when the balances are due, a committee of the clearing house meets and receives statements of banks which are not prepared to pay their balances. The committee accepts collaterals and issues clearing house certificates which serve as money. That is, the clearing house, an association of national banks, relieves any one bank from the necessity of paying its obligations to other banks of the association in cash on deposit of collaterals, each bank being as it were only a department in the business. But when money is tight, the various banks refuse to renew loans to their customers on collateral as good as that on which they secure credit at the clearing house. The theory of the national bank system is that it is established to accommodate the public. That theory is now exploded. We do not blame the bankers for making all the money the law allows, but why does the law allow it? Plainly because the

voters of this country do not stop to consider the question until a panic comes, and then it is too late.

The Chicago Express, which is now in the editorial charge of Henry Vincent, has the following to say about the right kind of confidence:

"There have been no runs on the post offices of the land. Postage stamps have neither risen or fallen in price. During the past month the money order departments have done an immense business, large sums (people would not entrust them with the banks) have been sent from town to town by government agency. One man at Indianapolis, during the flurry which recently overtook that city, sent \$700 by post office orders. 'What's up,' asked a bystander of him; 'are not banks good enough for you?' 'Just now,' responded the government patron, 'there is a sort of uncertain atmosphere pervading our banking institutions. This money must reach its destination immediately, and it must be money, not worthless bank drafts, when it arrives. I have faith in my government. It knows no runs.'

"He was right. A part of the government himself, he had unbounded confidence in it. He sent his money by post office order, knowing it would be perfectly safe. If we can trust the government with our money when desirous of having it sent to certain destinations, why can we not deposit funds with it with the same degree of safety? The present financial crisis has thoroughly demonstrated that the banks of the land provide unsafe places of deposits. Something better is required. Give the people government depositories."

Massachusetts Populists.

The people's party state central committee held a business meeting at the Quincy house, Boston, on the 18th. Several members were added to the committee and the political situation in the state discussed. It was decided to hold a mass convention of the party to nominate state officers for the November election at Lynn, September 6. Lesters' hall, where the convention will assemble, is on Andrew St. Time of meeting, 2 p.m. It was agreed by all the members that the present economic situation is very favorable for the agitation of populist principles, and the prospect is that the campaign will be vigorously prosecuted.

The Boston People's Party club at its last meeting at Marble hall 514 Tremont street, passed resolutions against the repeal of the Sherman silver purchasing law, as well as against granting the national banks an extension of power. Henry R. Legate delivered an address.

The Essex county committee is taking steps to raise money for the distribution of literature in those portions of the county not represented on the committee. Persons wishing to subscribe to this fund may address J. Whittier, Beverly, Mass. A meeting under the auspices of the committee will be held on the Common in Lynn on Labor Day. Henry R. Legate, E. Gerry Brown and others will speak.

The people's party of Haverhill, in convention on the 17th, elected the following committee: Ward 1, Thomas Tighe, G. Stevens; ward 2, J. W. Nason; ward 3, L. M. Scates, J. J. O'Shea; ward 4, C. O. Staples, P. B. Flanders; ward 5, James F. Carey, J. C. Bartlett, Chas. F. Kelly, John W. Kelly; ward 6, Chas. H. Bradley, Frank E. Giles, J. K. Harris. It was also voted to place a ticket in the field at the coming state and municipal elections, and an

earnest campaign will be fought. The club will soon secure headquarters.

New York Populists Hold a Convention.

The convention of the people's party assembled at Sylvan Beach on the 19th, and selected J. E. Dean of Honeoye Falls, permanent chairman. The resolutions gave rise to a spirited debate, and after a thorough canvass of the subject an exceedingly good platform was adopted. It ratifies the Omaha platform, demands free coinage of silver at the present legal ratio, the construction of public works for the unemployed, including a public rapid transit system for New York city, enforcement of the eight hour law, state or municipal ownership of street railways, gas and electric light plants, the initiative and referendum, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes and the "state ownership of the liquor traffic with the elimination of all profit." The following ticket was nominated: Secretary of state, James Wright of Elmira; controller, D. M. S. Fero of Glens Falls; treasurer, F. H. Purdy of Bluff Point; attorney general, Thaddeus B. Wakeman of New York; engineer and surveyor, J. Averit Webster of New York; judge of court of appeals, Lawrence J. McParlan of Buffalo.

Nationalists to the Core.

At a regular meeting of the Oak Valley (Neb.) Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union on the 5th, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That we approve of the plan of Eltwood Pomeroy of New Jersey for propaganda work, as set forth in *The New Nation* in its issue of July 21, or some better plan, and further

"Resolved, that we desire to be read and known of all men that we are nationalists in the strongest sense that that term implies, and further, we deem it a pleasure to stand by and be counted with that rising and advancing army of human progress which is destined to sweep away the accumulated rubbish that has come down to us from the dark ages. Put us down as workers to help snap asunder the meshes that are holding the human race to cruel conditions."

Why the World's Fair is a Failure?

"I have just read a press dispatch" writes an Iowa subscriber, "which states that the attendance at the world's fair is fearfully disappointing and the financial success of the fair is in deadly peril. Why? Because (1) the shrinkage of assets makes it impossible for thousands and thousands of persons who desire to visit the great fair to realize the necessary cash. They can neither sell their commodities nor borrow money. (2) The big railroad corporations refuse to make substantial reductions to the people. Thousands can charter a train to attend a prize fight at New Orleans cheaper than the millions who desire to attend the fair. If the people controlled these great rail highways, they could transport themselves from New Orleans to Chicago and return for \$15 a head and make money. 'What fools we mortals be!'"

Wages and Private Telegraph.

"Recent events" observes the *New England Telegraph*, which believes in the government ownership of the tele-

graph, "have proved quite conclusively that the Western Union has, and sometimes exercises, the power to prevent a discharged employee from again securing employment, either in railroad or commercial service. It is well known that the Postal Telegraph company has an understanding with the Western Union company, that it is pledged not to cut rates or do any one of many other things that might benefit the public instead of the telegraph companies. Among telegraphers it is also well known that the Postal company often refuses to employ a discharged employee of the Western Union who has no letter of recommendation from the company discharging him. The knowledge of these facts can produce but one conclusion in the thoughtful mind,—these two companies must also have an agreement as to the joint use of the black-list, the amount of wages, number of hours, etc. In other words, the telegrapher must sell his services in a market that is in the entire control of one purchaser. He must sell there or go out of the business. Is it to be wondered at that salaries are low?"

Note and Comment.

National Spectator: Nationalize banks. Nationalize the gold and silver mines. Demonetize silver. Demonetize gold. Restore to the people their constitutional rights, and let the schemers hustle. Bees get rid of their drones every August. Let the people be wiser still, and banish their drones for all time.

Topeka Advocate: There was a law passed by the last Legislature requiring all railroads in Kansas to put in scales on or before July 1, 1893, suitable to weigh grain in carload lots, at all stations from which 100 cars or more of grain were shipped in 1892. In not a single instance have roads complied with the law. Still people talk about control of railroads. The way to control them is to own them, and that is the only way.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

A Boston merchant sends us a returned letter which he directed to Broadway, New York, without a number. The letter came back with the post mark of every station the whole length of Broadway and a form filled out by the various postmasters detailing the search. The merchant in his communication to us writes as follows: "I present the inclosed as a neat epitome upon nationalized industry. It is an excellent every-day illustration of the trouble men will go to to furnish good service when no profit is involved. How many us have had experiences with the anxiety of corporate express companies to accommodate the public in similar cases."

The Nebraska state labor congress, which recently met at Lincoln, is a sign of the times. Trade unions and Knights of Labor met in perfect harmony and their platform included the cream of the public ownership propositions that nationalists are pushing to the front. The next step of organized labor will be to capture seats in the Legislature. At the next congress, the farmers will be asked to attend, and the states will then be turned over to the producers. The wage-worker, farmer and ballot make a bad combination for the monopolist.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

New York.

Controller Myers of New York has become a convert to the public ownership of the elevated roads of the metropolis. He says: "If the cost of the road were to be 50 million dollars, the interest charge to private construction would be two and a half millions a year, but only one million and a half to the city. The result of this would inevitably be that the road could be better constructed, its service would be more satisfactory, and its profits would be proportionately greater than would be possible if it were built by private enterprise. It is, of course, idle to expect capitalists to enter the field otherwise than selfishly and with a view exclusively to profits; the city, on the other hand, could look solely to the welfare of the travelling public, and on such a road every citizen must necessarily be a patron. Such a system would undoubtedly prove highly profitable to the city, and its profits could be utilized either by their reception into the general fund for the reduction of taxation, or the formation of a sinking fund, which would quickly wipe out the cost of construction and make the road a free gift to the city inside of 25 years, or by a reduction of the fares, to, say, three cents, which would prove an inestimable boon to the community at large. If special legislation is all that is requisite, the Legislature would undoubtedly yield to the popular demand and give us the necessary laws within the first week of its session. If an amendment to the constitution be necessary, it is our good fortune that a constitutional convention is about to assemble, and there can be no doubt but that the clause limiting the indebtedness of cities could be easily amended so as to yield an exception to the extraordinary necessities of the hour." Mayor Gilroy quite agrees with the controller that the time has come to cut loose from the Manhattan Elevated railroad company and, if necessary, develop a rapid transit system to be owned and operated by the city.

Massachusetts.

A petition is being circulated in Chelsea for the establishment of an electric lighting plant to be owned and operated by the city. Two mayors have recommended municipal lighting, and pressure will be brought to bear upon the city government to take this question up.

Ohio.

The Cleveland Leader has created considerable talk in the state by coming out in favor of the establishment of postal savings banks.

Indiana.

The socialists have entered the municipal campaign on a platform which contains this plank: The municipalization of the undertaking service and establishment of a crematory.

Wisconsin.

The new platform of the state federation of labor declares that "all railroads, telephones and telegraphs should be owned by the government and operated by the people and street railways, gas, electric light, water supply plants, etc., should be, wherever located. If labor had free access to the resources of nature, most of its ills which beset it would

vanish. We declare our opposition to private ownership of the soil and the mines, and believe the government should control all the resources of nature. We favor the adoption of the initiative and referendum system of making laws and believe that the whole people and not corrupt bodies of professional politicians should enact our laws."

Miscellaneous.

Pittsburg Kansan: The granting of franchises by cities to private corporations is a supreme act of municipal stupidity, speaking mildly. By way of illustration we clip the following from the Chicago Daily Globe of August 15: "The total value of the street railway franchises in this city is \$75,250,000, divided as follows: North Chicago, \$16,250,000; West Chicago, \$27,000,000; South Chicago (city railway), \$24,500,000 and Alley "L" \$7,500,000." If anything can open the eyes of an outraged, wronged and robbed people to the necessity of municipal ownership of street railways surely this story of Chicago's experience ought to do it.

Though the National Wall-paper trust has been in existence only a little over a year it has secured a great part of the wall-paper trade, and within the last few weeks it has made a move that will practically wipe out of existence 50 of the largest and best known wall-paper jobbers in this country. At a recent meeting it was decided to send out a circular to the retailers all over the country, offering them inducements to deal directly with the manufacturers and not through the middlemen. This circular stated that if the retailer would buy for one year all his wall-paper from the trust, then the National Wall-paper company would pay to the purchaser on Aug. 1, 1894, 20 per cent of the net amount of his purchase. The scheme was sprung on the jobbers without any warning. When they gave their orders for the coming year, as they had done in years past, they were told quietly that they would not be allowed to buy any goods and that the best thing they could do would be to go out of business. One of these jobbers went into the office of the trust in New York city while a number of directors were there and asked what he would be able to do. "Oh," said one of the directors, "we'll buy your old stock and take your drummers and put them on the road." All that the trust will allow the jobbers to do if they wish to exist is to operate little retail stores, and they must throw overboard the business that probably took years and years to build up. There are 50 large and well-established houses in the United States that may be said to deserve the name of representative wall-paper jobbing houses. Unless the plans of the trust fail, there will not be one of them in existence in three years. The majority of them will be wiped out long before that. The National Wall-paper company has a capital of 38 million dollars.

Foreign.

It has been asked why the Austrian state railways do not make as good a showing as the Hungarian roads, under the zone system and state ownership. This is because Austria has not yet acquired a large enough percentage of roads to make the trial a fair one. The process of absorption is now going on. The length of lines owned by the state in Austria is 6637 kilometers, privately owned lines worked by the state 1645 kilometers, privately owned and conducted lines 7668 kilometers. A kilometer is the .621 of a mile. In Hungary privately owned lines are only 2143 kilometers in length. Hungary has also the advantage of having as its minister of commerce M. Baross, the originator of the zone tariff system. He has not only reduced government railroading to a system, but has taken it practically out of politics. This cannot be said of the Austrian railroads. As several of these private roads are in a fair way to fall into the hands of the state, the motive for the exploitation of railroads by politicians will be removed.

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

W. S. D. of Dollarville, Mich.: I herewith inclose N. Y. exchange for \$25, for which please to send for three months The New Nation to as many names as the money will buy. Pick out the names yourself and try to expend the money for the best interests of the cause of nationalism.

C. R. T. of Orange, Mass.: Please add inclosed dollar to your missionary fund.

B. A. L. of Florence, Ala.: I hope by the end of the year The New Nation shall have resumed its original size. It is too bad to have so good a champion of reform cut short.

E. P. W. of North Acton, Mass.: My renewal of subscription to your paper is the greatest compliment I can pay you, for I am one of the sufferers from the present system.

M. W. F. B. of Alameda, Cal.: Your work is more important than that of a university, at present, and I wish some one who has more means than he has a right to have today would endorse your work for the good of all the people.

G. W. M. of Ventura, Cal.: Find inclosed 200 names to government telegraph and telephone petition. I spent a couple of hours to get signatures. Only three persons refused. The demand in the West is all but universal and urgent. We need industrial freedom as well as political freedom. Our cause is growing.

Mrs. M. F. S. of Deer Lodge, Mont.: I hereby send a list of 400 names on the government telegraph and telephone petition. As there are only 600 voters in Deer Lodge, there are more than a majority on the petition. President James Reid of the college of Montana and nearly all the professors of that institution have signed. Mayor Brazelton, the sheriff and under sheriff and deputies and the leading business men have also signed. I trust this list will accomplish as much as McAllister's 400.

POPULISTS!!

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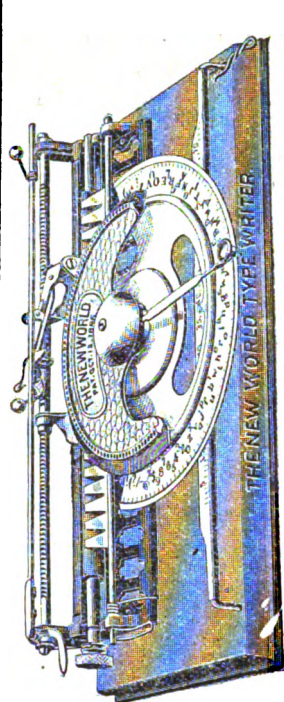
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This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

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Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF
THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

Representative Bynum of Indiana, who has gone over to the gold party, says that his free-coinage speech in 1891 was due to his having dined too well. That is not so good an excuse for advocating free-coinage as some millions of unemployed men have, namely, that they have not dined at all.

The Springfield Republican rebukes the Boston Pilot for commenting in a caustic manner upon the reported payment of \$125 by one of the Vanderbilts for a dog collar, while men and women are rioting for bread in the city of New York where the proprietors of the dog live. The Republican is wrong, dead wrong, and the Pilot right. We wish always to avoid criticizing individuals, but there is nothing on this earth so wicked as luxurious living and waste in the face of misery. It was for indulgence in that, accord-

ing to Jesus Christ, that Dives, having died and been buried awoke "in torment."

The railroads have no difficulty in offering one cent a mile rate to delegates to the G. A. R. convention at Indianapolis. This is practically one fare for the round trip. If such a rate had been made in June to Chicago, the world's fair would have been a success, and the railroads would not have had to keep so many cars idle. Some young men in Bordentown, N.J., recently hired a freight car and furnished it with bunks and a cooking stove, and "freighted" themselves to Chicago for \$10 each. Our privately-owned railroads will treat people as cattle so long as the people are willing to submit. Permit us to inform the young men of Bordentown that in Hungary, where two thirds of the railway mileage is owned and operated by the government, the fare on a government road in a palace car for a distance equal to that from Bordentown, N.J. to Chicago is \$5, and even at that the state receives a revenue of about three million dollars from its railroad investments. In 1890 it was \$2,916,300, and the revenue has steadily increased since that date. The Bordentown people would resent the insinuation that America was behind Hungary in intelligence, and yet, which is the most reasonable, riding in a freight car for \$10, or in a palace car for \$5? There are certain phases of private ownership of transportation in this country that bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every American. And that isn't the worst of it,—we forget our blushes on election day. Is it not pardonable to paraphrase a saying of Carlyle,—America is a nation of 65 million people,—mostly fools?

The Defeat of Free Coinage and the People's Party.

The Wilson bill, repealing the silver purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman law, after two weeks debate, passed the House of Representatives on Monday of this week by a vote of 240 to 110, being a majority for repeal of 130. Before taking the final vote the House rejected successive propositions for free coinage at the ratio of 1 of gold to 16 of silver, 1 to 17, 1 to 18, 1 to 19 and 1 to 20, and also a

bill to re-enact the old Bland-Allison bill. The friends of bi-metalism had admitted the probability of repeal by the House, but the size of the majority far exceeds either their apprehensions or the expectations of the gold party. There is no use denying that the white metal has received a black eye. Whether the Senate will follow this by a knock down blow, remains to be seen, but it is certain that the chances for repeal in the upper house have been decidedly increased by the unexpectedly large majority for that policy in the House of Representatives.

The right of the matter and the weight of the arguments have been overwhelmingly on the side of the bi-metallic party, but the other fellows controlled the votes, which the previous record of the men casting them clearly shows in many instances, could not have been conscience votes.

Should the Senate coincide with the House and the repeal become a law, the event, however regrettable, should in no way discourage the people's party. Its effect will merely be to necessitate a re-arrangement of the line of battle in view of the changed conditions.

If this law is repealed, it is certain that while Cleveland wields the veto there will be no use expecting money remedies for the people. We must concentrate our efforts upon the work of wresting from the grasp of monopoly the productive and distributive machinery of the country, by the nationalization of the means of communication and transportation to begin with, and in their order of all the other businesses upon which the livelihood and therefore the liberty of men depend.

Practical Questions About Railroad Nationalization.

The university of Wisconsin Athenæ joint debate for 1894, the forensic event of the university year, is to be upon the following theme and conditions:

"Would national ownership and operation of the railroads in the United States be preferable to ownership and operation by private corporations?"

It being conceded: (1) that the change can be made constitutionally and legally, and at a cost not to exceed six billion dollars, which is assumed to be just and reasonable compensation; (2) that all government railroad officials and employees shall be appointed and promoted upon a basis of business efficiency only. (This concession to be construed as restricting neither the form, nor mode of appointment of the central administrative authority.)

This is clear except the last clause, in parenthesis, which we do not quite understand the meaning of. As we look at it, under a proper plan any branch of the civil service (of which the railroads would be a part, if they were nationalized) should be divided as to the personnel into the ministerial and discretionary classes. Ninety-nine out of a hundred and more of the public employees, would belong to the class of ministerial officials, because their duties would be performed according to routine or prescribed rules. All these should not be "appointed" at all, but certificated to their positions upon meeting certain conditions of fitness or service. They should thank nobody for their places and fear nobody's influence as a cause of displacement, so long as they did their duty. They should be as secure in their tenure as the president of the United States, or any judge, "during good behavior," being, however, held to strict discipline and always liable to suspension pending trial of charges brought.

There would remain a few offices, headships of depart

ments and especially important bureaus, upon whom large discretionary functions devolve. This is the only class to which the appointive idea should apply. The English civil service, which includes a nationalized telegraph, already pretty well realizes this ideal. It was said during the last parliamentary campaign that Gladstone, if he became premier, though he might change the course of the empire, would be able to cut off only 65 official heads.

A correspondent from the Wisconsin university writes us making a couple of inquiries with reference to the proposed debate. He says:

If the government owned the railroads, would it be just to the commercial interests of the country to adopt a tariff schedule, proportionally lower for long than for short distances, but the same for all sections of the country? For example, the same rate per-ton-mile on a road like the New York Central, going through a thickly-settled country and affected by water competition, as on such a system as the Great Northern, running through an undeveloped country, unaffected by water competition, or would the government be compelled to recognize commercial advantages and shape their rates accordingly?

When the business system of the country shall have been completely nationalized, it may be that the better way will be to adopt a uniform rate, according to the example of the postal service, but to propose this in connection with the introduction of nationalization might needlessly complicate the problem of government management. Possibly the wiser plan in introducing the system might be to base schedules upon the plan of making each line pay for its own operation. This, however, is a question of expediency merely.

It will be observed that the problem in this respect is not at all different in character, but only in proportions from that which every railroad system has now to meet. No two parts of any system, scarcely any two miles indeed, are equally profitable, but it is the object of the management to make the system as a whole pay expenses. This on a larger scale is the same problem that national management would have to meet, and the larger the scale the easier it will be to work out the result, because the elements in the problem under a central control could be made to work together instead of, as now, working at cross-purposes.

Our correspondent instead of seeing that the central control of all the elements in the problem would favor a correct solution, seems to find a difficulty in that direction. He says:

Could any commissioner or cabinet minister, under government ownership, attend to all the difficult matters connected with the making of rates and the general superintendence over our 170,000 miles of railroad?

The Northern Pacific railroad has just gone into the hands of the United States government by a receivership and will be managed exclusively by its appointees until restored to good condition. Every road that goes into the hands of a United States receiver is a complete answer to every practical argument against the feasibility of railroad nationalization. The question whether the details of railroad administration could be attended to by the government is no question. They are so attended to every time a railroad goes into the hands of the federal judiciary as a receiver.

As to the difficulties of the job being increased by including all the roads under the receivership, it would be vastly

decreased thereby. Centralization reduces complexity; concentration spells simplicity.

Of course no secretary or commission could personally supervise the details of a national railroad system the size of ours, any more than the president can supervise the details of the work done by the 150,000 present national employees. Nobody, however, seriously proposes to reduce the size of the United States and multiply the presidents on the ground that the smaller the systems the better the administration would be. On that theory Rhode Island would be the best managed of our states, but in point of fact it is about the worst managed.

We should like to take a hand personally in the university of Wisconsin debate.

The New and the Old Lock Horns in France Also.

The just concluded parliamentary electoral campaign in France was as significant in its way of the amazing advance of the socialist movement as were the recent Reichstag elections in Germany. In France, precisely as in Germany, it was expected that the issues in the election would be quite other from the socialist question. In Germany it was supposed that the army bill would be the main issue, and in France, the Panama scandals and divers other matters. But in the one country, just as in the other, when the campaign fairly opened, the issue of socialism against conservatism swallowed up the others.

As the tremendous vote of the German socialists, over two million, was made up of a variety of discontented elements, not strictly socialistic, but willing to accept the socialistic leadership, so it was in France. Around a group of radical socialists rallied many bodies of radicals more or less extreme, but agreeing in the general policy of extending state functions as opportunity may serve, into the field hitherto occupied by the individual initiative of capital. Logically speaking, this policy leads to the adoption of the complete collectivist ideal, or nationalism, and the more intelligent of the French socialists, realizing this, are glad to act in co-operation with it, following in this respect the same policy adopted by the German socialists in Germany, and the American nationalists toward the people's party.

The French elections reproduced another feature of the German campaign in the fact that the formidable aspect of the socialistic combination had the immediate effect of strengthening the conservative party by scaring the timid into its ranks. This accounts for the great vote of the republicans. On the one hand, the monarchists and monopolists rallied to this party as the best basis for organizing resistance to the socialistic advance. For the same reason various other minor factions went the same way, the result being an overwhelming republican majority in the new Parliament and the appearance there on the other hand, of a compact body of 30 socialist-radical deputies, likely to be increased somewhat on the second ballots. The only other two factions are the so-called conservatives and the conservative allies, which will act with the republicans. That is to say, the monarchists have disappeared from French politics and there are left only two real parties, the republicans and the socialists, the defenders of the present social order and the advocates of a radically different one.

As in Germany, so now in France, the issue is fairly

joined between the past and the future, and from now on it will be a fight to the finish.

The New York Tribune's Paris correspondent, commenting on this political and parliamentary confrontation of the socialistic party and the combined forces of conservatism in France, says:

What is instructive in all this is that the same thing may happen in other countries, when least expected. There, too, social difficulties are brought up for the decision of universal suffrage in connection with the necessities of political parties. The French voter may be more logical, impulsive, revolutionary; and the Englishman or American more practical, time-serving and law-abiding. But the human mind, under the pressure of the same ideas and motives, will eventually work the same the world over.

This is well said. The issue now joined in Germany and France will soon be joined in every civilized land. The past will lock horns with the future, the old with the new; the day will face the night. Already this situation is distinctly foreshadowed in America by the rise of the people's party with its nationalistic spirit and program, which with every successive convention and platform grows more radical. In the congressional elections of 1894, whatever other issues politicians may try to bring forward, the predominant one will be the question whether we shall go forward toward nationalism or not.

If that takes place, it would not be surprising if we witnessed just such a stampede of the conservatives as has happened in Germany and France this summer, and saw the American Congress assemble in 1895 with several factions perhaps, but only two parties, the demo-republican-conservative party on the one hand, and the nationalist-populist-radicals on the other.

C. L. Weeks, writing The New Nation from Chicago, says: "In the fisheries building at the world's fair, may be seen a placard referring to Gloucester, Mass. The following is copied from it. 'It's fishing, conducted as a co-operative industry from the start, was the first and is now the largest industry in the United States, if not in the world, where the employee shares with the employer in the proceeds of industry in lieu of wages.' It was like finding an oasis in a desert, to meet the above in an atmosphere so saturated with commercialism as is that of the world's fair. Profit sharing is a long way from nationalism, but it is refreshing in these mercenary days to hear of any scheme which contemplates 'proceeds of industry in lieu of wages.'"

United States Senator White has introduced a bill repealing the Sherman anti-trust act and giving a new legal definition of a trust, viz.: "Two or more persons having a common interest in suppressing competition, raising prices or transportation charges, or limiting, decreasing or controlling competition. Such combinations are declared illegal and provision for their perpetual injunction is made." This will interest Attorney General Olney, who believes the Sherman act unconstitutional.

Boston Transcript: If there could be some means provided whereby the people might declare themselves on a given question, it would be a gain in the direction of good government and good sense. If the referendum and initiative will help toward the finding of these means, they are worth looking into.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE OLD PARTIES FUSE AGAIN.

A Lawyer on the Judiciary. Eastern Attitude toward the West. Populist Convention in Mass. Note and Comment.

Dispatches from Kansas say that in scores of counties the republican and democratic committees will unite in the autumn elections to put down the populists, if they can. In Seward county, the central committees of the two old parties recently met and agreed upon a call for a joint convention in the town of Liberal today, to nominate a fusion ticket.

The call for this republican-democratic convention recites that it is time for all law-abiding citizens in Kansas to come together on a "broad, patriotic basis" and unite in a solid phalanx against the "onward march of anarchy and disorder that threaten to destroy the credit and good name of Kansas."

The old parties in Kansas are doing publicly what the leaders in the East have been doing for some time, — beating back the sentiment of reform by union of forces. Not only in Kansas but all through the West, republicans and democratic apologists of private monopoly will join hands. It is their only hope, and that a desperate one, to keep the people's party out of power. The revival of fusion in the West is a sign that should gladden the heart of every populist. The leaders may fuse their committees but they can't fuse the people.

We make a special appeal to all populists in Massachusetts to make it a point to attend the populist convention at Laster's hall, Lynn, next Wednesday. A full state ticket will be put in the field for the third time in this state and with brighter hopes than in former years. The electors in the Old Bay State are beginning to realize that the old parties do not intend to legislate for the average man. The habit of throwing votes away upon democrats and republicans is breaking up. Populist meetings this summer have been notably well attended; inquiries for literature are pouring in from all sides. The campaign in this state promises to be a lively one, and we trust that the Massachusetts convention at Lynn will be well represented from all parts of the state. The people must work out their own salvation; beneficiaries of the present economic system will not do it for them.

Judge S. D. Thompson, editor of the American Law Review of St. Louis, asks in his magazine, whether the corporations are to rule the state or the state the corporations?

In speaking of the growth of private corporations he says:

"At every step in this baleful progress, corporations have the aid of the only branch of our national government which is non-elective, which is in no practical sense responsible to

the people or to any one for its acts, and which is totally out of touch with the people in its sympathies,—the federal judiciary. Individual members of that judiciary have struggled for popular right, but they have been overborne by the general current. Jurisdiction has been seized on casuistic pretenses; the right of trial by jury has been set aside by vast reaches of country; the courts have gone into the business of common carrier; the by-laws of the corporations have over-topped, in the judicial estimation, the legislation of states which were once called sovereign; and constitutional ordinances, earned on the field of battle and intended as charters of human liberty, having been turned into the shield of incorporated monopoly. The barons of corporate power, outrivaling in wealth and splendor the merchant kings of Venice, have purchased of venal legislators seats in the Senate of the United States, and have found no difficulty in placing their allies on the judicial bench."

The weakness in Judge Thompson's indictment is that he manages to applaud the very system that has led to the growth of corporations. He regrets to find among the people "wild and idiotic schemes of relief through the assistance of the government." He ought to realize that if every corporation were obliterated in the land and every monopolistic judge retired, and private competition in business retained, the country in 20 years would again be roofed with trusts. It is remarkable that so shrewd an observer as Judge Thompson should be content to complain of the quality of the output of the mill of commerce, so to speak, and not see that the trouble is with the mill itself. Even handed justice under private competition is a walking absurdity and no bench of judges can make it appear otherwise.

Many judges recognize this thoroughly, as the decisions in recent labor troubles fully show. The government is indeed becoming a common carrier, and is doing the business of the people upon principles that the supreme court of the United States has pronounced good law.

Good Work in Ashland.

"People in this town are ready and willing to read people's party news" writes an Ashland (Mass.) correspondent. "We meet in a printing office, talk and exchange papers and books. I contribute The New Nation, and it is read by from 30 to 50 veterans every week. Our vote in this town last November was 13. We will increase it to one half the vote of the town if this business depression holds much longer."

Concerning the West.

"Eastern newspapers" says the Springfield Republican, "should be more careful than they have been to gather information that is just, truthful and complete concerning the people of the West. A misunderstanding between sections is deplorable, if anything is in national affairs, and sometimes leads to lamentable results. This is a very great country, but it is not so large that the inhabitants or different sections cannot understand each other, respect each other's opinions and work for the good of all." This leads the Boston Traveller to say: "The contemptuous summing up of the rank and file of this (populist) party as

ignorant revolutionists, led on by a handful of blatherskites to the repudiation of their debts and the plunder of the national treasury, has been a common characterization in the East. Many people here of more than average intelligence and well-informed in regard to the social conditions of Siberia or India, have displayed a lack of knowledge of their fellow-Americans on the other side of the Mississippi which could hardly be exceeded in darkest Africa. When the strongest republican district in the Union — a district which returned Knute Nelson, the present governor of Minnesota, to Congress by a majority exceeding the total vote cast for Georgia's seven Congressmen — passed over at one jump to the populist side, there was a condition revealed which called for the most careful insight and consideration rather than for an outcry of disgust and alarm, coupled with an affected or stupid pooh-poohing of the actual force of the change. In place of real news and accurate and unbiased descriptions of events and tendencies in the West, we got, as the Springfield Republican says, ridiculous stories about Simpson's lack of socks, Peffer's whiskers and Mrs. Lease's vocabulary. It is, indeed, high time, if this country is to be preserved from section misunderstanding and enemies, that the actual situation, temper, reasoning and character of the western and southern farming communities should be accurately comprehended in the East, and the news of the East should likewise be stated in a way to win the fraternal consideration of the grangers."

"Silver Lunatics" in the British Parliament.

It so happened that on the day President Cleveland sent his anti-bi-metalism message to Congress, a debate on bi-metalism took place in the British House of Commons, brought on by the difficulties arising from the demonetization of silver in India. Mr. Chaplin, who was president of the board of agriculture in Lord Salisbury's cabinet, spoke of the Indian demonetization as follows:

By a single stroke the government has depreciated by 15 per cent the value of the silver held by the by the population of India. A more flagrant act of public plunder has never been committed by a civilized government. The result has been a convulsed financial situation from China to Peru. If the repeal by the American Congress of the Sherman act should become inevitable, it would be partly due to the error that has been committed in India. . . . The government must be held responsible. Their action could not fail to appreciate gold throughout the world, while increasing commercial difficulties everywhere.

Mr. Balfour, leader of the English conservative party, followed this speech, with one in which he said of the action of the Indian council in demonetizing silver that "the government had been driven to commit a financial crime." Speaking later on the same subject, Mr. Balfour in his Mansion House speech, said of the general demonetization of silver, that the ultimate result would be "a slow appreciation of the standard of value, which is perhaps the most deadening and benumbing influence that can touch the enterprise of a nation."

Note and Comment.

The populists held a meeting at Georgetown, Mass., Tuesday night. There was a good attendance. Speeches were made by J. K. Harris, J. T. Pomeroy and James Carey, members of the Haverhill People's Party club.

Senator Hoar scored the populists the other day as

"harpies that delight in the misery of the people." The Massachusetts statesman carries his love for the people to the extent of covering up the ugly fact of popular distress and returns to his old habit of defending the theories of private monopoly. The unhappy producer may well say to him:

Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
But why did you kick me down stairs?

The Iowa democracy favors a free public employment bureau. But who is going to do the employing? The demand for work in New York city is becoming loud enough for the politicians to hear it distinctly, and that is saying a good deal. The attitude of the rapid transit commission on the question of public ownership of the Elevated railway furnishes one method of setting men at work. Plans for an extension of the system have been matured by the commission. Now let the city solve the transit question and relieve labor at one stroke.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

A New Jersey correspondent writes: "The railroads which pass into the hands of the government, by being placed under the management of a person appointed by the court, should become government roads upon payment of the price which it is worth when the private management throws up the sponge. Is there no one in Congress who will act in such a matter?"

The electric light company at Atlanta, Ga., recently loaned the city \$25,000 for four months to help meet maturing obligations. The Constitution of that city commends the electric company for this voluntary act at a time when it was almost impossible for the city to raise the money. It may be added that the company is doing a staving business furnishing power to mill owners. If Atlanta will continue to permit such a valuable franchise to be exploited by private parties, the latter will only be too happy to loan the city money, and incidentally the city will be more and more a servant of the monopolists that live off of the city's ill-advised liberality.

The Boston stock exchange is following the example of New York and putting under a ban those members who are "offering to make bets reflecting upon the credit of certain corporations." Stock exchanges are on the bull side of the market and the innocent investor must pay the shot.

A Boston stock operator says that if the Western Union would bury its wires and use the patents locked up in its vaults, the storm of this week would not have seriously interrupted its business. He continues: "Stronger arguments in favor of placing the telegraphic system in the hands of the government where it properly belongs and where as an adjunct of the mail service which as a means of more speedy communication it really is, could not be adduced. Steps in this direction are already in progress and we believe that the time is not distant when the people of this country will look with as little favor upon keeping the telegraphic system in the hands of a private monopoly, as they would on that of farming out the carrying of their letters to one or more similar private concerns."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

District of Columbia.

The superintendent of the Washington municipal lodging house and wood-yard says in his annual report: "The success which has attended the experimental stage in the operation of the municipal lodging-house and wood-yard can be but gratifying to its friends and of much benefit to the general public. The tramp element has been reduced to a minimum. This fact is evidenced by the courts, by the police and by the absence of that element from our streets. Citizens are less annoyed by these road beggars than has been the case for many years, and though other cities by their free soups, their free lodgings and their sentimental charity 'doles' may be encouraging idleness, shiftlessness, poverty and tramps, Washington can no longer be charged with that crime. . . . During the last quarter 286 names were registered on the rolls, 1550 meals have been served and 872 lodgings have been given. Employment has been secured for 24, and 14 have been turned away, having refused to work, making a total since the house opened Jan. 1, 1893, of different persons enrolled, 1,198; meals served, 6,419; lodgings given, 4,185; employment secured, 68; refusing to work, 29." The Minneapolis Tribune is moved to say on this subject: "Washington is one among several cities that are trying experiments; while Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis are only a few of the many cities that are still wrestling with the problem. As the Washington superintendent of charities states, free soups and lodgings simply encourage and attract the tramp element. What is wanted is an employment bureau or a workshop or wood-yard appendix to the lodging establishment, whereby the honest and industrious unemployed may honorably earn their way, and the professional work-shirking tramp be discouraged from visiting the community."

New Jersey.

The Newark Railway company has leased all its street railroads in Newark, to the New Jersey Consolidated Traction company for a term of 999 years. This is sorry news for the Jersey people, as they will find when it is necessary in self-defense to conduct the local rapid transit system as a public function.

California.

The city attorney of Oakland exclaims that "either this city is going to be governed by this monopoly or we will govern it." This is his answer to the refusal of the Southern Pacific road to live up to its agreement when a right of way was granted it by Oakland. So long as the Southern Pacific is owned privately, Oakland will be governed by the railroad monopoly.

Missouri.

Kansas City Journal: The city of Lawrence, on the banks of the Kaw, is threatened to be cut off from the water supply, because her people have given the control of that supply to a corporation. And as the city government and the water company cannot agree about some things, the supply is to be shut off from the people; or the second great need and element of life taken away from those who are so supplied. We have no knowledge of the matter in dispute, as to which is right or who wrong, or where the equity rests, and don't care to know. We use the fact simply to emphasize

another fact, that so important a thing as water supply to a city should be under the control of the city itself, and not in the hands of another authority with power, for any cause, just or otherwise, to cut it off. This is a vital interest and ought not to be delegated.

Indiana.

Indianapolis Nonconformist: Give the people the post office saving and exchange bank. Make every presidential office a bank of deposit where the people may place their ready cash, subject to call, first in greenbacks, second in postal notes for fractions under \$5, third a post office warrant for any amount, free of all expense to the depositor.

Miscellaneous.

Victor Rosewater's recent article in the American Statistical Association's Quarterly on "Cost Statistics of Public Electrical Lighting," has led some to infer that he has changed his views about municipal ownership of electric lighting plants. Writing from Omaha, Neb., he says in the Boston Herald: "I myself am an advocate of municipal ownership of electric lighting plants, and have written several papers supporting my position, which have appeared from time to time in the New York Independent. The opponents of municipal ownership have busied themselves almost exclusively in attempting to pick flaws in the statistics of cost which have been relied upon in comparing public and private plants. I do not think the chief argument, or even one of the chief arguments, for municipal ownership is to be based on cost statistics; for that reason I have tried to show their utter inadequacy and untrustworthiness."

We have received complaints from many quarters about the practice of rival ice companies in Boston, of refusing to sell ice except to their regular patrons. That is, the ice companies, like the coal dealers, divide up the city between them. A correspondent of the Boston Record writes: "The citizen must to decide at the beginning of the season (or the ice company decides for him would be nearer the truth) and having once decided he becomes that particular company's customer. At times it is quite inconvenient to be tied up to one company, especially if one happens to want ice when the other company's cart is around: besides, one likes to have the privilege to buy where he pleases. Have these companies the right to say to whom they will sell, provided the would-be customer is ready with his money?" The time is not far distant when Boston will furnish ice to consumers at cost, as no self-respecting community of Americans would submit to such despotism as a permanent condition.

W. A. McKenzie in Railway Carmen's Journal: "Now is the time for the government to take advantage of the present depression, and purchase the majority of the various railway lines, almost at its own price, and at once solve the problem. Any shrewd investor will buy property when it is lowest. A year or so more will see that point reached. Will the nation secure the prize in time? But why go into debt at all to accomplish the change, when it can be brought about without doing so? How? Let the government issue 500 million dollars of treasury notes to be known as United States railway money, the same to be applied to the construction or purchase of a trunk line from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, as a beginning, and see how it would work. If one of the main lines, say for instance the Union Pacific, and Central Pacific, which, by the by, both owe the government a large sum, could be bought out at a fair price, and these together with some other direct connections to the East coast be placed at once under the direct management of the nation, it would make a good start in the right direction. If those companies refused to take this treasury money, then it would be in order to at once begin the building of a new trunk line from coast to coast. Thousands of men are out of work who would be very glad to get a job and take this money for their pay."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

R. H. F. of Pueblo, Col.: Your article entitled "The Root Cause of all Panics, Crises and Hard Times and the Remedy" is the best thing yet written on the subject.

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A. D. J. of York, Fla.: Most of the people here are ready for the new order, and if I only had the time with the help of The New Nation I could convert the whole country.

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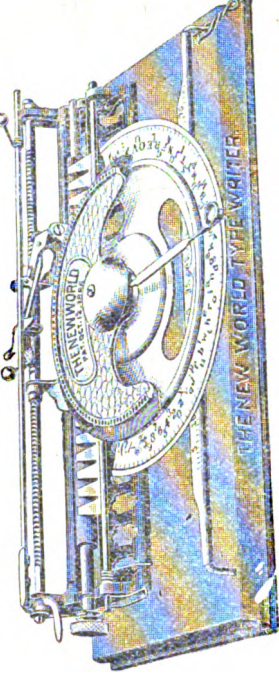
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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The populists did a good day's work at Lynn on Wednesday. The convention cut out lines of reform that will smash the monopolies of this country sooner or later. The time has come, as the platform says, to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation, and also to monopolize private monopolies in the public interest. The people's party is growing because its demands are for all and not for some at the expense of others.

The most interesting part of the Electrical Congress proceedings at Chicago was the discussion on the transmission of power from Niagara Falls by means of electric cables. The wires will be carried partly on poles and partly in subways. The aim is ultimately to supply power not only to factories in the vicinity of the falls, but to Buffalo, Roches-

ter, Utica, Syracuse and Albany, and perhaps also to supply power to propel the boats on the Erie and other canals in New York state. Fancy the placing of such tremendous power in the hands of speculators. It is a mad madness to permit private capitalists to exploit the most powerful power that may run a thousand mills.

The Solution and the Only One of the Unemployed Problem.

If the present depression of business continues, the burning issue of the coming fall and winter is going to be the question of the duty of the state to provide employment for the unemployed. While, as humane persons, nationalists must deplore the occasion of this discussion, they cannot fail to recognize the unequalled opportunity it affords for urging the practical application of the nationalist idea of the public organization of industry. In the editorials on this question of publicly providing work for the unemployed which appear in the columns of the daily press, the position is generally if not invariably taken that the state can properly do nothing about it. The gist of the argument used by these papers is summed up in the maxim, "The citizens must support the state, not the state the citizens." But nobody is asking the state to support the citizens. The demand is that the state shall so organize industrial works as to enable the citizens, left in the lurch by the break-down of private initiative, to support themselves. The recognized function of the state is just this business of organizing and directing those interests of the people, to which private initiative is not equal, as for example, the public defense, the administration of justice and protection of persons and property, the roads, etc., etc. All these are functions once left to private initiative and taken in charge by the state because private initiative broke down. The present crisis is the result of such a break down of private initiative in industry. Always out of order, the machine has now come to a stop. Nothing then could be more in keeping with an historical view of the state's functions than that it should now step in and relieve the crisis by a public organization of industry which should, at least, supplement

the defects of the present system, pending its complete substitution for it.

But, say the objectors, the state cannot go on indefinitely paying its citizens out of the taxes to build public works which are not needed. Of course not. Who wants it to? A good idea may be carried out in such a bad way as to condemn it, and that is the way the provision for the employment of the unemployed has been generally carried out by the state. We should not favor public works, except in a temporary emergency, as a means of employing labor by the state, unless such works were timely and necessary.

The beginning of wisdom in adopting a sound method of providing employment for the unemployed is to recognize that the necessity of such a provision is not temporary, but permanent. The unemployed in vast numbers are always with us and any adequate system of providing them work should therefore be by a fixed establishment always in existence. Another first principle of any sound method of providing employment by the state, is that the employed should be so put to work as to support one another by consuming one another's product, the system being altogether separate from the outside business system, and costing the state nothing.

How should we go to work to establish such a system? Well something this way. Let the state establish, say, shoe shops, garment shops, bakeries, knitting shops, hat shops, furniture factories, cotton and woollen mills and other manufacturing establishments, providing the main necessities of life. Let it also start farms and stock farms. It would not be needful that these establishments should be concentrated except in control. They could be in various parts of the state. In connection with each manufactory or farm there would be a public store, stocked with the products of the public factories and farms. Of course, until the system had gotten under way, many articles for the store would have to be bought in the market, and some foreign products always, but it would be the idea to stock the stores with trifling exceptions with products of the public shops and farms. In the vicinity of every public factory or farm, would be erected by the labor of the unemployed, dwellings adequate to the needs of the workers.

The state would then undertake to receive, to the extent of the force necessary, able-bodied adults having trades or occupations fitting them for the respective branches of business undertaken.

To all such workers the state would guarantee at least a maintenance, with as much more as the result of their joint work came to, the whole of it above expense being shared among them, whether more or less. This would not be a system of charity in any sense; it being the assumption that able-bodied persons provided with proper tools can always produce far more than they need to consume provided the question of the marketing of the goods can be solved. This problem would be solved in the only way possible, by the proposed method.

The plan of sharing the product among the workers would be as follows: All the workers, men and women, would receive in a sort of scrip, only receivable at the public stores and for rent of the public dwellings, a credit equal at first to the minimum provision necessary to secure a sufficient maintenance. As the size and efficiency of the system in-

creased, the sum would be increased. The shares for all workers would be the same. As to choice of work, they would be provided for first according to previous trades so far as possible, the best workers being taken before the poorer. Those not provided for at trades must be ready to take any work assigned or leave, and this indeed would be required of all, whenever production in excess in any department should make a transfer of workers desirable to avoid relative over-production. Nobody, of course, is to be allowed to be unemployed on any terms, for it is to remedy non-employment that the system is established. It should be, of course, understood that the public employees would be in no sense "wards of the state," or subject to any different rules or discipline out of work hours from those affecting other citizens.

Of course the state would have to invest the money necessary to start the manufacturing plants, farms and so forth, but as surely as workmen working for employees are now able to pay their own wages and great profits besides, despite all the wastes of competition, such a co-operative method of production as has been outlined, would soon pay back to the state all its outlay.

But could the state receive in payment the scrip used only within the system? It would not be necessary. The public industrial system could serve the state in many ways. It could provide the goods and food used by the state institutions. It could take the entire charge of providing from its farms the food and clothing for the state and local poor. It could also sell in the market many sorts of produce not in competition with wage-earners' products.

Moreover, whenever there was a business, like sugar refining, the rubber trade and many others, which had been captured by a monopoly, it would be public policy for the state managed industries to go into such businesses and fight the trusts, by furnishing cheaper goods to the public. By profits made in these and many other ways, the public industrial system would be able to repay its debt to the state and buy all it needed of the outside world in ordinary money.

While at first the maintenance afforded by the state system would not be enough to attract but any unemployed workers, it would, as the system developed and got into working order, be likely to mount rapidly to a point far above the rate of living enjoyed by any private employee.

And what then? Why then the system would be merely extended, and we should have nationalism.

While, however, this eventual result would be present to the expectation of nationalists, we choose now chiefly to dwell upon the immediate practical solution of the unemployed problem afforded by the plan, a problem becoming terribly pressing and otherwise insoluble save by riot and revolution.

Can we not all, nationalists, people's party, labor organizations and all good men who have the abolition of poverty at heart, can we not get together and take the occasion of the present grievous industrial situation to bring before the people the merits of this safe cure and final solution of the problem of the unemployed, involving as it does in root the entire social problem?

One Party Masquerading as Two.

One of the most shameful chapters in American history has been the notorious, admitted and even defended abuse of the presidential patronage to procure the repeal of the silver purchase clause of the Sherman law. For the sake of common decency let us never hear Mr. Cleveland again even distantly alluded to in connection with civil service reform. There is not a decent paper in this country which would not echo this sentiment if the editorial writers dared be honest. But honesty spells starvation for a journalist on an old party paper.

The corresponding and equally shameful chapter to this record of the administration has been the selling out of recorded convictions and principles by Senators and Representatives in exchange for administrative patronage and possibly other considerations. Senator Voorhees is perhaps entitled to head this column of tergiversators, but it numbers at least a hundred names of men whose word ought never again to be counted worth anything. There is no standard base enough to estimate it in. The republican press never had such an opportunity to expose and scorch a democratic administration for political irresponsibility or prominent democrats for gross prostitution of their votes for control of patronage as the silver fight has given and still gives them. Why do they take such half hearted advantage of it? Simply because the counting-room controls the editors, and Cleveland's policy is the policy of the counting-room, be it of a democratic or republican paper.

Therefore the republican editor with a sigh, lets go by a great partisan opportunity and pockets his salary by way of consolation.

This will be the course of things from now on more and more. The republican and democratic papers will whitewash one another's rascals so long as they are solid for the monopolies.

Dear brethren, cease to be deluded, the so-called republican and democratic parties are but one party.

The Movement for a Public Rapid Transit System in New York.

One of the signs of the times, all the more startling on account of its entire unexpectedness, is the strong movement in favor of public construction, ownership and operation of the proposed new rapid transit system of New York city. We recently noted the fact that the mayor and controller of the city had come out in favor of that plan, backed by the Recorder and News. The New York World has now lent its powerful aid to the same movement.

The interesting thing is, of course, that in no case are these advocates of city ownership moved by any prepossession in favor of nationalist ideas. They are simply forced to adopt the nationalist solution in spite of themselves, because it offers the only way out, the only escape from the intolerable thralldom of a brutal and thievish private corporation. It is by precisely the same argument that the whole country is being converted to nationalism, not "as a beautiful dream," though it is as beautiful as the face of God, but because it is the only way out from a worse than Egyptian bondage.

It is interesting to note the way the World puts the matter. It begins by saying that if the city builds and

runs the road there will of course be more or less political jobbery, but after all, it goes on to argue, it is impossible that any political boss can fleece the city so badly as the private corporation which now runs the system is doing and would be sure to do on a still larger scale if its domain were extended.

Stick a pin right here. The next time a man argues against public gas works, electric works, water works, a public transit, telegraph or railroad system on the ground that there would be political jobbery, save his time and yours by admitting (for the sake of the argument only) that there might be such jobbery, and then get back on him as the World does, by showing that the biggest fleecings of the public by politicians that were ever recorded are but a bagatelle compared with those perpetrated constantly by private corporations. This is an argument with teeth to it.

While your opponent is digesting the teeth, then will be the time to tell him that in proportion as a government undertakes functions vitally affecting and coming close home to the daily concerns of the people, will public opinion wake up and insist on good government. Tammany never yet was strong enough to dare mismanage the New York fire department. Neither will it ever be strong enough to mismanage, as the Goulds have done, the transit system.

The World goes on to speak of some of the positive points in favor of public construction, as for example, that the cheap rate at which the city can borrow money would mean cheaper as well as better construction and also that even if the city leased out the road for operation it could regulate the fares. Furthermore, it points out that the management of a publicly owned system would be responsible nominally and, at worst, to some extent really, to public opinion, whereas the present corporation management is absolutely indifferent to it. Our esteemed contemporary concludes that "A people's real rapid-transit system, built without too much stealing and operated under the direction of the people's representatives, responsible to the voters, would be a great boon to New York."

The people of the city of Boston this fall are to vote for or against a bill which gives a 50-year franchise to a private corporation to construct and operate a rapid transit system for this city and suburbs. Jump on that bill with both feet. If you do not you are no friend to Boston, or for that matter to yourself. Every man who votes for that bill is a traitor to his town and an unspeakable fool besides.

The formation of the Lake Superior iron mine trust last week is an important step in the march of capital, as it means that the Standard oil ring have secured the Mesaba and Gogebic iron mines, as well as similar mines in Cuba. John D. Rockefeller, Colgate Hoyt, Wetmore and others are in it. The capital is \$30,000,000 and the head office in New York city, with a branch office in Cleveland. The new deal involves fully nine-tenths of the product of the Bessemer iron mines of the country, besides those of cheap labor in Cuba.

Shreveport (La.) Caucasian: In his admirable article Mr. Bellamy suggests the plan of nationalism to bring about an invariable equilibrium of consumption and production by the principles of economic equality. If his plan is to stamp out of existence the schemers and sharks who control the products of labor and afflict the people, he is assured the cordial indorsement of every citizen of the United States not concerned or interested in the success of the schemers.

MASSACHUSETTS POPULISTS IN CONVENTION.

A ROUSING PLATFORM AND GOOD TICKET.

Cary for Governor. J. K. Harris of Haverhill for Lieutenant-Governor. Note and Comment.

It was a fine body of men that met in Laster's hall, Lynn, Mass., Wednesday, to nominate a state ticket upon a people's party platform. The utmost good nature prevailed, an admirable declaration of principles put forth and strong men chosen as standard bearers.

The convention was called together at 2.30 by Chairman Henry R. Legate of the central committee, who delivered a ringing speech upon the issues of the day. Mr. Legate was chosen permanent chairman and Lyman B. Taylor of Lynn permanent secretary. A committee on resolutions was chosen, consisting of Linn Boyd Porter of Cambridge, Mason A. Green of Boston, Hon. Henry Winn of Malden, Warner Johnson of Jamaica Plain, E. Gerry Brown of Brockton and James B. Woodfin of Marblehead. While this committee was in conference, the convention debated methods of procedure and subsequently listened to the reading of the platform by Mr. Porter, chairman of the committee on resolutions.

Mayor Winn, upon a call for nominations, rose amid enthusiastic cheers and in a well-worded speech put in nomination for governor, George H. Cary, who made the splendid fight in the 7th Congressional district against Barrett and Everett last autumn. Mr. Cary was nominated unanimously, and was roundly cheered when he accepted the position of standard bearer. Capt. Chas. E. Bowers of Arlington nominated Joseph K. Harris of Haverhill for lieutenant-governor and he was unanimously chosen. Mr. Harris was called for and he accepted in a brief speech. Isaac W. Skinner of Waltham was nominated for secretary of the commonwealth on motion of Henry Lemon of Boston; Thomas A. Watson of Braintree was nominated for treasurer, on motion of L. J. Bridgman of Melrose; Maurice W. Landers of Pittsfield was nominated for auditor, on motion of W. P. Conway of Lynn; Conrad Reno of Boston was nominated for attorney general, on motion of D. E. Hawes of Lynn.

The platform was then taken up and considered plank by plank. Several amendments were adopted. An amendment to the liquor plank proposed by George Kempton, was rejected almost unanimously.

Taken all in all, the convention was the most formidable to the old parties that we have had in Massachusetts. Blank nomination papers were distributed. It will take 1000 names of voters to secure the printing of the populist candidates on the official ballot.

We append the platform of the convention:

Platform of the Massachusetts People's Party, adopted at Lynn, Sept. 6, 1893.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, adherents of the People's Party, in convention assembled, again pledge our support to the principles of the platform adopted at Omaha on July 4, 1892. We congratulate the party on the magnificent vote polled in the last presidential election, when Gen. James B. Weaver, its candidate, received the suffrages of more than a million of his fellow citizens, and we have every reason to

believe that our cause will ultimately triumph at the ballot box.

We declare that the economic distress and oppressions which have culminated in the present business crisis are the result of the conquest of the business interests of the people and their means of livelihood by gigantic monopolies, financial and industrial, and we charge upon both the democratic and republican parties the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of the producing classes. We declare that the only way to deal with private monopolies is to monopolize them in the public interest through public control.

We emphasize the insufficiency of the circulating medium for the business needs of the country. We insist that the refusal of Congress, while repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, to give to silver any money function, plainly proves that both the old parties are determined to force upon us a single gold standard. The world's exchanges increase several times as fast as the supply of gold available for coinage. Thus, on a gold basis, the purchasing power of the dollar is increased, the debtor robbed and the creditor enriched by a vicious and arbitrary change in the contract, time obligations made contingent upon the luck of the miner and the machinations of speculators, and periodical panics precipitated in a land of plenty. We believe that the time has come to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation and to look to Washington and not London for stable conditions of commerce. If silver is to be permanently deprived of its money function, gold also should be demonetized; and, therefore, we call for a system of legal tender treasury notes, issued only by the government, to be irredeemable except as they are receivable for government dues and regulated in volume as the market price of commodities may indicate, so that the supply of money shall keep pace with the legitimate demands of business and demoralizing fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar cease forever. In default of such an issue of legal tender notes, we favor free coinage of silver as affording with gold a more honest money than gold alone.

We demand a postal bank system for deposit and exchange, in which 30 day notices would not apply nor depositor's checks be refused payment until confidence is restored. And we condemn the perpetuation and extension to private corporations of the power of issuing money, which is the proper function of the government.

As protection against monopoly is the right of every citizen, we call for the assumption by the government as soon as practicable of the ownership of the railroads, which as now conducted are little short of chartered conspiracies against the peace and prosperity of the people; and we especially urge that steps be taken to acquire coal mines that are at present exploited by combinations of capitalists, and that a federal system of mining and coal distribution be immediately established.

We reiterate our demand that the government of the United States shall, at the earliest possible moment, begin to acquire the telegraph and telephone lines, or to build others, that we may have in connection with our post office system what is enjoyed by nearly every civilized nation.

We favor as the only cheap and absolutely safe system, state fire and life insurance at secure rates without profit.

We believe the solution of the liquor problem lies in the elimination of the element of profit, and therefore demand that the sale of liquor shall be exclusively carried on by the state at cost through salaried officials in such municipalities as shall apply for such agencies, and that the national government shall regulate the importation, manufacture and transportation of all intoxicants so as to protect the states in their exclusive management of the same.

We favor a graduated tax on inheritances and incomes.

We protest against the contract system practiced by municipalities in employing labor. Municipal employment should be direct and responsible. We demand that all pub-

lie employees, national, state and municipal, be brought under a classified civil service with admissions and promotions for merit only and dismissals for cause after hearing.

We condemn the present management of industry because it fails to provide work for multitudes of willing hands, while at the same time overworking those who are employed. We therefore favor the reduction of the time of labor to an eight hour day, which will tend both to lighten the burdens of the workers and to increase the number of those finding employment.

We call attention to the condition of the unemployed, which, under pressure of business depression, is assuming the proportions of a great national tragedy. We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan to supply one another's need. As the first practical step to this end we urge an immediate census and registration of the unemployed. We are in favor of adding to our bureau of labor statistics, employment agencies and bureaus of information, affiliated with similar institutions in other states and centralized in the department of labor at Washington. In the selection of officers and engagements of employees, women should be given full proportion of positions.

We demand that convicts be employed exclusively upon such articles as can be used in our penal and charitable institutions, any surplus thereof to be distributed so as not to compete with free labor.

We favor full political suffrage for women on an equal basis with men.

We demand such laws as shall compel the wealthy holders of personal property to pay their share of the taxes. We commend a doomage law with sufficient penalties to procure sworn lists of such property, and its taxation by a uniform rate in all municipalities, with the distribution of the proceeds to all the cities and towns on a fair basis.

We congratulate the people of Massachusetts upon the amendments to the municipal lighting law, secured in the Legislature at the last session in the interest of towns desiring to acquire private plants, and we condemn the republican majority for its defeat of the amendment fixing the rate of compensation at which such plants should be acquired at not more than the duplication cost of an equivalent plant without compensation for the franchise.

We favor the municipalization of local public utilities such as the furnishing of gas, electricity, water, street railway transportation, etc.

We favor election laws which shall place upon equality all political parties or organizations in the selection of candidates and the placing of their names on the official ballot.

We demand of municipalities, states and the nation, the immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Another Governor Revolts.

The number of governors who are revolutionary in the eyes of eastern editors is on the increase. Gov. Tillman of South Carolina has joined the ranks of the new movement. The passage of the repeal bill settled the matter with the governor, who now proclaims himself in favor of an issue of United States treasury notes based upon the credit of the country. He said to an interviewer last Saturday that the gold men "object to greenbacks as fiat money; they object to silver as a dishonest dollar; they demand gold to become the standard of the country, although it means 50 cent wheat and six cent cotton, and the loss of the titles of their homes by millions of American farmers. I told the 'ring' in this state in 1888 it was damming up the water when the demand for reform was refused in the state convention. I now make the prediction that a similar crisis is

approaching in national affairs, and the flood-gates of the people's wrath will be raised and the present conspirators against the people's liberty will be swept from the face of the earth in the next presidential election." The demand for abandonment of all metallic basis of currency and the complete nationalization of money will grow from this on.

The Railroad Issue in Nebraska.

Nebraska has recently passed a maximum rate railroad law and the railroads propose to fight it. If that stalwart republican organ, the Omaha Bee, has the right of it, the railroad corporations have captured the republican convention that meets at Lincoln, October 5, to nominate a supreme court judge and two regents of the university. The Bee closes a hot editorial in this fashion: "The republican party, the men who believe in a free ballot and an honest count, and do not believe that railroadism is republicanism, will repudiate any convention dominated by fraud, corruption and jugglery. They need not abjure the principles of the party by so doing. They will simply refuse to rally under the railroad flag, even if the colors are the glorions stars and strips and the standard bearer masquerades as a veteran republican, when in fact he is a galvanized rail-roader." Here is the opportunity of the populists who do not have to desert their party in order to vote their principles. The Bee has been all along maintaining that the railroads will be beaten in their schemes of robbing the people. If the corporations are defeated, the weapons must come from outside the republican party. The people will have justice and the railroads before the fight is over.

Money will not do it.

The Coming Nation, Greensburg, Ind.: "Plenty of money will not solve the social question. It is down deeper than that. Plenty of money would delay the day of deliverance from poverty and crime. If the money gods had any sense they would grant these puny demands of the people and perpetuate their reign another thousand years. But they are blind as have ever been despotic rulers. The people will get no relief from this Congress, but the bankers and monopolists will get what they want. . . . There are those who learn only at experience's school, and her school houses will be very numerous in this monopoly-ridden country from now until the co-operative commonwealth is born."

Note and Comment.

Chairman Taubeneck believes that the silver and gold mines should be owned by the government.

The populists held a rousing meeting on the Common at Lynn, Mass., Labor Day. Henry R. Legate was the orator, and a thousand people were present.

E. C. Baldwin addressed a meeting of the Boston People's Party club at Marble hall, Tremont street, last Thursday night.

Our report of the proceedings of the nationalist committee of correspondence at Chicago arrived to late for this edition, but we shall give an account of the meeting next week.

There were over 500 delegates at the recent populist conference at Dallas, Tex. They are described as a fine lot of

men and the reports from all parts of the state show that the new party is making tremendous strides.

The Virginia republicans will not nominate this year. The fight in the Old Dominion is now between the populists and democrats. Corporation republicans will back up the democracy. Republican and democratic fusion in order to kill the young party is a sight for the gods.

The Boston Journal's attitude toward fusion, we take it, is the organic one. The Journal says: "There is a new kind of fusion taking place in Kansas. This time it is republicans and democrats who are combining against the populists on county tickets. It is well to sink other differences until the state is redeemed from the disgrace of populist rule."

L. S. Coffin of Fort Dodge, Ia., was nominated for governor by the people's party at the state convention in Des Moines on the 5th. A platform was adopted demanding free coinage of silver, denouncing President Cleveland, favoring public conduct of the liquor traffic and declaring for female suffrage. Fifteen hundred dollars were raised on the spot for carrying on a campaign.

Kansas Commoner, Wichita: When populists talk of the government ownership of the railways republicans here in Kansas say it is impracticable, as we would have to pay the roads \$50,000 to \$60,000 a mile. When the roads are assessed at one eighth to one tenth of the above valuation, those same papers howl with indignation, and talk about persecution and confiscation. To be a consistent republican is to be entirely inconsistent.

The Worcester Spy ought to be above the practice of circulating the anonymous lies about chaos brought upon Kansas by the populists, who are described as going to pieces. If this be so, why is it necessary for the republican and democratic parties to fuse in order to whip the populists? Kansas is in the new party to stay, and the Spy will soon find trouble at its own door. Massachusetts is not in the habit of submitting to oppression.

United States Senator Kyle, populist, has introduced a bill for the establishment of government savings banks in which any citizen can deposit any sum and receive therefor deposit certificates in sums of \$20 or \$100 each, drawing two per cent interest. The bill also provides for loans at four per cent to small land owners. The loans are to be limited to this class for a double purpose—to secure a wider distribution of money and furnish the most satisfactory security therefor known to the commercial world.

Haverhill Evening Gazette: It is not the part of wisdom to assume that, because of the trouble in the commercial and financial worlds, the republican party is to be the gainer. On the contrary, thousands of voters among the working classes are rapidly becoming convinced that neither of the old parties is to be trusted to legislate in the interest of the great mass of the people, but that the controlling forces of both are practically in the hands of a comparatively few men, who may differ upon non-essentials, but who work harmoniously together wherever their own interests, which generally lie in the direction of acquiring large fortunes, are concerned.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

At a special town meeting last week North Andover accepted by a vote of 147 to 15, the Legislative act empowering the town to secure a water supply.

Rhode Island.

The following is being circulated in the state: "The undersigned approve of providing by law that the state of Rhode Island shall give opportunity for employment to any resident of the state, on application to a bureau to be established by law for that purpose, and of the payment, weekly, to each state employee, of the highest wages that the product of the employee's labor will admit." Blanks can be secured by addressing J. F. Smith, Oak Lawn, R.I.

New Hampshire.

The people of Exeter, who are bent upon establishing a system of public water-works, are having trouble in securing facts as to the business of the local company, which refuse to produce its books, and it has become necessary to canvass the town in order to learn the amount of the company's receipts. This delays matters and increases the desire of the people to municipalize the water service.

New York.

People's Advocate, Buffalo: We wonder if the people realize that under government ownership of the telegraph all this vast expense for public telegraph service that they now pay for by indirect taxes for the support of the government would be abolished; besides all the telegraph service required by private patrons would be obtained at less than half present price.

Michigan.

The city of Paw Paw has negotiated \$15,000 electric light bonds. The bonds bear six per cent interest, and one \$500 bond is due and payable each year. The old Phoenix mill water power has been purchased and work will be commenced at once. Within the next 60 days, it is expected, the city will be running its own electric light plant.

South Carolina.

The new law providing state conduct of the liquor traffic, seems to be working admirably. The editor of the Cotton Plant, the official organ of the South Carolina Farmers' alliance, writes to a contemporary: "I like your views on our dispensary law. In spite of the desperate fight against its enforcement it gives every promise of success and is gaining friends every day. It is nationalism pure and simple and is bound to succeed."

Miscellaneous.

John Madden of Cottonwood Falls, Kan., writes for the Topeka Advocate an admirable article on so-called paternalism in government. He concludes: "Under the paternalistic or nationalistic system of government the farmer, the laborer, the mechanic, the railroad man, the miner, the inventor, and, in fact, all classes who represent honest toil and legitimate effort, would receive protection and government would take on the greatness of its people."

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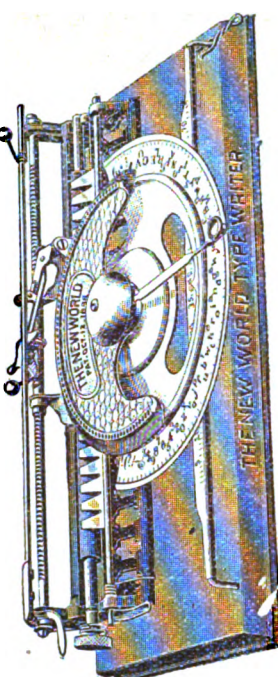
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BOSTON, JULY 1, 1893.

TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC:

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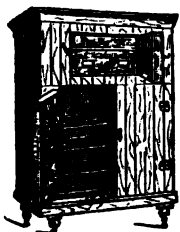
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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

— The populist Senators and Congressmen are doing their duty and deserve well of their constituents. No party has more creditable representatives. The only trouble is we want ten times as many of them, and in 1894 we will get them.

— The unparalleled succession of deadly railroad accidents during the last summer, has furnished an argument for railroad nationalization which we would gladly have done without. The blood of fresh hundreds of maimed and murdered victims cries every week from the ground against the present irresponsible system of railroad mismanagement.

— The declaration quoted elsewhere, of the British trade unionist congress, in favor of collective ownership and state

control of the means of production and distribution, is one of the most significant signs of the times. Now let the American Federation of Labor do likewise. Catch up with the procession Brother Gompers.

— Smalley, the London correspondent of the New York Tribune, observes that Gladstone has developed of late a tendency to encourage the socialists, who are rapidly gaining the upper hand in the labor organizations. "It almost seems" Smalley adds, "that the Frankenstein of democracy may prove his master." This is an offensive figure for an American to use concerning democracy, but it shows clearly how socialism is coming to the front in England.

— It begins to look as if perhaps the enemies of silver coinage had crowed prematurely. The Senate declines to be hurried and while it waits, the democratic-republican combination on which Cleveland depended, is in danger of being broken up as the result of forcing to the front the tariff, state banking and election law repeal issues. Meanwhile, the business panic which was the main fool argument of the anti-silverites, is disappearing and leaving them in the lurch. If the bi-metallists play a waiting game they may win yet.

— The people's party of Massachusetts is to be congratulated upon its platform, which we consider the best put forth by any state convention of the party since its formation. The candidates are worthy of the platform and stand on every plank without qualification. Platform and candidates together ought to be worth 10,000 votes at the inside this fall. They are worth 200,000 for that matter. We shall have something to say about the platform and candidates more in detail in a subsequent issue.

— The final adding up of the results of the last balloting for the French chamber of deputies, gives the socialist radicals 187 votes. The republicans have 292 and all other parties 93. The socialist radicals are thus the second party in France and the only important one in opposition to the

majority. The platform of the party is almost as radical as that of the people's party of America. It demands separation of the church and state, nationalization of railroads, a progressive income tax, a superannuation fund for workingmen and other measures. Goblet instead of Clemenceau leads, which is an improvement.

There are already intimations from republican and democratic politicians who foresee the impending breakup of the old parties and would like to get in out of the rain, that if the people's party would modify a few of its more radical planks, it might count on their adhesion. No, gentlemen. The people's party is not doing business that way. The platform will be a good deal more radical before it is less so.

The British post office department as is known, runs the telegraph system of the country, but private capital has been trying to get hold, partially at least, of telephone lines. The postmaster general having been inveigled into making some concessions of rights to the National Telephone company, a great outcry has been raised by the people against his course and the despatches state that he has promised to recede from his position. The municipality of Glasgow, which is deep in socialistic experiments, has headed the protest, and is organizing the cities of Great Britain into an anti-monopoly league, to resist all attempts of private capitalists to get hold of the telephone system. The cable says the movement is likely to result in the complete nationalization of the telephones. This is pretty good testimony to what the British people think of public management of communication, after trying it for 20 years in the case of the telegraph.

Economic Inequality the Root of the Evil.

The New Nation has heartily supported the bi-metallic contention of the people's party, involving, of course, the free coinage of both metals and, and it believes that failing bi-metallism, a treasury note currency without metallic basis of any sort is the best policy. On money questions we stand and expect to stand in full touch and sympathy with the mass of the people's party.

This being so, we feel justified in telling those of our friends and fellow workers who expect social salvation or any radical improvements in the economic situation from any sort of money remedy, that they are in great error. There is such a thing as a more or less scientific currency, more or less honest money or dishonest money and the distinctions are in their way important, but the most perfect money system conceivable, were it introduced tomorrow, would prove in no way a social solution.

The social evil we are contending with is the domination of the poor by the rich, of the have-nots by the haves, the power of wealth offset by the powerlessness of poverty. Inequality in wealth is the root of the evil we confront. Wealth means the possession of the things men need to support life and comfort. So long as a minority possesses a superfluity of these good things and the many have not enough, the many must serve the few if they would not starve. That is the whole case.

Money is not wealth, but merely the terms, the arithmetical tokens in which wealth is measured. If one man

is heavier than another, it makes no difference whether the disparity is expressed in French grammes or English pounds. The French system is the more scientific, but the difference remains the same and the advantage of the heavier man over the lighter is not affected. So about money systems. Some measure the disparity in men's wealth more scientifically than others, but whether the standard be shekels or assignats, greenbacks or sovereigns, or in the absence of any money exchange be carried on by pure barter, the difference between the rich and the poor remains the same, and the lordship of the former over the latter holds firm.

We do not mean to be understood to say that the money system has not often been manipulated, as it is being now manipulated by the gold standard people, to effect a great grab game on the masses. The fraud practiced may be compared to that which employers would effect if they met an eight-hour law by a new arrangement of the dial plate on the clock, reducing the number of hours in the day from 24 to 18 and thus enhancing the length of each hour correspondingly. Thus they would beat the eight-hour law very effectually. Just such a fraud on all who owe is perpetuated by the enhancement of the unit of value by gold mono-metallism.

The most ardent money reform enthusiast will admit that we fully state in this analogy the proportions of the fraud which he deems it so important to defeat. Nevertheless we say that while he does well to fight this fraud and that we will help him fight it, yet he is missing the real issue entirely.

Supposing the workingmen in the supposed case rose in revolt against the clock fraud and demanded back the 24 hour dial. The New Nation would join them, but we should also tell them that they were missing the real issue, which was the capitalistic system of employment by which the many must sell their services to the few. Instead of squabbling over extra impositions by their masters, they should throw off their mastery entirely. Instead of quarreling with the fit of the yoke they should break the yoke, and refusing any longer to be any man's servant for eight hours or one hour or one minute, unite to serve their common interest on equal terms, according to the plan of nationalism.

That is what we should say to the workingmen in the supposed case of the dial face fraud, and just that is what we say now to the people in the West and South who are desperate over the triumph of the gold standard grab. Abate none of your righteous indignation at this wrong, but strike at the root of the matter, which is the relation of mastery and servitude always and necessarily implied in the unequal distribution of wealth, whatever be the system of tokens by which that inequality is reckoned. It makes little difference to bondsmen in what sort of money they are bought and sold.

The defeat of free coinage and the prospective and indeed almost certain defeat of every sort of currency improvement during Cleveland's administration may prove a blessed providence to the people's party if it shall be the means of diverting the attention of its less radical but sincere membership from mere symptoms of the social disease to the disease itself, and lead them to strike at its root cause which is the inequality of wealth and the relation of masters and servants between men which must needs always result from

that inequality. We expect to see and very soon to see the people's party brought by the discipline of bitter experience to the point of inscribing on its banner the words Economic Equality. There is no other way.

We would respectfully recommend as a very good sort of plank to head the national people's party platform for 1876 the paragraph kept standing at the head of this paper under the caption Economic Equality. It is rather early to be fixing up a platform for 1896, but we miss our guess and wholly fail to understand the signs of the times if that plank or some other quite as explicit does not head that document. No compromise is possible in this fight. The enemies of the people see this and are acting accordingly. The sooner the people see it the better for them.

The Value of a Public Brand.

A striking testimony to the soundness of the nationalist argument that public management of business will put an end to adulteration of goods, appears in the fact that since South Carolina has gone into the liquor business, the government of the state has received a flood of requests from people in other states and even in Canada to furnish them liquor. This is not apparently on account of the especial cheapness of the liquor, for the state and the counties together make 100 per cent profit on it, but apparently for the main part because it is guaranteed to be pure and properly made. This guarantee from a private firm, however large, would not, in the present state of business, carry a pin's weight with it, but given by a state it commands implicit confidence. When the nation gets ready to go into the general manufacturing business, there will be no more "shoddy." Goods will be what they are represented. If there were no other advantages promised by nationalism, think how great this gain would be.

A Dangerous Game for the Railroads.

The first step toward railroad nationalization is to get a fair valuation or purchase price of the railroads. We want them, but we do not want to pay a cent more than they are worth.

A bright light is being thrown on this question of valuation by the result of the attempts to tax railroads on their full assessed value which are being made in several western states, including California, Kansas and Indiana.

In California the railroads protest that they should be taxed not on their market value, but on their cost of construction. All right; let them figure that down as low as possible and we will accept it as the basis for their purchase price on nationalizing them. In Kansas the roads are likewise kicking against paying taxes like other folks. As the Kansas City Star says: "The railroads in Kansas are a queer lot. When the farmers talk about buying the railroads, they send a lot of fellows over the state to prove that the roads are worth \$60,000 a mile. When it comes time for the assessment of taxes the following spring, the figure disseminates itself into thin air, and the railroad managers swear that the roads aren't worth a fourth of it. There is a mistake somewhere."

Indiana proposes to raise the tax valuation of its railroads from 60 million dollars to 160 million dollars, and the rail-

roads are resisting. All right. Get them to swear down the roads as low as they please and the figures will be handy when the nation takes them over.

The Outlook, to which we are indebted for these figures, asserts, and the estimate is altogether too conservative, that the railroads of the country are capitalized at eight billion dollars, but do not pay taxes on over two billion dollars. If the roads swear that is all they are worth, would it be wrong to take them at their word when it comes to nationalizing them?

The Graduated Acreage Tax a Pressing Need.

According to the ancient myth, Hercules in his cradle strangled two serpents. The people's party is called on in its cradle to tackle half a dozen. Among the monopolies it is pledged to kill is that of land. No reader of the papers can have failed to observe the rate at which individuals and yet more, land syndicates and railroad corporations in the far West and in the wilder parts of the East, are acquiring vast domains, running all the way from 9,000 to 20,000 acres, purchased by a Corbin, a Dr. Webb or a Vanderbilt in New Hampshire, New York or North Carolina, to the enormous tracts of hundreds of thousands of acres in the far West held by companies, and the great railroad grants to Pacific lines.

These vast tracts of land are at present of little value, and a valuation tax upon them is a slight burden to their possessors, who are holding them for speculative purposes.

We propose as a plan for breaking up these appropriations of the earth, than which monopoly can take no more odious or dangerous form, a graduated acreage tax, with a fixed rate of increase per 100 acres, applicable to holdings of over 1000 acres.

We would make the tax one which would be practically prohibitive of the individual or corporate ownership of an estate of 10,000 acres. That is to say, such an estate would cost its value every year.

This tax would, of course, be entirely independent of and in addition to the regular tax based on assessed valuation.

Will not the reform press take up this proposition? Is it not a clear, clean, neat way of giving effect to the declarations of the party against land monopoly? Any state can pass such a tax law as this and it is a quicker way of getting at the subject than that of a Congressional act, which meanwhile we should continue to work for.

We have already adopted as people's party issues, the graduated income tax and the graduated inheritance tax. Let us complete the work by the graduated acreage tax.

Alexander Dumas: Those millions of armed men who are drilling every day in view of a war of general extermination, have no hatred toward those they may be called upon to fight and none of their leaders dare declare war. An agreement is inevitable within a given time, which will be shorter than we suppose. I do not know whether it is because I am not much longer for this life and that the light from over the horizon already affects my vision, but I do believe that our world is about to witness the realization of the words "love one another" without inquiring whether it was a man or a god who uttered them.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

NATIONALIST MEETING AT CHICAGO.

Routine Work of the Committee. Nationalism in England.
The Kansas Revolution. Politics. Note and Comment.

The national committee of correspondence, which was started by nationalists at Omaha in 1891, met at the residence of Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, 6230 Woodlawn avenue, Chicago August 30.

The meeting was called to order about 2 30 P.M. Eltweed Pomeroy of New Jersey was elected chairman and R. H. Howe of Illinois, secretary.

The chair read a report from Mason A. Green of Boston, the permanent secretary, which gave a list of the state representatives and many of the local correspondents.

State committee men have been chosen in 27 states and by another year it is expected that the organization will be complete.

Mr. Kerr of the firm of Chas. H. Kerr & Co. of Illinois, made an offer of the use of his office in Chicago to the nationalists.

Mr. Heberling of Havanna, Ill., moved to take up the plan of propaganda outlined by Mr. Pomeroy in Mr. Green's report, section by section. Carried.

This was laid aside for the purpose of hearing from some distinguished visitors.

Mrs. Anna L. Diggs of Kansas, spoke of the influence of nationalists in the people's party, but for propaganda work advised them to keep distinct from every political organization and urged them on to the work with many good suggestions, the last of which was that we should urge the appointment of a cabinet officer of labor. At the close of her address, Mr. Heberling moved the following resolution, which was unanimously passed:

"Resolved, that this committee of nationalists petition Congress of the United States for the creation of a secretary of labor, who shall be a cabinet officer and shall look after the interests of the laborers of this country."

Herbert Burrows of London, Eng., secretary of the Social Democratic Federation, spoke of the means employed in propaganda work in England, making some suggestions, among which was the printing of round stickers for telegraph poles, blank walls, etc., and the formation of committees who circulate clippings and get friends to write to the papers.

William Clarke, president of the Fabian society of London, followed and asked for a closer affiliation between the reform elements of England and America. He thought that our problems at the base were the same as they had to grapple with at home in England.

J. W. Sullivan of New York made an address on direct legislation as the most effective means of getting our plans

before the people. He outlined its effect in Switzerland and the United States, in the trades' unions and other places. There was a very interesting discussion afterward, and then Miss Spence of Australia spoke on proportional representation.

Upon a call of the states, Mr. Amick of Illinois reported for his state, Mr. Otto of Dayton for Ohio, Mr. Hamilton of Greensburg for Indiana, Mr. Heberling of Havanna, Ill., for the work in his locality, Mr. Pomeroy of Newark for New Jersey, Mr. Epps for New Hampshire and Miss Hussey of Dover reported for Delaware.

Written reports were received from B. Franklin Hunter of Philadelphia, with valuable suggestions as to spreading of literature and the formation of clubs, from F. U. Woiley of Washington, D.C., with interesting suggestions as to co-operation, from A. D. Marble of Winfield, Kan., who suggested the publication of 5,000,000 copies *The New Nation*, from W. H. Wyatt of Rutherford, N.J., from Mrs. S. C. Brown of Toledo, O., W. Morris Deischer of Reading, Pa., Chas. W. Otis of Petaluma, Cal., L. H. Webster of Columbus, O., Sidney A. Reeve of Boston and others.

Jesse Cox of Chicago, spoke on the benefits to be derived from proper organization and advocated the collection of names and addresses of all sympathizers.

It was moved by Mr. Heberling of Illinois, that the plan of work as outlined in Mr. Green's report be adopted and that Mr. Green and Mr. Pomeroy secure papers on the various sides of the work and afterward have them published in the form of a manual for workers. This was unanimously passed and the paper of W. H. Wyatt of New Jersey on the getting of signers to petitions and the value of petitions was presented.

It was voted on motion of Mr. Amick of Illinois, that Mason A. Green, the national secretary, be empowered to call another meeting of the state representatives within one year, the time and place to be left to his discretion.

Persons wishing to further the work of the committee are requested to address Mason A. Green, 13 Winter street, Boston, Mass.

Nationalism in England.

The Boston Herald prints under the above head the following dispatch from Belfast, dated the 7th: "The trade unionist congress passed yesterday by a vote of 137 to 97 a resolution 'that labor candidates for Parliament who receive financial assistance from trades' unions shall be required to pledge themselves to support the principle of collective ownership and state control of the means of production and distribution.' The resolution was opposed on the ground that it committed the congress to continental socialism. Several speakers said the resolution was a fitting declaration of the belief of the congress in the great socialist principle. John Burns, M.P., supported the resolution, he said, because it cut right to the kernel of the social labor program. It did not hide the bugbear which some unionists thought must be concealed under everything

called socialistic. The principle involved was like many other principles; for instance, the nationalization of mines and railways, which formerly were promulgated only by socialists, but now were recognized as part of the trade unionist program.

The Nebraska Populists Nominate a Ticket.

The Nebraska populists met in convention at Lincoln on the 6th and nominated S. A. Holcomb for supreme court judge and E. L. Heath, A. A. Monroe and C. L. Brainard for regents of the state university. There were present 796 delegates and a large crowd of spectators. The platform reaffirms the principles of the Omaha platform, demands free silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, a service pension for soldiers, government railroads, telegraphs and telephones, separation of church and state, a free school system, enforcement of the maximum railroad freight rate law, an eight-hour labor day, etc. After the convention the state central committee organized with D. C. Deaver of Omaha chairman, and J. E. Edgerton of Kearney secretary. Judge Maxwell, now on the supreme bench, whom the railroad men are trying to defeat in the approaching republican convention, received a few ballots in the populist convention. The Omaha Bee, republican, had some hope that Maxwell would be the populist candidate, and anticipating the defeat of Maxwell in the republican convention, is now making heroic attempts to swallow the populist platform. It sticks at silver and wants government control rather than ownership of railroads. "On the whole" concludes the Bee, "the platform embodies many points responsive to public sentiment and is in most matters in harmony with the demands of the producers." The populists enter the campaign with a determination to win.

Nationalism Spreading in Kansas.

A staff correspondent of the Outlook, the new name for the Christian Union, is making a tour of southern and western states. He has this to say of Kansas: "The rebellion in Kansas — the next state I visited — is of far greater importance. Indeed, there is nothing exaggerated in terming it 'not a revolt, but a revolution.' The people's party in Kansas is as much more radical than the people's party in the South, as the latter is more radical than the democratic party in any party of the country. When I called upon Gov. Lewelling, among the papers on his desk was The New Nation. When I called upon the editor of the Topeka Advocate, the official paper of the Kansas Alliance, I again saw The New Nation, and found the editor a pretty thoroughgoing disciple of Mr. Bellamy. At one time, in the bank examiner's office in the state house, I found that four out of five men present, and most of them were state officials, accepted without reserve the proposition that the entire product of industry should go to the laborer, and that interest on capital should cease. One of these avowed socialists, and the ablest man I met in Kansas, was the state bank examiner himself, and the present head of the people's party's state executive committee. When I called at the residence of ex-Congressman Otis, I found that not only Mr. Otis, but his wife, who is deservedly one of the leading women of the state, were out-and-out nationalists. Indeed, every talk that I had with the leaders of the people's party

impressed more strongly upon me the fact that the most aggressively American state in our Union was permeated with what used to be called German socialism."

Massachusetts.

The populists held an open air meeting at Marblehead on the 9th, Henry R. Legate being the speaker.

Carriage makers' union No. 18, will hold a meeting at Elks' hall, Lynn, on the 19th. Addresses will be made by George H. Cary and Henry R. Legate.

A Massachusetts paper remarks in reference to our platform that the populists are "masters of expression." It will not be long before they will be masters of the situation.

It appears that some of the collateral on which Boston clearing house certificates have been issued are nothing but private notes. Here is a case of currency founded on the fiat of private individuals. <Fancy the assurance of men who use personal fiat for currency, denouncing Uncle Sam's fiat as wild cat and inflative money.>

Note and Comment.

The people's party for the city and county of New York has opened permanent headquarters at 50 East 10th street. Meetings are held every Thursday evening. The rooms are open day and evening.

Edison says that gold is not as valuable as iron or lead. This will appear later when the people's party demonetizes gold and adopts a rational currency.

T. M. Patterson, of the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, has come out in a letter declaring for the people's party. He prefers government control, rather than ownership, of railroads, but he is bound to look farther into the railroad question and to change his mind as others are doing.

Congressman McLaurens of South Carolina says that his state will never go democratic again. This means that Gov. Tillman and his Farmers' alliance friends have started people's party camp fires. Well-informed democrats in Tennessee take that state also out of the democratic ranks.

Gov. Lewelling finds in the eastern papers some very astonishing bits of "news" about Kansas. He says: "From the character of this alleged news and the tone of the editorials commenting on the same, a stranger might be excused for supposing that the chief occupation of Kansas people is hating their state officers and raising rebellions, while the state officers in turn do little else than incubate schemes for the ruin of the state, or, by way of diversion, for the ruin of the nation at large,"

The Boston Herald thinks \$1.25 gas in Philadelphia is not a good argument for municipal ownership. It should remember that the policy in that city is to secure a margin of profit, over a million dollars having been put in the city treasury last year from profits on the municipal gas plant. It would be wiser not to make money off of a municipalized industry and eventually Philadelphia will see it.

COST OF MINING COAL.

The sentiment in favor of the government ownership of the coal mines is rapidly growing. It is a fact that while the market price of commodities generally declined during the panic, the coal combine was strong enough to hold the figures to the old mark. The public has a grievance against the census bureau for publishing very erroneous figures as to the cost of mining coal. The Engineering and Mining Journal about a year ago, called attention to these errors, and a correspondent has this to say upon the subject: "I have a very accurate knowledge of the cost of coal mining in the eastern states, and from this special and general knowledge I am satisfied that the census report of the cost of Pocahontas coal is wholly unreliable and is based on statements which the company, of course, knew perfectly well were not true. The figures, in other words, are 'doctored' in order to deceive miners as well as consumers and the stockholders of the companies. As a matter of fact, the Pocahontas company pays the miner 75 cents per car, which holds nearer three tons than two tons, which it is stated in that report to contain. The miner is fully aware of this fact. The actual mining price is about 30 cents a ton, and the dead-work cannot exceed 15 cents, for they have the cheapest possible conditions for working. With 10 cents royalty, the actual total cost does not exceed 55 cents, without credits from rents, stores, etc., which would reduce this figure very considerably; this as against 72½ cents, which is the census figure." We may add in this connection, that the Nova Scotia companies claim that they mine coal at \$1.29 per ton, while as a matter of fact, it is less than \$1.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

Senator Pepper's resolution requiring the secretary of the treasury to investigate the conduct of national banks refusing to pay promptly in currency the checks of depositors, had the remarkable effect of drawing from several senators the admission that national banks in many instances were not living up to the letter of the law. The national bank system is not workable because in times of financial disturbance, the banks insist all hands must pay up but the banks. Such is the nature of all private monopolies.

Mr. Powderly we fear is barking up the wrong tree in his open letter to President Cleveland. Mr. Powderly makes one suggestion which is very timely about postal savings banks, which the president cannot safely ignore. He says: "Partisan zeal may smother, a prejudiced party press may misrepresent the views of the industrial element of the nation, but that they stand overwhelmingly for the free coinage of silver and opposed to the single standard of gold is true. There is a remedy, and it is offered by the order of the Knights of Labor in its declaration of principles. It reads: 'That, in connection with the post office, the government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.'"

The profits derived from the telegraph and telephone lines of Switzerland, which are owned and operated by the government, amounts yearly to over \$250,000.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The citizens of Newburyport have voted to accept the act of the Legislature, giving the city the right to build water-works. The Boston Transcript reminds Newburyport people that recent laws expressly provide that municipalities are not required in adopting public ownership to pay anything for water franchises. The Transcript continues: "The theories and aspirations of the nationalists may many of them be looked upon as utopian and unpractical, but the agitation which they in large measure have helped to start with regard to extending the area of public functions is coming to be recognized as a real public service, and when we shall everywhere have municipal lighting, municipal telegraphs and telephones, municipal water-works, municipal street railways, and all these we believe are in the future, for although politics is cursed with corruption, tenfold worse corruption is rife among large financial and business operators, who make no secret of having sold out their friends after they have done so, our people will look backward in wonder that they should have so long submitted to private profit-taking out of universal necessities. As the experience of the Delaware-Chicago-Philadelphia-Brooklyn ring of capitalists in Boston gas lighting shows, there is a limit to public endurance, reached sooner or later according to the degree of public virtue in legislative bodies. Moreover, legislatures are liable to be chosen on this very issue when any special enormity arouses public attention as last winter."

Illinois.

The city council of Belvidere is considering the subject of municipal electric lighting. The city of La Harpe is also investigating the subject, the popular sentiment being in favor of a municipal plant.

Miscellaneous.

Justice Brown of the United States supreme court before the American Bar association: "There is another field upon which it seems to me legislation may enter, experimentally at least, and perhaps, with great ultimate benefit to the public, that is, in the direction of the state ownership of monopolies. Much has been said upon this subject of late, but I am by no means satisfied that the old maxim that the country which is governed least is governed best may not, in these days of monopolies and combinations, be subject to revision. I have never been able to perceive why if the government may be safely intrusted to carry our letters and papers, it may not with equal propriety carry our telegrams and parcels, as it has done in England and other foreign countries for several years; or why, if our municipalities may supply us with water, they may not also supply us with gas, electricity, telephones and street cars. They are all based upon the same principle of a public ownership of the streets and highways, and a power to grant franchises to third persons, which the municipality, if it chooses may reserve to itself. Whether the state should go farther and take to itself the proprietorship of railways and canals may be left to be determined by the success of minor undertakings in the same direction. I see no reason to doubt why, under government control, these works should not be carried on with as little friction, as little danger of strikes, and as satisfactorily to the public as the post-office establishment is at present."

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Do you believe in the nationalization of industry and thereby the promotion of the brotherhood of humanity, or, are you with us in the work of nationalizing the railroads, telegraph, telephone, express or any of the so-called natural monopolies? Do you wish to be identified with us and count for something? If so, you can render important assistance to our work. The way we propose is this: We have opened a **CORRESPONDING MEMBERSHIP** of this First Club, asking for members all over this Union, requiring an admission fee of \$1.00, and a yearly due of \$1.00, the money to be applied by the club to Nationalist work, pure and simple. Each corresponding member is entitled to all the publications to be issued by the club, and will be considered a centre for the distribution of such publications. We give a Certificate of Membership, handsomely gotten up, to each Corresponding Member. Come in and share the victories to come.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

✓ According to the Washington despatches, the New York bankers are trying to hurry up the repeal of the Sherman law by threatening to make another panic if the repeal is delayed much longer.

✓ If we may judge from the horror expressed by the press over the brutal scramble for land on the Cherokee strip, our competitive society has the good taste not to enjoy seeing itself in the glass. It is a kodak thrown upon the system.

✓ It is a hopeful sign to see something like an expression of honest indignation from the Boston press over the fact that the will of F. L. Ames, Boston's richest man, leaves, out of 35 million dollars, not a dollar to public purposes. The Boston Herald and Post show a sense of logical connection in declaring the fact to be a knock-down argument for

a heavy tax on inheritances. Of course it is. The Ames estate ought to have yielded at least three million dollars to the state treasury.

✓ Although this Mr. Van Alen, whom the president has just nominated to be minister to Italy, was previously entirely unknown to fame, it appears upon looking up his record, that he has the necessary qualifications—he is a millionaire and was a heavy contributor to the democratic campaign fund.

✓ Insurance Superintendent Snider of Kansas is reported to be in favor of a general government life insurance on the endowment plan. A state insurance system perhaps would be better. The plank of the Massachusetts populist platform for state life insurance is destined to be a live issue in New England before many moons. We print elsewhere a letter from Chas. M. Cox of Boston on undertakers' insurance, which will set many to thinking. State life insurance has a wider application than at first appears. The public, for instance, is becoming irritated over the number of revolting railroad accidents. There is practically, under private insurance, a premium placed upon the carelessness of railroads, from the fact that private accident insurance companies are permitted to insure railroad companies against accident or death to any passenger that rides on railroads. This is contrary to public policy, and no state conducting an insurance department could in decency insure a corporation against damages from injury to customers in the prosecution of its business.

The Political Revolt.

✓ While this is an "off" year in the election calendar, only four states choosing a full set of officers, it is anything but an "off" year politically. The blindest partisan cannot be unmindful of the deep tide of discontent sweeping over the country. Men are beginning to lose faith in the political economy of the books. They see monstrous aggregations of wealth and widespread distress among producers, which is the direct result of republican and democratic legislation.

Under such conditions the birth of a new party was inevitable. Nor is it true that the political revolt is a peculiar western or southern product. It is more general perhaps than many are willing to believe. The Advertiser of this city began an editorial this week in this fashion: "The depression of the past summer has had one very evident effect, from a political view, in rousing the populists into a vigorous campaign in the South and West. Reports from those sections as brought to leaders of the people's party in this state, indicate an unusually determined agitation among the voters in many states, with the result that the populist leaders are very sanguine as to the result."

The economic condition of the country is of as vital importance to Massachusetts as to Kansas, and those in a position to know Massachusetts sentiment declare that at no time since the war have the people been more disturbed in mind over public affairs than this summer. There is not much noise being made. That is not the New England way. It appears, however, since the people's party in this state nominated a full ticket at Lynn, inquiries and demands for literature have come to the committee from all parts of the state. A feature of this new and significant interest in populist principles is the number of converts among the wage workers, especially the trades unionists. The people of the West reached the parting of the ways last year, and Massachusetts, in our opinion, will see the same crisis in the near future. We have entered upon a grand campaign and the people will capture the monopolies.

Concerning the Founding of Nationalist Colonies.

The editor of The New Nation is very often asked for an opinion as to the merits of various plans for starting colonies, communities and exclusive settlements for the purpose of carrying out the principles of nationalism. By way of general reply we would say that the existing colonies called cities, states and nations seem to us best adapted to the illustration of our principles. The machinery of these existing organizations is strong, well proven and complete, and it belongs to the people as soon as they get good and ready to take it away from the plutocrats and the politicians. We should consider the cause of nationalism more advanced by a single step taken by the city, state or nation toward its ideal, and embodied in the law of the land, than by the complete success of some small colony founded on the full nationalist plan. The gain made by the embodiment of a nationalist idea in the laws and institutions of a state a nation or a great city, is permanent; while the most brilliant success of a petty body of reformers is likely to be but temporary, depending as it ordinarily does upon the personal qualities of particular managers or a temporary wave of enthusiasm on the part of the membership. As a test of what the main body of humanity, that is to say the average man, is capable of, the success or failure of enterprises undertaken by selected enthusiasts is of no value whatever. We nationalists are not trying to work out our individual salvation, but the weal of all, and no man is a true nationalist who even wishes to be saved unless all the rest are. A slight amendment in the condition of the mass of men is preferable to elysium attained by a few.

It is sometimes urged as an argument for colony experiments as a means of advancing nationalism, that the suc-

cess of a particular enterprise of that sort would soon convert the world. There is no reason to think so. The world has had numerous examples of saints, who illustrated in their lives the beauty of holiness, but the world has thus far shown itself decidedly more inclined to admire than to imitate their examples. If you would lead men you must take them by the hand.

The same amount of steam power which will raise one pound a thousand feet, will raise a thousand pounds one foot.

In like manner the moral force which might perfect the social conditions of a selected group, would, if expended in trying to wake up and brace up the community at large, perhaps only help them upward a very little; yet the latter is the righteous and godlike way of spending that force.

Jesus Christ put it in a nutshell when he said "The field is the world." What is the matter with the colony we were born into?

— This Revolution is Beginning Like all the Great Ones. —

Some good nationalists are at times impatient that the fight with capitalism and monopoly, instead of being pitched at once on the plain issue between the public conduct of all industry for the equal common benefit, and the present irresponsible system of private capitalistic rule for private ends, should be involved with comparatively petty issues of monetary policies and local remedies. There is no occasion for impatience. That is the way great revolutions always begin, that is to say, with skirmishes that give little suggestion of what is to be the battle line a little later. Our own American war of independence long raged over a petty question of a mode of taxation. The logic of events continued inevitably to broaden the issue till finally the mountain, instead of a mouse, brought forth a world-rending earthquake. So with the French revolution. Consider what a very trivial set of reforms and concessions would have satisfied the demands of even the radicals in the first stages of the revolution which in its outcome changed mediæval to modern Europe. Have patience. Things are going quite as fast as they ought, faster than they ever did in a great revolution before.

— Shall We Have to Export Socialism? —

From the report in London Justice given by the English delegates who went to the recent Zurich international socialist Congress, we are forced to infer, what indeed has appeared from other sources of information, that there is a growing feeling of suspicion of the management of the social democratic party of Germany, based on a belief in some quarters that the political triumphs of the German socialists have led to a conservatism of view which looks like failing devotion to the ultimate socialist ideal. It seems that the Dutch and English, especially, have this feeling, together with a revolted wing of so-called independent socialists in Germany.

The convention finally appears to have stood by the management of the social democracy, but we observe that since then the Polish socialists in Germany have organized a separate socialist party and repudiated the Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer control. We mention these facts as items of news, not feeling justified at this distance, in venturing

any judgment on the merits of the case, beyond saying that it is certainly true that the recent platforms of the German socialists, and indeed the platform of the Zurich convention are pretty mild sort of talk compared with the utterances of our people's party conventions. Shall we have to export socialism?

Down with the House of Lords.

The Irish home rule question has led to an issue greater than itself, an issue expressed in the cry beginning to arise full-mouthed in Great Britain and destined to swell to revolutionary force — "Down with the House of Lords."

The National Liberal Federation, the utterances of which are practically equivalent to authoritative statements of the policy of the liberal party, has replied to the defeat of the Irish home rule bill in the House of Lords by a circular to all the federated associations, calling upon them to agitate for the suppression of the House of Lords as a legislative body in case it shall persist in opposing the will of the people. Gladstone does not sign the circular, but it is understood as well as if he did that he is behind it.

The Irish home rule issue is an internal dissension in a foreign empire, in which Americans, however their sympathies may incline, must at best take part with diffidence and uncertainty. Home rule is not a principle of unlimited application, as Americans demonstrated between 1861 and 1865.

But this proposition to abolish the House of Lords does appeal to a universal principle, inasmuch as it represents the principle of popular government against royal and class rule. No man deserving to be called an American, no man believing in the right of the people to rule, can refuse to throw up his hat and hurrah at the cry of "Down with the lords." As the circular well says of this attack on the lords, "If we proceed with courage and determination, not only will the Irish question be settled, but a real era of reform will be entered upon."

We should say so. Nothing so breezy has come over the cable since it was laid, as this news that England is getting ready to abolish the lords. The tuft-hunting American heiress will be alone in her lamentations.

Meanwhile, let no American put his hands in his trousers' pockets while he waits to see the Englishmen down their lords. We too have our lords. Aristocracy is bad enough, but plutocracy is worse, and that is what is the matter with America. The noble lord is bad enough, but the money lord is infinitely more powerful and more dangerous.

Symptoms of Returning Sanity on the Silver Question.

Well! well! here is that red hot gold standard republican sheet the newsy New York Press, following the New York Recorder into the bi-metallist camp. Its flop is not quite so dramatically complete as the Recorder's, but it gets there just the same. In the issue of September 16 it prints at the head of the editorial page Senator Mitchell's great declaration for bi-metallism in his September 12 speech, and in a long editorial, after proving that the demonetizing of silver was a great wrong to all the debtors of the country, closes as follows:

But the man who contends that it would be immoral to remonetize silver for that reason [that it would lessen debts] must confess that

it was equally immoral to demonetize it in 1873. The truth is that every creditor is benefited by that which increases the general prosperity of debtors. The man in New York who holds Kansas mortgages cannot, in the long run, profit by a system that urges his debtors toward bankruptcy. What the wealth producers of all lands require is that there should be such stability of values as will permit no change for or against the creditor or debtor, and that stability can be had only by resort to bi-metallism.

We welcome the Press into the camp of common-sense. "While the lamp holds out to burn" etc.

It appears that Robert Giffen, the celebrated British statesman, who has hitherto been the mainstay of the gold mono-metallists, has practically given away the whole snap by admitting in his recent book that the silver men are right in their main contentions, namely, (1) that there is not enough gold to do the world's business on (2) that gold has appreciated during the past 20 years since silver's demonetization, to the great wronging of debtors (3) that this appreciation has been due to silver demonetization (4) that it is not good for the world that the unit of value should appreciate (5) that it is not necessary to trade that nations should have the same unit of value. With these points conceded there is simply nothing left of the case for gold.

The Springfield Republican, another stiff gold sheet, has been reading Prof. Spahr's review of Giffen's book in the current Political Science Quarterly, and having rather more conscience (although too frequently mislaid) than most capitalistic sheets, is under conviction for the stories it has been telling its readers. In an editorial of September 15 appears this:

What a great many people of both the gold and silver-gold parties are failing to see in considering the forces back of this general rejection of silver is the natural progress of the civilized world away from the necessity of employing to any such extent as heretofore costly and useful metals as measures of value.

This seems to squint very perceptibly toward the policy of demonetizing both metals. That is better even than bi-metallism.

On the whole, we think it plain that the country is undergoing a decided reaction from the anti-silver fever which is certainly one of the most acute attacks of "dampfoolism" it ever suffered from.

Charlotte P. Stetson: If the individual will not furnish employment the public must, for the poor man is the public and can do as he pleases — did he but know it.

Boston is to have a rare treat presently in a course of six lectures on social reform in England, by William Clarke, a member of the Fabian society and one of the leading socialists of London. Mr. Clarke came to America to take part in the Labor's Congress, and during the next two months is to speak in several of our eastern cities. His lectures in Boston will be given at the Wells Memorial building, on successive Sunday evenings, beginning October 8. His subjects are as follows: "Carlyle and Ruskin and their Influence upon English Social Thought"; "Socialism in England"; "The Government of London"; "The Fabian Society and its Work"; "English Working-class Leaders"; "The London Workingmen." Mr. Clarke is an effective speaker as well as an able thinker, and he will have a warm reception by the friends of social reform.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE ETHICS OF JOURNALISM.

The Political Revolt Spreading. The Situation in the South. Politics. Note and Comment.

Members of the people's party in this state, to whom nomination papers have been sent, are requested to make a special effort to secure names and return the papers to the committee. The last day for filing nomination papers is October 16. Persons wishing nomination blanks can address Henry R. Legate, the Traveller, Boston, or apply at the office of The New Nation and they will be promptly forwarded.

"The domination of the business office over the editorial department is a development of recent years" says J. W. Keller, president of the New York Press club, in the Forum. He looks upon this as the "natural consequence of the gradual evolution of journalism into a purely money-making business." J. G. Speed, for many years managing editor of the New York World, puts the case as a news editor would naturally do when he admits that our newspapers "do not record the really serious happenings, but only the sensations, the catastrophes of history." It is useless to deny the allegations of these two journalists. C. R. Miller, one of the owners of the New York Times, wards the blow as follows:

"I am not in politics—I am in morals," said Charles Sumner once in that sententious, complacent way of his. If the modern censors of the press could have their wish, the newspapers would not be in the business of printing news, but in morals. . . . Taken the way editors have to take it, the publication of a newspaper devoted entirely to exalted themes is commercially impossible. Personally, I am glad of it; for such a newspaper would be tough reading, and its writers the most miserable of men.

The lamentable part of the special pleading of Mr. Miller is that he was trained under the immediate eye of the late Samuel Bowles, who taught his young men to give the news and tell the truth about it. Mr. Miller's paper has lost this quality since it passed into the hands of Daniel Lamont, W. C. Whitney and the set of men known in New York as the insurance ring. These sneers at morals in journalism or in most of the professions are significant signs. Monopoly has its hands upon the professions, and so long as the telegraph is owned by private speculators, it is useless to expect newspapers to give the news. Our hope lies with the voters. Let them send men to Congress who will work for the establishment of a government telegraph and telephone. The nine populists in Congress are solid for it.

At the special election on the 7th for representative to the Georgia Legislature from Whitefield county, Riley Giddens, populist, was elected by some 200 majority over his democratic opponent. Last October the county went democratic. Upon the eve of the election the Atlanta Constitu-

tion declared that no issue was involved except that of "democracy and popularism." The Atlanta Journal, Hoke Smith's paper, is very hot over this defeat and the Bourbons all over the state cannot understand it. Other things passing their understanding are likely to happen in Georgia in the near future.

The Weymouth (Mass.) Gazette resents the action of parties who are offering the country press "goodly prices" for printing partisan editorials. The offers come through an advertising agency. In its opinion "a subsidized press is more to be feared than any evil menacing this great nation."

The Rising Tide of Reform.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press calls upon republicans and democrats to fuse in order to stamp out the people's party. "Greater than the silver question" it exclaims, "greater than the tariff issue, is the necessity of stamping out the foreign plague of anarchy that has infected many of our people under the name of the people's party. To fuse against this anarchy is as much a duty as it would be for republicans and democrats to enlist under the same flag, if an army of foreign outthroats had landed on our shores and announced the death of the republic." And the Pioneer Press is not the only old party paper that has a panic over the new party. The democracy in the South is getting desperate over the growth of populist sentiment. The reform tide is deep and strong and is destined to sweep the land.

The Outlook in the South.

We have been making some inquiries about the political situation in the South, and are convinced that Georgia, Alabama and Texas will be captured by the populists at the next election. In Texas, joint debates between democrats and populists are being held in all parts of the state. Judge Nugent is certainly in a fair way to be elected governor the next time he runs. A journalist who was present at the recent people's party convention says: "If any politician in Texas has been hugging the fond delusion that the populists compose an insignificant party of malcontents, led by a gang of demagogues, he might as well turn that phantom loose, for the state convention has demonstrated to the satisfaction of every observer that the rank and file are honest, earnest workers for what they believe to be a great and noble cause." In Georgia the democrats have become so disturbed at Watson's personal campaign and the regular work of the Farmers' alliance, that they have appealed to Washington for help. In Alabama trouble is expected, as the farmers declare they will fight if they are counted out a second time. The populist movement in Virginia has become formidable since the conventions. Many republicans are coming to the aid of the third party. It is too early for predictions, but the populists are certainly fighting to win. We do not see much comfort for the democracy in either of the Carolinas, with Marion Butler in the North and Gov. Tillman in the South, pouring hot shot into the Bourbon camp.

Note and Comment.

The populists of Philadelphia at their recent convention nominated the following ticket: Sheriff, Dr. A. H. P. Leuf,

controller, George I. Wilson; recorder of deeds, A. J. Diez; city commissioners, Daniel B. R. Rea, John Duke.

In four Maryland counties the populists have put tickets in the field.

The Somerville (Mass.) Citizen thinks it is significant that a justice of the United States supreme court like Judge Brown should talk nationalism. It is also significant that the Citizen thinks it is significant.

The press dispatches concerning the Iowa convention of the people's party were misleading and we give the ticket as nominated: For governor, J. M. Joseph; lieutenant governor, E. A. Ott; supreme judge, J. A. Gray; state superintendent, Mrs. Withrow.

In Louisa county, Ia., the republican vote last November was 1796, democratic 1069, populist 110. The populist committees have the names of 1185 voters who have since the election joined the people's party. Such straws show a pretty strong wind.

Farmer's Tribune, Des Moines, Ia.: Government depositories for the savings of the people have received an impetus that will never rest until they are secured. The people's party was the first to see and demand what the lack of "confidence" has made imperative.

Before the annual meeting of the St. Paul and Rock Island railroad, financial writers said that the company had money to declare a dividend, but that the officers were afraid to declare a dividend because the employees were resisting a reduction of wages. It was a question whether the western laborer or the eastern moneyed interests should win. The meeting has been held and a dividend declared.

At the Gulf transportation convention in Chicago on the 13th, a resolution was passed favoring the state ownership of the proposed road from the Dakotas to the Gulf. Upon the announcement of the result, Judge Brown and ex-Gov. Ireland of Texas withdrew from the convention. Judge Nugent, who seems destined to be elected governor of Texas on the populist ticket, favors state ownership. A charter to the proposed road has been filed with the Kansas secretary of state; capital, 18 million dollars.

Senator Pepper, in his really admirable speech on the silver question, favors the ultimate abandonment of the metallic basis and the establishment of a "unit of value, that value to be based upon the common divisor of a large number of articles in general use among the people." This is the multiple standard. A bill based upon this principle was introduced by Senator Kyle of South Dakota at the last session and the Massachusetts platform of the populists this year also declares for the multiple standard.

The populists of Ohio are making a good fight. Their great trouble is lack of funds. Persons wishing to aid the cause in that state can send contributions to Charles R. Martin, Box 299, Tiffin, O. Edward J. Bracken, the populist candidate for governor, is proving himself a fine stumper. He is a member of the Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor. As chairman of the legislative committee of the state trades and labor assembly, Mr. Bracken has been instrumental during the past three sessions in securing 40 acts of the Legislature in the interest of labor.

UNDERTAKER'S INSURANCE.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

It recently came to my knowledge that the custom prevails very generally among the poorest classes of the North End in Boston of carrying life insurance for small sums for almost the sole purpose of providing for a decent burial. Policies run from \$15 to \$300, and premiums are from 5 to 50 cents per week, and are payable weekly. The rate is of course high in comparison with that usually made on larger amounts where the premiums are payable semi-annually or annually, but it must cost the insurance companies an extra amount for the clerical and other labor involved in making the petty weekly collections; so that the difference, perhaps in this respect would be about in the same ratio as that of the prices for general commodities and for rent which the poor man is obliged to pay because he is poor. The point, however, which I wish to emphasize is that these policies in a great many cases are lodged during the life of the insured in the hands of the undertaker, so that on the death of the insured the undertaker gives the poor remains such interment as he himself elects, then collects the insurance and pays himself therewith. All this would be fairly rational and in order but that it is the very poor that adopt this course, and it is known in many cases that payments of 40 and 50 cents per week are kept up for years by people whose incomes are never over five dollars and often only a dollar or two weekly. This means a loss of food and warmth during life to provide a burial at death. A pile of insurance policies ten inches high has been noted in an undertaker's safe at one time.

CHAS. M. COX.

Boston, September, 1893.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

Carlyle in a letter dated in 1873, just published in England, said he could see progress in nothing but smithwork, — "a very sooty, shrieky and to me contemptible kind of progress, yielding immensities of gold to those who least of all among us deserve it, and who can do, when one reflects upon it, nothing but mischief by being thus made kings among us, their fellows."

George L. Walker of this city, who edited a bright little paper, — the New England Telegrapher, has discontinued that publication and started Ye Railroad Men. It will appear twice a month and is published from 6 Temple street, Boston. The first number, just received, contains information interesting to railroad men generally and many paragraphs about railroads and labor unions in New England. The newspaper advocates government ownership of the railroads.

Waltham (Mass.) Tribune: There is one feature of the people's party platform for the Massachusetts state campaign which the greater parties would do well to adopt for themselves. It is the demand for a postal bank system for deposit and exchange in which no 30 days notice would be required and where depositors' checks would not be refused payment "until confidence is restored." Recent experiences prove the desirability of such an institution and their successful operation in other countries prove that they could be successfully conducted.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The Brockton city council joint special committee on municipal lighting visited Braintree last week and reports: "We were much pleased with the appearance of the plant and with the lights it furnishes. The arc lights rated at 1200 candle power burned with a steadiness and brilliancy which our lights rated at 2000 candle power do not in my judgment, equal by a marked difference. The incandescent circuits give a bright, clear light, which is much superior to lights of the same rated power in Brockton. The Braintree plant is a revelation of what can be done in municipal lighting greatly in advance of our methods in this city." A portion of the committee are members who were formerly opposed to the method of lighting by municipal control, but who are now free to say that their views have been materially changed.

Connecticut.

The street railway companies of New Haven have been consolidated and plans perfected to run under one system 42 miles of track. Boston furnishes the capital.

Illinois.

The issue of another ten millions of stock by the Chicago gas trust has greatly irritated the local public. A proposition has been presented to the city government, which is a direct step toward a public gas plant. Prof. Edward Bemis of the Chicago university, was consulted by those interested in the movement and doubtless to him is due some of the municipalization features. The plan in brief is that the Chicago and Cook County Gas company be incorporated with a capital of 30 million dollars; a third of this to go to the city for the franchise, a third to the National Gas and Water company, which is an exclusive manufacturer of gas, the remaining third to be sold to private parties; the Chicago and Cook County company to be controlled by a board of directors selected as follows: one third by the city, one third by the National Gas and Water company and one third by trustees selected by the state supreme court, said trustees to hold in trust for voting purposes, three million dollars of the National Gas and Water company's stock. The supreme court and city will thus control the Chicago and Cook County Gas company. The price of 24 candle power gas not to exceed 80 cents net and at the end of 20 years the citizens are to vote whether they will buy the whole plant at cost of duplication.

California.

The Santa Cruz Daily Sentinel has recently discontinued taking all-night dispatches, as the telegraph people have raised the rates. The Sentinel is now calling for government telegraph. Other papers in Santa Cruz have been compelled to give up the late night dispatches.

District of Columbia.

According to the Washington Post, there is talk of the establishment of a printing office in connection with the manual training department of the schools, where the pupils can be taught the printer's trade and at the same time pay for their education by doing the necessary printing work for the district government, which amounts to between \$8000 and \$9000 a year. It is thought that a large part of this

work could be done by the pupils, and would much more than pay for the running of the office, while at the same time giving the pupils a practical education.

Miscellaneous.

The International Typographical union, in accordance with its recently adopted policy, has appointed committees to urge upon Congress the government ownership and conduct of the telegraph. The Typographical Journal says editorially: "The government ownership and control of railway and telegraph lines seems clearly among the possibilities of the future. The feeling among the people is growing rapidly in that direction, and it is the duty of our craft especially to labor incessantly for its consummation. . . . Now is the time to press upon Congressmen, by petition and otherwise, the desire of the people to be relieved of the monopolistic oppression of these corporations. A little reflection will impress the importance of immediate action. Printers can be leaders in this matter, and with arguments so forcibly plain, the task should be a light and pleasant one to perform."

Golden State, Stockton, Cal.: We demand government ownership of railroads. That is one of the planks of the people's party platform. Populists believe in that wonderful instrument, the national constitution. What does it say? "Congress shall regulate commerce between the states, among the Indian tribes and with foreign nations." Who regulates it today? Railroad corporations. It has been taken out of the hands of the people and given over to a privileged class of public plunderers. Three winters ago, one of the severest known, the farmers of Kansas had their barns full of corn, but no fuel; they were freezing. The miners of Pennsylvania had thousands of tons of coal out, but were destitute of provisions. They said, "let us exchange the products of our labor." But the corporation said, "we want a bushel of corn to haul a bushel to the miners, and a bushel of coal to haul a bushel to the farmers; we want all the traffic will bear!" They prevented commerce between the states in violation of the constitution.

John Graham Brooks says in the Forum, that under the German compulsory insurance there are today 13 million laborers insured against sickness, accident, invalidity and old age. The laws providing for insurance against sickness and accident are giving satisfaction; the law providing for insurance against invalidity and old age is not giving satisfaction. This last act defines "invalidity" as inability to earn one sixth of the usual wage and does not pension "old age," except when the traditional threescore and ten years have been completed. Owing to the accident insurance law, there is much less litigation now than formerly with regard to damages. They are usually settled by arbitration boards. One splendid effect of the new laws has been to bring the best expert medical science into the systematic service of the working class. "In the large iron industry of the southwest of Germany" says Mr. Brooks, "the specialists of the first rank are in constant demand by the Trade Association. This means that an entirely different means of health restoration and preservation is slowly but surely being established among the laboring classes." A report by the bureau in Dresden shows that 305,000 cases of sickness had been cared for by physicians at a cost of \$350,000. There was an average of five visits from the doctor for each case. This cost of medical service is marvelously small.

Foreign.

According to the report of the electric light department of New Westminster, B.C., the receipts for lighting were \$6,112, including \$2,000 for street lights. Maintenance and operation cost \$3,690; interest and sinking fund, \$1,505; total, \$5,204; leaving a profit of \$908. Rates, 25 cents for an all night city light, 2000 candle power; midnight commercial lights, 50 cents; incandescent lamps, 16 candle power, one cent an hour, or \$1 a month.

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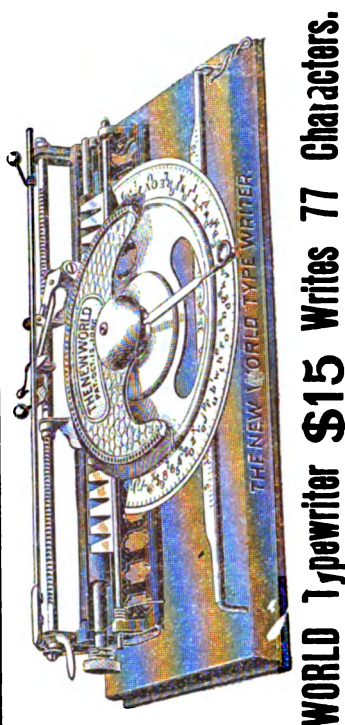
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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

Asa P. Potter, who wrecked the Maverick bank, Boston, has been acquitted. The public was prepared for this result. Mr. Olney used to be the attorney of the Boston and Maine road, which company banked at the Maverick. Olney removed District-Attorney Allen and put in young Sherman Hoar. Potter had a "pull." The national banks, being private corporations enjoying a public franchise, are bound sooner or later to debase both politics and business. The national banks must go.

The National Watchman, published by the populists in Congress, returned last week to the necessity of keeping the populist fight broad. "The fact is" says the Watchman in speaking of silver, "if free coinage should be obtained or any sort of a satisfactory compromise effected, there would not be enough leading or prominent men in that section re-

maining in the populist party to make a funeral procession. Of course the miners, farmers and wealth-producers of that section left to follow out their own inclinations would remain with us. But the wealth-owners and politicians, with a few honorable exceptions, would immediately return to their old party affiliations."

There is an ugly feeling in Manchester, N.H., where as the Amoskeag mills are starting up, wages are found to be reduced. As the operatives have for a long time been unable to earn on an average over a dollar a day, the prospect for the winter is not bright. In view of such facts, reported every day, it passes comprehension how a man like ex-mayor Abram S. Hewitt of New York, could have the face to say, as he did last Sunday in an article printed in the Boston Herald, that working people are getting twice the wages they did 50 years ago and that "the enormous increase of wealth has gone very largely into the possession of the wage earners of the world and particularly of the United States." This reminds us of Puck's recent cartoon, representing a mechanic's family enjoying a turkey dinner. A bank book is sticking out of the husband's pocket, while he orders an intruding anarchist out of the house.

The Union Pacific railroad with its branches, is bonded for over 200 million dollars on which there are arrears of some 40 million in interest. The main line carries a first mortgage of 33 million and a second mortgage of the same amount with about 18 million of overdue interest. Its floating debt is 20 million dollars. The first mortgage is due in two years. Some papers like the Omaha Bee have long contended that the government should wipe out the second mortgage; that is, make a gift of it to the road and permit a reorganization by putting it up at auction. Experts believe that without the incubus of the government mortgage the main line would bring about \$25,000 per mile, or about the amount of the first mortgage. The road could be duplicated for less than the government's mortgage. It takes a good deal of nerve for a man to ask the government to forgive a little debt of over 50 million dollars in order

that the road may have the benefit of private ownership management "under free competitive conditions," and yet this is exactly what is proposed. Another plan is to extend the government mortgage for 50 years. This will keep up rates of course and does not relieve the situation. The final resource is to foreclose and run the road as government property. Rates could then be reduced 60 per cent and the whole monstrous structure of trans-continental transportation under private management would fall to the ground. This issue promises to loom up in the campaign of 1896.

Reasons for the Faith that is in Us.

Some of our Massachusetts contemporaries have considered The New Nation's hope of a populist vote of 10,000 on the state ticket this November as over-sanguine, seeing that something like 3500 was the average vote for our candidates last year. Perhaps we are sanguine, but there are reasons.

One and the main one is the general condition of political discontent resulting from the hard times. The necessary absorption of men in the bare work of making a living is so complete that in ordinary times he gives little thought to public questions, and when election comes just votes in the old rut and goes back to his bench, his counter or his shovel. It is only when the industrial machine breaks down, that the toilers get a chance to think, and like the coal-stokers when a steamship strikes a rock, rush on deck and express a sudden interest about the way things are being run. The voters have lots of leisure this fall and that simple fact, if we see right, bodes ill for the old parties who share pretty evenly between them the responsibility for the present condition of things.

If the people's party of Massachusetts were not too young as an organization and too limited financially to be able to make anything like a thorough state canvass, we should put the figure of its vote this fall at 40,000.

The other reason why we expect a better vote than at previous elections is that we have a better, plainer, more forceful and more distinctly nationalistic platform than at either of the two previous elections in the history of the party in this state. We print it elsewhere in full and advise its careful reading.

Nobody attaches any importance to the platforms the old parties adopt, because they attach no importance to their own platforms. The principles of a new party are on the contrary its only capital, and its only advertisement. Timidity on the part of old parties, where capital is tradition and prejudice, is good politics, but timidity in asserting its principles on the part of a new party is suicide, for its principles are its only excuse for existence.

The Lynn convention, in adopting the platform this year seems to have had a lively sense of this truth. The money plank meets the silver demonetization people by moving the demonetization of gold also. The money standard fight is only a preliminary engagement to the main battle of the people against the monopolists, but the Massachusetts populists have doubtless indicated the right line of tactics to be pursued.

As to this main battle, in which all the outpost fights and skirmishes are presently to be blended, the platform declares that "the only way to deal with monopolies is to

monopolize them in the public interest through public control." In that phrase is found the gist and kernel of the platform, and it will be the gist and kernel of every reform platform yet to be adopted, till the triumph of the people is attained, for that phrase is the "open sesame" to the co-operative commonwealth.

Specifically considered, under this general principle, are found among other planks declarations for national postal banks for savings and exchange, for nationalization of the telegraph and telephone, nationalization of the railroads and nationalization of the coal mines.

In the line of state public control we find demands for state life and fire insurance at cost, the plank which called forth great applause at the convention, and is destined everywhere to come first to the front. We find, of course, the reiteration of the demand for exclusive state management of the traffic in liquor, to be conducted at cost by state agents in communities desiring such agencies.

We find also those most vital propositions the demands for graduated taxes on inheritances and incomes.

The labor planks are especially inspiring. We have first the demand that all public employees, city, state or national, be placed on a classified civil service basis, with admissions, promotions and dismissals strictly for merit, meaning work during good behavior. We have next a flat-footed demand for an eight-hour law, which is dead right. If it does not seem right, it is only because other things are wrong.

We attach great importance to another labor plank, which in declaring it the duty of the state to provide work for the unemployed, also gives the state the much needed information as to how to do it, namely, by so providing the unemployed with means of work according to their trades and gifts that they should co-operatively, under state supervision, support one another. This is the only way of dealing with the unemployed problem, unless you make a mock of it.

The platform, of course, declares absolutely for the municipalization of street car systems, lighting plants, water works and all other local public services.

Nothing in the whole document rings out better than the explicit, unmistakable, unambiguous, flat, straight and irrevocable declaration for "free political suffrage for women, on equal terms with men."

As to the candidates nominated on this most admirable platform, we can only say that they are worthy of it in all respects. We nationalists think of principles first and of men afterward who will fit the principles, and there could be no higher compliment to any men than to be selected because they fit such principles as those embodied in the platform we have rendered tribute to.

A Degenerate Scion of a Noble Sire.

September 18 the centennial anniversary of the laying of the corner stone of the national capitol at Washington was celebrated by elaborate ceremonies, the orator of the day being William Wirt Henry, grandson of Patrick Henry, the fiery orator of the revolution, whose slogan "Give me liberty or give me death" is familiar to every schoolboy. No doubt the grandson's certificates of pedigree are all correct and he is really a descendant of the revolutionary patriot, but no one certainly would have suspected it. If his grandfather had been as oblivious of the crisis then facing America as

his grandson evidently is of the far vaster crisis we are on the brink of, the grandfather would never have been heard of, or, consequently, the grandson either.

We confess to a weariness which tends to develop into irritation over the optimistic of oratory in which our American politicians are wont to indulge on these occasions of historical reminiscence. If any retrospect in history ought to make an American's heart heavy, it is the look backward from our present plutocracy-conquered nation to the young republic so high in hope and noble in aspiration that was founded here a century ago.

Rather should the text for such discourses be "Ichabod," for assuredly "the glory has departed," the light has failed. Our equality has become a byword among the nations and our liberty an open lie. There are none now among the nations so poor as to do us reverence. America stands before the world as a convicted sham.

Yes the republic has failed. To admit that frankly is the beginning of hope. But though the experiment has failed on its first trial, it is not too late to cut down to the foundation and try it again, and then it will succeed. But first of all shut your ears to these fools who go about on national anniversaries, calling foul fair and boasting of our national shame.

What would Patrick Henry think of a scion professing to have his blood in him, who could not smell revolution today?

How the Capitalist System is Tumbling our Way.

Perhaps the biggest private monopoly distinctly outlined is that represented in the reported proposition of Sir George Eliott, who after several years consultation with the leading coal mine owning interests of Great Britain, has just published the outline of a plan for their complete consolidation under one management. The proposition is that after five per cent of the profits of the consolidated management shall have been paid on its bonded debt and ten per cent on its stock, the next five per cent shall be divided between stock-holders and the workmen. The lord chief justice of England is to fix the price of coal.

The total capitalized interest of this great trust would be 550 million dollars, and the number of employees half a million and upward.

If the recent and present great coal strikes in Great Britain had done no other good, they would be amply justified in the effect they have had to convince the British public that some sort of radical change has got to be made in managing the coal business. That is the only main good of all strikes and industrial disturbances. They serve to prove that the present system can not endure, and so far as this true moral is implied, we therefore rejoice at all reasonable strikes.

However, this plan of Brother Eliott would never do at all, except as a starter. The capitalist is not needed. We do not want him any more. He is a fifth and unnecessary wheel in the industrial wagon. The nation, which is the greatest of all capitalists, should directly undertake, in England as well as in America, the coal mining business.

To avoid accusations of wrong doing, a fair price should be paid to present holders of mines, but the business should no longer be run for "profit," but for use only. All com-

pensation made to holders of mines should be in the form not of stock but of obligations, to be extinguished at a definite term by a sinking fund, leaving the people the only holders.

Cost of Carrying Railroad Passengers.

The zone system of railroad rates which is so successfully operated in Hungary, has made a deep impression upon James L. Cowles, well-known in railroad circles. He says:

Distance costs practically nothing in the transportation of freight or of passengers, and, therefore, distance should be disregarded in the discrimination of rates. The rate now charged for the shortest distance for any particular service is the rate that should be adopted for all distances. When once a train starts from Boston to San Francisco, there isn't a man living that can tell the difference in cost of running that train, whether a passenger leaves the train at the first station out of Boston or goes through from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast.

Mr. Cowles further says that there is not \$10 difference between running a train from Chicago to New York, full of passengers or empty. It does not cost \$400 to haul a train bearing 600 passengers from New York to Chicago. One dollar per trip per passenger would, in his opinion, pay all expenses, including reasonable return for capital invested. The New York Central and Lake Shore roads are carrying passengers on their "Exposition flyer" for \$31, of which \$5 go to the Wagner company. If Mr. Cowles knows what he is talking about, the public, which gives these companies their franchises and then patronizes them, is being swindled. The country is becoming very sensitive on the railroad question. Their administration has of late been so disgracefully careless and the combinations so wantonly extensive, that the demand for public ownership is growing louder every day. It is the only way out.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

Joseph Cook confesses that he watched the parliament of religions at Chicago with "fear and trembling." He says: "But I have some fears as to part of it, and yet I think my hopes are now stronger than my fears. It is too early yet for a final estimate. It was supposed at first that Christianity would concede doctrinal parity with herself to the various sects represented. All that I understand now to be conceded is parliamentary parity." Mr. Cook is a fine example of the religious monometallist. The Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of the race would find some trouble in getting under the shelter of "parliamentary parity" which Cook coldly concedes.

The Topeka Advocate is not inclined to follow the lead of the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, which urges the people's party to center all its force upon doubling the metallic basis of our currency. The Advocate demands a legal tender paper currency and adds: "We must also have a system of postal savings banks, where money may be deposited with some degree of safety, and where exchanges may be effected without robbery. The people's party proposes to move forward and not backward, and the News may be assured that so long as it has an existence it will never surrender its demands upon the questions of land, transportation, finance and the means of communication for any single issue whatever."

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Principles of the New Party. The Platform in Full. Politics. Note and Comment.

The people's party would not be in the field if the laws on economics decreed by the two old parties had not put the great bulk of the wealth of this country into the hands of a very few men. Special privileges mean a plutocracy.

One of the monstrous private monopolies is a money system that constantly contracts the volume of the currency, thus adding to the burden of the debtor classes. All economists know that in a solvent nation the purchasing power of the dollar increases as the volume decreases and that the purchasing power of the dollar decreases as the volume increases, other things being equal. Dollars, like potatoes or pig iron, are subject to the laws of supply and demand.

The volume of currency circulation of the United States was in 1865 (population 35 million) \$2,122,437,841. The volume of the currency July 1, 1893 (population 65 million) was \$2,120,281,093.

The result has been that the price of commodities has declined. That is, a farmer must raise more wheat and labor strike more times upon the anvil to secure a dollar. Gold the world over in the last 30 years has appreciated 40 per cent, putting upon the debtor classes a money burden, as measured by the price of commodities, equal to a sum that could buy out all North America and make an ugly hole in South America. As President Andrews of Brown university has said, when the national debt was two and three quarter billions, it could have been paid with 18 million bales of cotton or 25 million tons of pig iron. When the debt had been reduced to one and a quarter billions, it would take to pay it off some 30 million bales of cotton or 32 million tons of pig iron.

This is what an "honest" gold dollar has done, and Americans talk politics like angels, but go down and vote like galley slaves. Both of the old parties are irrevocably pledged to the gold dollar on an intrinsic basis. It would have been much more honest the past 20 years to make pig silver a legal tender. Compare it with wheat, for example. Silver was \$1.32 and wheat \$1.41 in 1872; silver \$1.13 and wheat \$1.19 in 1882; silver .86 and wheat .80 in 1892 and July 1 last, just as the banker's panic was starting, silver and wheat were both .62.

The people's party accepts free coinage of silver as the most ready means of securing money enough to do the business of the country. The great bulk of the populists, however, reject the intrinsic value theory of money as barbarous. They want legal tender treasury notes, the volume to be so regulated that the loaner's dollar of today shall buy tomorrow an equal amount of commodities. The true standard of values is the products of the people.

Those who cling to the gold standard look upon the producer as a bird to be plucked. Those who demand the multiple standard ask even justice. The two views are as

antagonistic as oil and water. Speculators have cornered the money; the populists demand that money be nationalized and postal banks be established for the benefit of the people.

A second method of robbing the people is to accept transportation franchises from the public, unite small roads, reduce the number of employees and raise rates. It is possible to carry passengers from New York to Chicago for \$5, at a profit. The monopolists are doing it for \$15 today. The railroads kill and wound 40,000 people annually. One reason is that most of them pay regular premiums to insurance companies and thus are in a measure, relieved of the responsibility for taking life. The populists demand that the railroads shall be nationalized, and that state insurance be established. No state would insure a corporation against the consequences of killing people.

A third monopoly that forages off the people and holds its selfish grip, like a medieval law, on the daily press, is the telegraph. There is much superficial talk about the evils of inflation. But what money inflation can equal that system of inflation that builds the Western Union Telegraph company for 30 million dollars and now declares dividends upon 100 million? The populists demand the nationalization of the telegraph and the attachment of that service to the post office department.

Still another monopoly is found in coal in mines, which under "free" competition is dug out of the earth and the heart's blood of miners for less than \$2 a ton and sold in Boston for \$5.50 and in the West at \$6 and \$8. The populists are demanding louder and louder the nationalization of the coal mines.

In a general way it may be added that when a public utility is captured and run for the benefit of a few at the expense of the many, the party is bound to advance upon it with the club of public ownership.

The political economy of the people's party is sound, and will triumph.

Massachusetts, Virginia, Ohio, Wisconsin and Iowa elect full tickets, and the populists have made their nominations. In the eight states where subordinate officers are elected this year, the new party is setting up its standard.

THE MASSACHUSETTS TICKET.

Governor, GEORGE H. CARY of Lynn.

Lieut-Governor, JOSEPH K. HARRIS of Haverhill.

Secretary of the Commonwealth, ISAAC N. SKINNER of Waltham.

Treasurer and Receiver-General, THOMAS A. WATSON of Braintree.

Auditor, MAURICE W. LANDERS of Pittsfield.

Attorney-General, CONRAD RENO of Boston.

Platform of the Massachusetts People's Party, adopted at Lynn, Sept. 6, 1893.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, adherents of the People's Party, in convention assembled, again pledge our support to the principles of the platform adopted at Omaha on July 4, 1892. We congratulate the party on the magnificent vote polled in the last presidential election, when Gen. James B. Weaver, its candidate, received the suffrages of more than a million of his fellow citizens, and we have every reason to

believe that our cause will ultimately triumph at the ballot box.

We declare that the economic distress and oppressions which have culminated in the present business crisis are the result of the conquest of the business interests of the people and their means of livelihood by gigantic monopolies, financial and industrial, and we charge upon both the democratic and republican parties the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of the producing classes. We declare that the only way to deal with private monopolies is to monopolize them in the public interest through public control.

We emphasize the insufficiency of the circulating medium for the business needs of the country. We insist that the refusal of Congress, while repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, to give to silver any money function, plainly proves that both the old parties are determined to force upon us a single gold standard. The world's exchanges increase several times as fast as the supply of gold available for coinage. Thus, on a gold basis, the purchasing power of the dollar is increased, the debtor robbed and the creditor enriched by a vicious and arbitrary change in the contract, time obligations made contingent upon the luck of the miner and the machinations of speculators, and periodical panics precipitated in a land of plenty. We believe that the time has come to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation and to look to Washington and not London for stable conditions of commerce. If silver is to be permanently deprived of its money function, gold also should be demonetized; and, therefore, we call for a system of legal tender treasury notes, issued only by the government, to be irredeemable except as they are receivable for government dues and regulated in volume as the market price of commodities may indicate, so that the supply of money shall keep pace with the legitimate demands of business and demoralizing fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar cease forever. In default of such an issue of legal tender notes, we favor free coinage of silver as affording with gold a more honest money than gold alone.

We demand a postal bank system for deposit and exchange, in which 30 day notices would not apply nor depositor's checks be refused payment until confidence is restored. And we condemn the perpetuation and extension to private corporations of the power of issuing money, which is the proper function of the government.

As protection against monopoly is the right of every citizen, we call for the assumption by the government as soon as practicable of the ownership of the railroads, which as now conducted are little short of chartered conspiracies against the peace and prosperity of the people; and we especially urge that steps be taken to acquire coal mines that are at present exploited by combinations of capitalists, and that a federal system of mining and coal distribution be immediately established.

We reiterate our demand that the government of the United States shall, at the earliest possible moment, begin to acquire the telegraph and telephone lines, or to build others, that we may have in connection with our post office system what is enjoyed by nearly every civilized nation.

We favor as the only cheap and absolutely safe system, state fire and life insurance at secure rates without profit.

We believe the solution of the liquor problem lies in the elimination of the element of profit, and therefore demand that the sale of liquor shall be exclusively carried on by the state at cost through salaried officials in such municipalities as shall apply for such agencies, and that the national government shall regulate the importation, manufacture and transportation of all intoxicants so as to protect the states in their exclusive management of the same.

We favor a graduated tax on inheritances and incomes.

We protest against the contract system practiced by municipalities in employing labor. Municipal employment should be direct and responsible. We demand that all pub-

lic employees, national, state and municipal, be brought under a classified civil service with admissions and promotions for merit only and dismissals for cause after hearing.

We condemn the present management of industry because it fails to provide work for multitudes of willing hands, while at the same time overworking those who are employed. We therefore favor the reduction of the time of labor to an eight hour day, which will tend both to lighten the burdens of the workers and to increase the number of those finding employment.

We call attention to the condition of the unemployed, which, under pressure of business depression, is assuming the proportions of a great national tragedy. We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan to supply one another's need. As the first practical step to this end we urge an immediate census and registration of the unemployed. We are in favor of adding to our bureau of labor statistics, employment agencies and bureaus of information, affiliated with similar institutions in other states and centralized in the department of labor at Washington. In the selection of officers and engagements of employees, women should be given full proportion of positions.

We demand that convicts be employed exclusively upon such articles as can be used in our penal and charitable institutions, any surplus thereof to be distributed so as not to compete with free labor.

We favor full political suffrage for women on an equal basis with men.

We demand such laws as shall compel the wealthy holders of personal property to pay their share of the taxes. We commend a doomage law with sufficient penalties to procure sworn lists of such property, and its taxation by a uniform rate in all municipalities, with the distribution of the proceeds to all the cities and towns on a fair basis.

We congratulate the people of Massachusetts upon the amendments to the municipal lighting law, secured in the Legislature at the last session in the interest of towns desiring to acquire private plants, and we condemn the republican majority for its defeat of the amendment fixing the rate of compensation at which such plants should be acquired at not more than the duplication cost of an equivalent plant without compensation for the franchise.

We favor the municipalization of local public utilities such as the furnishing of gas, electricity, water, street railway transportation, etc.

We favor election laws which shall place upon equality all political parties or organizations in the selection of candidates and the placing of their names on the official ballot.

We demand of municipalities, states and the nation, the immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Massachusetts Notes.

/We hope our populist friends will push the work of securing signatures to the Massachusetts nomination papers.

The Haverhill populists have opened headquarters at No. 31 Washington street. The rooms will be open day and evening during the campaign.

There will be a populist meeting in City hall, Lawrence, October 22, at 7.45. George H. Cary and Henry R. Legate are the speakers.

Two local assemblies of the Knights of Labor united in an open meeting at West Quincy on the evening of the 22d. Henry R. Legate delivered a people's party address.

Our advice to the populists all over the state is to make nominations for the Legislature in as many towns as it is

practicable. It is high time for the third party to assault the state house.

Holyoke Free Press: The populists are not the long-whiskered, sockless specimens of men that the Eastern papers make them. They represent the brains and business of the great agricultural western states, and when they speak, it is in no uncertain tones. The day is coming when the East will listen to them.

Populist nominations: Legislature, — 17th Essex district, Arthur E. Watson, Swamscott; James A. Elliot, Lynn; 18th district, Benjamin F. Ford and John H. Clark, Lynn; 19th district, Edward D. Priest and George W. Horne, Lynn; 20th district, Hiram M. Easton and J. W. Gibboney, Lynn.

At a populist convention at Lawrence on the 26th, the following nominations were made: For senator, 6th Essex district, H. W. R. Eastman. Representative, 4th Essex district, Thomas P. Cahill, Maurice Hennessy; 5th Essex district, Alexander Love, Edward Carr.

The city government of Marlboro, having been unable to discover who owns the common and consequently having refused to grant a permit to speakers who desire to discuss economic questions, a meeting of workmen was held at Forester's hall, Sunday afternoon, on which occasion Henry R. Legate addressed the meeting on public questions.

"For God's Sake, Do Something."

This is the head line of the Atlanta Constitution in an editorial to Congress upon discovering that the "solid South," is gradually becoming only an historical expression. Five populist victories within two months is too big a dose. The Constitution, with the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal and the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier forms the strongest bulwark in journalism that the southern democracy has. "Let Georgia's representatives" cries the Constitution, "lead in the fight for freedom against the despotic domination of Wall street, and England, old and new! It is disheartening to see one county after another electing third party officers on the very heel of the most glorious democratic victory ever achieved in this country. And yet in quick succession Washington, Warren, Whitfield and Rockdale have done so, while in DeKalb a democratic majority of over 1000 has been reduced to 300. Something must be done!"

Note and Comment.

The Daily Populist has just put in an appearance at Spokane.

Another Missouri county has gone populist at a special election.

The populist officials in Kansas are cutting down the state expenses about 50 per cent. This a new kind of politics and is "ketchin" everywhere but in the old parties.

Lynn Daily Press, Mass.: The New Nation estimates that the people's party will cast 10,000 votes in Massachusetts this fall. There is no denying that the populists must be considered a noteworthy element of Bay State politics.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The house lighting branch of the Braintree system is being energetically pushed and the Braintree Reporter remarks with great satisfaction that "it is safe to say that no town in Massachusetts has streets so well lighted as Braintree, or a more perfectly equipped electric lighting plant." It is yet too early to tell how cheaply the domestic service will cost. The number of lights most frequently used in the average sized houses is 18 to 25, and the number of hours registered in such houses connected with the town plant during July and August was from 225 to 380 each month, making the monthly bills for the light \$1.35 to \$2.28, to which is added a charge of ten cents for use of meter.

Boston Record: The miners' association in Yorkshire, England, suggests that Parliament declare that all natural deposits belong to the nation and that the government proceed to work the coal mines to prevent the wholesale starvation of the people. The ideas of Bellamy are thus permeating England and in such a crisis as confronts the Yorkshire miners it is hardly to be doubted that nationalism would prove a good thing.

New York.

The special committee on electric lighting recommending a public lighting plant for Rome, has submitted a report from the electrical expert, C. O. Mailloux of New York city. It is estimated that the city can build its own plant for \$42,000, and that the cost per lamp can be lessened to about \$90, and perhaps, considerable more. The present price is about \$120.

Minnesota.

People's Press, Duluth: "The St. Louis river water power near Duluth, which is the most important water power in the country, with the single exception of Niagara falls, has been exploited by private capitalists, who are doing all they can to injure Duluth by keeping the power in an undeveloped condition. Duluth ought to own this water power. An effort should be made by the city to get possession of it before it gets into the hands of some monopoly." Citizens of Duluth are agitating in favor of a public market. Some of the aldermen are opposing an order introduced into the council, giving an exclusive market right for 25 years. There is a strong local feeling in favor of the building of a market by the city.

Kansas.

Pittsburg Kansas: Nationalism — do you know what it is? Keep your ear to the ground and you will find out a great deal about it this fall.

Miscellaneous.

Omaha Bee: The latest in municipal public works is the city telephone system, which the city of Glasgow is about to put into operation. A few successful experiments of this kind may serve to bring the telephone monopolies in this country to their senses and reduce the charge for telephone service in our business centers.

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

F. Q. B. of Monson, Mass.: There seems to be quite a tendency toward nationalism or rather the people's party here, and I am very desirous to help the cause along.

Mrs. D. B. S.: Dr. Channing said that the only soul cheering paper he saw was the National Anti-Slavery Standard. So I say of The New Nation.

Dallas (Tex.) Herald: The New Nation comes to our table as bright and refreshing as it is possible for the genial rays of truth, expressed in the best of pure English, to make it.

F. G. R. of Manchester, N.H.: Inclosed find money to keep up the 25c. plan, proposed sometime ago by me. If the readers of The New Nation will follow up this plan, it will be enlarged in no time. Come boys, brace up. Everyone send in 25 cents this month and you'll be doing a Christian act.

Mrs. R. J. C. of Springport, Mich.: Inclosed find petition for government control of telegraph and telephone. Only two gentlemen of those to whom it was presented refused to sign it. I could have secured a great many more names if I had had the time to circulate it. I keep my New Nations doing duty by giving away to different ones as soon as we are done with them.

If you wish to be able to favor government ownership of the railroads from the railroad employees' standpoint, you should read

YE RAILROAD MEN,
published semi-monthly at No. 6 Temple Street, Boston. One dollar per year.

Francis Noreen.
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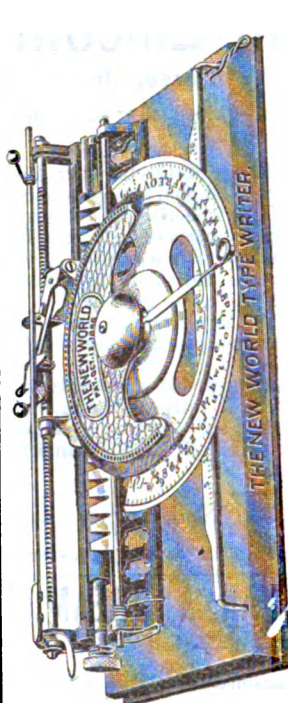
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The result of the visit of Georgia politicians to Washington, bearing a letter to the president from Gov. Northen, urging him to modify his position on the silver purchase repeal issue, has brought out a singular letter from Cleveland expressing his astonishment at the opposition to his financial policy that is developing in the South. He is quick enough to see that the monstrous contraction of our currency, which has gone on for years, is oppressing the producer, and while he repeats his demand for repeal, which aggravates that contraction, he attempts to shield himself from responsibility by the really puerile declaration: "I will not knowingly be implicated in a condition that will justly make me in the least degree answerable to any laborer or farmer in the United States for a shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar he has received for a full

dollar's worth of work or for a good dollar's worth of the product of his toil." And yet he persists in a course that is destined to call upon him the resentment of every laborer and farmer. Populists are blossoming out in the South like apples trees in May.

The Boston Transcript is betrayed into a zeal without knowledge in calling Senator Cameron a traitor to his party and state for standing up for silver. Cameron voted for free silver before his recent election to the Senate. The republican convention which assembled a few weeks ago demanded a \$40 per capita circulation of the currency, which is within \$10 of the Omaha platform demand, the present nominal per capita being \$23. A motion in the resolutions committee of the Pennsylvania league of republican clubs condemning Cameron was voted down at Reading, and the dispatches from Philadelphia say that the Manufacturers' club are in favor of free silver, if the tariff is to be left untouched. The Transcript makes even a greater error in claiming Georgia for repeal. Gov. Northen and the Atlanta Constitution ought to know something about that state, and their silver demands called out the president's letter of last week.

"A number of unemployed miners in Cherokee county" remarks the Topeka (Kan.) Advocate, "are organizing a co-operative coal mining association for the purpose of operating mines on the nationalist plan. If the state would furnish coal lands to such associations and then see that their coal was shipped at a reasonable rate of freight, there would be no more miners' strikes and no more coal combines." We advise monopolistic friends to keep an eye upon these repeated demands for some state supervision of co-operative work for the unemployed. The keynote was struck by the Massachusetts populist convention this year when it said in its platform: "We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several

trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan, to supply one another's need."

Don't Forget the Express Business.

There does not get so much said in our reform papers about the nationalization of the express business as about some other forms of nationalization, as of the telegraphs and railroads, for instance. Of course it is in the program, but the impositions of the telegraphs and railroads are more in the public eye and get more attention. In its way, however, the wickedness of the express business as managed by the corporations which monopolize it in this country, is as sweet a morsel as Satan ever rolled under his tongue.

A piece of striking, if rather roundabout, testimony to this fact was afforded by a recent debate in the British House of Commons, September 19, as reported in the London Times. It appears that Mr. Henniker-Heaton complained of the delay of the British post office authorities, in negotiating a postal express or "parcel post" arrangement with the postal authorities of the United States for the cheap dispatch of packages. Mr. John Morley explained the reasons for the delay in the following language:

With regard to establishing a parcel post between this country and the United States, the honorable member was quite wrong in thinking that there had been any difficulty raised on the part of this country. The post office had endeavored to bring about an arrangement through the foreign office, but in America there are large corporations and companies which dealt with the carrying of parcels, and these were so strong as to paralyze the action of the United States government.

Yes, Mr. Morley, you have it about right. The republican and democratic parties have not found it out yet, but the people's party has. Fellow-reformers, when resolving, don't forget the express companies.

Genesis of Railroad Accidents.

One of the features of the letters sent to The New Nation accompanying names signed to the petitions to Congress in favor of a government telegraph and telephone system, is the large number in which the question is asked: "Why do you not include the railroads also?" It is very gratifying to see the minds of men in these dismal times of economic oppression, turning instinctively toward public ownership as the most natural and scientific way of dealing with a private monopoly, and it is especially encouraging to find the sentiment in favor of nationalizing the railroad system of this country with its track mileage of over 200,000, rising so spontaneously as the incompetency of private administration of transportation manifests itself. The railroad kings are working for nationalism by proving in their own management that no other system will give satisfaction.

The year 1893 is deep-tinted in the statistics of death and casualties. Memorable wars have been fought with a less expense of blood. Even when conditions are normal under private management, our railroads are in the habit of killing and wounding some 40,000 a year in the United States. According to the last annual report of the interstate commerce commissioners, the number killed in railroad accidents in one year was 7029. The number of murders in the country for the same time was about 6000. The number of injured was 33,881; total killed and injured by railroads, 40,910. The past summer's story of accidents will

swell this record to alarming proportions. It has been generally remarked of late that men whose business requires them to travel extensively, are developing a timidity in boarding trains that is entirely new to them.

If we analyze the present railroad methods we may discover the immediate occasion of many accidents and at the same time find an argument in favor of a public conduct of that service. That the character and proficiency of train men have degenerated materially during the last decade, it needs no argument to prove. On many roads this may be said of conductors and those of higher grades also. This is largely due to the method of hiring men. The general rule is that railroad employees are bonded, that is, the men give bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties. Theoretically this practice would tend to call to the railroad service a responsible grade of men; practically it has just the opposite effect. Companies have been formed to furnish bonds for railroad men for a given fee. They are known as guarantee companies and they keep the record of all railroad men. The railroads practically do not undertake to collect these bonds when one of their servants prove faithless. In a word, the guarantee companies are agencies for the keeping of "black lists" of undesirable men. Men discharged "for cause," find when they apply to other roads that they at once run up against these black lists in the process of getting their bonds perfected. The abuse of this system is that it makes cowards of the employees. In case of accident, all the railroad men in sight of the catastrophe suddenly lose the power of memory. This is an odd psychological fact. A Massachusetts citizen interested in the subject, put this question successively to 10 conductors: "If you witnessed a disaster resulting in death to passengers, would you as a witness at the inquest tell all you know?" Nine of them promptly replied "no." The tenth preferred to lose his position rather than his self-respect. And yet a hungry family and self-respect is a combination that is very trying. The outcome of such a system is that the grade of the workers is continually lowered and thus breed carelessness and accidents. Under government ownership and a sound civil service system, the character of the employees would be elevated, and indeed a poor trainman under the present cruel system might become a good one under a good system. The environment can make or unmake human beings.

Again, the railroad corporations have fallen into the habit of insuring for their own benefit, the lives of passengers which they carry. A little experience will determine about the amount of damage a company is forced to pay for injuries in the course of transportation. They then apply to insurance companies for an omnibus insurance on passengers. The railroad company thus fixes the yearly charge from that source, while the insurance company relies upon the poverty of the widows or the injured and the skill of its attorneys to make a pretty penny for itself. Now under a government system of railroads, no such demoralizing practice would be possible. As it now is the railroads, by paying premiums, have written off of their books the responsibility for preserving life. Here is another premium on railroad accidents. Reform in this matter would be possible even without nationalizing railroads. If Massachusetts were to adopt state insurance, a stop would be at once put to the private corporation practice of insuring themselves against the consequences of their own carelessness.

In searching for the cause of railroad accidents, therefore, the nationalist finds a bagful of evidence in favor of public ownership.

THE SOCIAL ORGANISM THE REAL SOURCE OF WEALTH.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

It is strange that a man of W. H. Mallock's accomplishments should have made the mistake he discloses in his paper on "The Real Producers of Wealth," in a recent number of the North American Review. He tells us that which every intelligent person knew; namely, that labor-saving machines have more than doubled the productive power of labor in some directions. But he also asserts that instead of the riches of the few being taken from the products of the many, the present competency of the many is taken from the products of the few; and that not only do the few as a body produce the whole of the wealth which they enjoy, but that they produce as a body every increase of wealth which is year by year enjoyed by the many; and that the many are mere pensioners of the few, jumping to the conclusion that political economists have not given credit where it is due, when considering the question of the inequality of distribution.

If Mr. Mallock will think deeply on this question he will doubtless abandon the position he has taken, and agree with, rather than assume to teach, political economists. They recognize the fact that progress is the result of development in the human family, as a whole, and that inventors and inventions keep step with this development and cannot be disassociated from it; that each improved instrument is what this development of the whole body of society makes possible. There could be no general diffusion of knowledge, even the slightest, without leading up to an improvement in the manner of producing wealth. The earliest implements were rude, but the people were ignorant. The labor-saving machines of today are not so rude, but the people are more enlightened.

Mr. Mallock has mentioned the sewing machine in his paper and pointed out Mr. Singer as one of the few who created the wealth enjoyed by his inventions. But it should be remembered that Mr. Singer did not invent the sewing machine, the manufacture and sale of which made him rich. Elias Howe, Jr. constructed the sewing machine and Mr. Singer copied it. But even Howe gave us nothing new but a combination of what others had developed before him; it would be more correct to say that society had developed what Howe constructed in the sewing machine. This device is the embodiment of a long series of inventions dating back to the discovery of the means of transposing the ore into iron and steel; indeed, further back to the first rude efforts in pottery.

At the risk of a little tediousness, let us look at the steps immediately preceding those of Howe, who is called the inventor of the sewing machine. In the ancient tambouring apparatus the eye-pointed needle was used, and without this Howe could not have constructed the sewing machine. The existence of the steel needle relates back to the first inventions of man, as really as does the living Mr. Mallock to our first parents. The cylinder and cam, the wheel, belt and pulley, the rack and pinion, the shuttle or hook, the needle and tension, in fact all the mechanical elements which enter into the composition of the sewing machine were the invention of others and appropriated by

Howe. Subsequently sewing machine makers modified some parts of Howe's machine and called such modifications inventions. They all drew upon the storehouse of human experience, acquired in a succession of experiments, for even the knowledge enabling them to form this combination of the inventions of others.

One gains unconscious tuition by contact with the organized industries of society. Only a fool would contend that isolated from society either of these men would have known of the existence of even a common needle, much less the eye-pointed needle, or the combinations which go to make up a machine.

Political economists are more comprehensive than Mr. Mallock. They understand that all the improved means of production are sequences of the combined knowledge of mankind, and that the part contributed by one member of society isolated from the balance is infinitesimal and useless. The capacity to superintend and direct large industries is also a society growth and comes along as inevitably as society advances. Even if it were conceded that to invention and the capacity to superintend and direct must be credited the 66 per cent increase in wealth, independently of all that the balance of society has accomplished in this century, the position taken by Mr. Mallock that the few who possess this increase are the inventors and superintendents would be far from tenable. To make his assertion even approximate this, he would have to resurrect Stephenson and put into his hands the profits resulting from the use of the locomotive, bring back Fulton and hand over to him the steamboat earnings, call back Whitney and put him in possession of two thirds the value of the cotton lands, bring back Watts and Morse and a host of others, and include them in the few he acknowledges to be in possession of what these forerunner members of society contributed to create. But the absurdity of his position is evident without specifying still further, excepting as it might make it a little plainer to state this fact. Long and arduous labor and untold amounts of money have been expended in experiments made by thousands from time to time to bring into shape for subsequent perfection devices to increase the production of labor. The persons so engaged fell short of the degree of perfection requisite to immediate success, but the workshops and products were the schools and objects which made success easy of attainment by others who came after them. The thousands lost their time, labor and money in experimenting, so far as they were individually concerned, but society gained it all and such experiments go on indefinitely. It is not necessary to call attention to the host who have been impoverished as pioneers in our railroads and other industries, only to enrich others coming after them, who never even lifted a hand in those enterprises.

Nearly all our largest establishments engaged in the cotton, woollen, iron, steel and other industries are joint stock companies. The stockholders need have no knowledge of the work to be done, and as a matter of fact have none; and much less of the intricate machinery used; and yet they are a part of the few whom Mr. Mallock credits with having created the 66 per cent increase of wealth since the beginning of the century. They do not create, but they do absorb nearly one half of the wealth created in these establishments. The same may be said of stockholders in all the great stock companies, including steamship, railroad, and telegraph organizations of capital. The increase of wealth must be credited to society as the factor creating it, but our system allows the few to absorb it.

JAMES F. KELLY.

Troy, N. Y., Sept, 1893.

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CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE DUTY OF EVERY CITIZEN TO VOTE.

A Grist of Populist News. The Massachusetts Platform in Full. Politics. Note and Comment.

The New Nation receives many interesting letters accompanying the petitions for a government telegraph and telephone. C. F. Blanchard, writing from Concord, N.H., and sending in a petition with names, says:

"The first of this lot of signers, P. B. Cogswell, is the mayor of Concord. He is also editor of the Monitor, Senator Chandler's paper. The Senator was not present when the petition went round, but his son, a vice-president of the corporation that publishes the Monitor, signed, as did also the manager, the bookkeeper and nearly all the men connected with the office as employees. I saw the venerable Parker Pillsbury, well known as an early abolitionist, and asked him for his signature. He replied that, while he was in sympathy with the purpose of the petition, he would not sign because he had neither signed a petition nor voted in 40 years. He, in company with other abolitionists, declined to vote in the days of the anti-slavery agitation because they thought they could make a better impression upon the public in that way.

We have a fine contrast in the above between the academic and the practical reformer. The world cannot be saved by sitting under an apple tree and dreaming beautiful dreams. The percentage of voters, who like Mr. Pillsbury, shrink from the ballot as through it were an unclean thing is astonishingly large. The monopolists and exploiters of public franchises have no fear of cave-dwellers. The ballot is the thing and the right of popular petition is next to it.

Massachusetts Notes.

E. M. White addressed the Boston People's Party club at Marble hall, 514 Tremont street, on Thursday.

Butler (Mo.) Union finds the Massachusetts populist platform "good enough, broad enough and plain enough for all men to stand on."

Alonzo W. Taylor of Peabody was nominated for Senator in the 5th district and Wm. P. Conway of Lynn for the 3d district at a convention in Salem on the 3d.

About 1100 people attended the populist rally in City hall, Lawrence, Tuesday night and listened to admirable addresses by George H. Cary, populist candidate for governor, and Henry R. Legate. The movement has received a decided boom in Lawrence from this meeting.

Middleboro populists turned out in force Wednesday evening to hear George H. Cary and Henry R. Legate discuss the principles of the new party. The populist vote in the town will be materially increased in November.

At a mass caucus of the people's party at Haverhill on the 27th, James F. Carey of Haverhill was nominated for Senator from the 4th district. Other nominations: Representatives, 3d Essex district, E. L. Batchelder, Charles Kelly; 2d Essex district, George Pettingill, B. F. Flanders.

The Haverhill city hall has been engaged for the evening of the 25th, when George H. Cary, populist candidate for governor, will deliver an address.

The voters of Provincetown assembled in large numbers at the town hall on Thursday. George H. Cary and Henry R. Legate were the speakers. Interest in the people's party is spreading all down the cape.

The First Nationalist Club of Cambridge met Tuesday evening at the residence of Linn Boyd Porter, 24 Highland avenue, and listened to an address on "The Real Causes of the Present Financial Disturbance," by Mason A. Green of Boston. A general discussion on the currency question followed the address.

The Weymouth Gazette thinks that the "young and lusty infant of the political nursery" will make a good deal of a noise this autumn, but regrets that the populists have any opinion on the money question. These regrets are shared by bankers, but the infant keeps right on growing.

Populist clubs desiring speakers in this state may be interested to know that the following persons are open to speaking engagements when they can be made without interfering with other duties: George H. Cary, 198 Boston street and Walter Ramsdell, both of Lynn; Capt. Chas. E. Bowers and P. O'Neil Larkin, both 630 Washington street, Conrad Reno, 62 Devonshire street, J. Ransom Bridge, Exchange Building, Walter Manning, 81 Pearl street, Henry R. Legate, The Traveller, Geo. F. Washburn, 465 Washington street, George L. Walker, 6 Temple street, all of Boston; Isaac W. Skinner, Waltham; Hon. Henry Winn, Malden; Joseph K. Harris, Haverhill and E. Gerry Brown, Brockton.

Colorado for the People's Party.

"The terrible financial strain we are under" writes a Colorado subscriber, 'is making populists very fast and you need not be surprised to note that every county in this state goes for the people's party this fall. When they reach the people's party resting place, it is an easy grade to nationalism and many scarcely stop until they proclaim themselves in favor of absolute government control."

Socialist Labor Manifesto.

The socialist labor party of Massachusetts has issued a campaign manifesto to the workingmen, in which we find this good talk: "The proletariat may vote himself from the wage system into that of equal partners in the business of the country. Will you do this? is the question the socialist labor party asks of the wage workers (the salaried class is included, as their cause is identical with the poorest paid labor). Once again citizens may become self-employers as our fathers were when hand tools were used in individual production. Individual ownership of the means of individual production is a necessity with economic development in its infancy. Social ownership of the means of social production, now that economy can no longer be served by private control, of capital is an equal necessity to economic evolution to continue and increase its colossal power of production. Political freedom with meager economic advantage was given with our birth as a nation. Possible political freedom now with emancipation from the curse either of

overwork or idleness, by the free and universal use of labor-saving machines is ours and the inheritance of our children."

Note and Comment.

A strong people's party club has been formed at West Quincy this week.

The New York Press prints a cartoon representing a populist wrecking the Lake Shore train at Kendallville. This is a familiar sign. The declining party always fires signals of distress.

C. S. Louis of South Reading, Vermont, has just finished a stumping tour for the people's party in Orleans and Caledonia counties. The enthusiastic indorsement of his audiences shows that even Vermont is not proof against the grand tide of reform that is running in this country.

This is the wording of the Iowa platform on the public conduct of the liquor traffic: "We demand that the present law shall be maintained until such time as it can be replaced by what is known as state and national control, with all profits eliminated, which we believe to be the true method of dealing with the question."

Cleveland's appointment of Hornblower to the United States supreme bench will renew the protests against his astounding policy of taking care of the corporations. Hornblower is a trust and corporation attorney. He has had no other professional business beyond monopolies. Olney and Hornblower are corporation chums.

Thomas V. Cator of San Francisco, Cal., writes: "We hope to make a great gain in California in 1894, at the general state election. Of course the question of carrying the state then is one we cannot more than speculate upon. We cannot be stopped from having it to a certainty in 1896. Am much pleased with the proceedings at your Massachusetts state convention."

The populist campaign in Iowa is warming to a white heat. The meetings being held draw immense crowds. Calls are being made from all parts of the state for Gen. Weaver and in some instances republicans and democrats are urging local populist committeemen to secure speeches from him. From every quarter of the state letters are being received at headquarters, declaring that the old parties are fearing a populist landslide.

THE MASSACHUSETTS TICKET.

Governor, GEORGE H. CARY of Lynn.

Lieut-Governor, JOSEPH K. HARRIS of Haverhill.

Secretary of the Commonwealth, ISAAC W. SKINNER of Waltham.

Treasurer and Receiver-General, THOMAS A. WATSON of Braintree.

Auditor, MAURICE W. LANDERS of Pittsfield.

Attorney-General, CONRAD RENO of Boston.

Platform of the Massachusetts People's Party, adopted at Lynn, Sept. 6, 1893.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, adherents of the People's Party, in convention assembled, again pledge our support to the principles of the platform adopted at Omaha on July 4,

1892. We congratulate the party on the magnificent vote polled in the last presidential election, when Gen. James B. Weaver, its candidate, received the suffrages of more than a million of his fellow citizens, and we have every reason to believe that our cause will ultimately triumph at the ballot box.

We declare that the economic distress and oppressions which have culminated in the present business crisis are the result of the conquest of the business interests of the people and their means of livelihood by gigantic monopolies, financial and industrial, and we charge upon both the democratic and republican parties the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of the producing classes. We declare that the only way to deal with private monopolies is to monopolize them in the public interest through public control.

We emphasize the insufficiency of the circulating medium for the business needs of the country. We insist that the refusal of Congress, while repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, to give to silver any money function, plainly proves that both the old parties are determined to force upon us a single gold standard. The world's exchanges increase several times as fast as the supply of gold available for coinage. Thus, on a gold basis, the purchasing power of the dollar is increased, the debtor robbed and the creditor enriched by a vicious and arbitrary change in the contract, time obligations made contingent upon the luck of the miner and the machinations of speculators, and periodical panics precipitated in a land of plenty. We believe that the time has come to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation and to look to Washington and not London for stable conditions of commerce. If silver is to be permanently deprived of its money function, gold also should be demonetized; and, therefore, we call for a system of legal tender treasury notes, issued only by the government, to be irredeemable except as they are receivable for government dues and regulated in volume as the market price of commodities may indicate, so that the supply of money shall keep pace with the legitimate demands of business and demoralizing fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar cease forever. In default of such an issue of legal tender notes, we favor free coinage of silver as affording with gold a more honest money than gold alone.

We demand a postal bank system for deposit and exchange, in which 30 day notices would not apply nor depositor's checks be refused payment until confidence is restored. And we condemn the perpetuation and extension to private corporations of the power of issuing money, which is the proper function of the government.

As protection against monopoly is the right of every citizen, we call for the assumption by the government as soon as practicable of the ownership of the railroads, which as now conducted are little short of chartered conspiracies against the peace and prosperity of the people; and we especially urge that steps be taken to acquire coal mines that are at present exploited by combinations of capitalists, and that a federal system of mining and coal distribution be immediately established.

We reiterate our demand that the government of the United States shall, at the earliest possible moment, begin to acquire the telegraph and telephone lines, or to build others, that we may have in connection with our post office system what is enjoyed by nearly every civilized nation.

We favor as the only cheap and absolutely safe system, state fire and life insurance at secure rates without profit.

We believe the solution of the liquor problem lies in the elimination of the element of profit, and therefore demand that the sale of liquor shall be exclusively carried on by the state at cost through salaried officials in such municipalities as shall apply for such agencies, and that the national government shall regulate the importation, manufacture and transportation of all intoxicants so as to protect the states in their exclusive management of the same.

We favor a graduated tax on inheritances and incomes.

We protest against the contract system practiced by municipalities in employing labor. Municipal employment should be direct and responsible. We demand that all public employees, national, state and municipal, be brought under a classified civil service with admissions and promotions for merit only and dismissals for cause after hearing.

We condemn the present management of industry because it fails to provide work for multitudes of willing hands, while at the same time overworking those who are employed. We therefore favor the reduction of the time of labor to an eight hour day, which will tend both to lighten the burdens of the workers and to increase the number of those finding employment.

We call attention to the condition of the unemployed, which, under pressure of business depression, is assuming the proportions of a great national tragedy. We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan to supply one another's need. As the first practical step to this end we urge an immediate census and registration of the unemployed. We are in favor of adding to our bureau of labor statistics, employment agencies and bureaus of information, affiliated with similar institutions in other states and centralized in the department of labor at Washington. In the selection of officers and engagements of employees, women should be given full proportion of positions.

We demand that convicts be employed exclusively upon such articles as can be used in our penal and charitable institutions, any surplus thereof to be distributed so as not to compete with free labor.

We favor full political suffrage for women on an equal basis with men.

We demand such laws as shall compel the wealthy holders of personal property to pay their share of the taxes. We commend a doomage law with sufficient penalties to procure sworn lists of such property, and its taxation by a uniform rate in all municipalities, with the distribution of the proceeds to all the cities and towns on a fair basis.

We congratulate the people of Massachusetts upon the amendments to the municipal lighting law, secured in the Legislature at the last session in the interest of towns desiring to acquire private plants, and we condemn the republican majority for its defeat of the amendment fixing the rate of compensation at which such plants should be acquired at not more than the duplication cost of an equivalent plant without compensation for the franchise.

We favor the municipalization of local public utilities such as the furnishing of gas, electricity, water, street railway transportation, etc.

We favor election laws which shall place upon equality all political parties or organizations in the selection of candidates and the placing of their names on the official ballot.

We demand of municipalities, states and the nation, the immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

The Carnegie 33d street mill, Pittsburg, Pa., has increased its labor day from 10 to 12 hours. Wages will be 10 cents per hour, instead of \$1.25 per day. This is what the mills are doing all round.

The Second Nationalist club of Boston met at Arcade hall, No. 7 Park square, Sunday evening. It is the purpose of the club to meet in this hall regularly Sunday evenings in future. The work of the club demanded a larger hall, and the members look forward to a lively campaign this winter.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Indiana.

The state supreme court has decided that cities and towns do not possess the power to regulate the price which private companies shall charge for natural gas. "This decision" says Light, Heat and Power, Philadelphia, "will be welcome to many semi-despairing investors in the Hoosier state, who are feeling the finger prints of the populist upon their throats. How will it work at such places as Logansport? Will justice see that the men who have shown their faith in establishing the plan, shall be protected from the popular grabber?" The L. H. & P. is too far-seeing a publication not to realize that when the issue comes as is the case in Indiana, between the "popular grabber" and the private grabber, the former will win. No one proposes in Logansport or anywhere else to confiscate property, but if it is best for a city to own its lighting plant; neither an antiquated state constitution nor a monopolist can long resist the voice of the people.

District of Columbia.

Washington (D.C.) Post: Representative Kem of Nebraska, wants to revolutionize the lighting systems of the district on a socialistic basis. A bill which he introduced yesterday appropriates a million dollars for a public plant to be controlled by the district commissioners. This would do away with the moonlight lighting by the calendar system now in vogue, and put all the lighting on an electric basis. The commissioners of the district are authorized by the bill to provide for lighting the public buildings and grounds of the city, and for supplying light to the citizens by the establishment of an electric light plant. All residents making application for lighting facilities are to be supplied at a cost not exceeding 10 per cent above the cost of production and distribution."

Minnesota.

Judge Willis of Minnesota has refused to grant a temporary injunction restraining the state from erecting an elevator or grain warehouse at Duluth. This is a substantial victory for the farmers and consumers who are fighting the wheat combine. Judge Willis in his decision says: "In the exercise of its police powers, the state has the same right to erect an elevator or warehouse that it would have to erect a building to serve as an office for a grain inspector, the same right it would have to erect a building in which to keep the weights and measures used in connection with the inspection of grain. . . . I hold, expressly, that this elevator is not such an internal improvement as is mentioned in the constitution of the state and which the state by that instrument is inhibited from executing. This elevator corresponds rather with structures such as have been erected for the state university, the state normal schools and as hospitals for the insane."

Miscellaneous.

Topeka Advocate: The populist platform of New York declares for state control of the liquor traffic according to the plan now on trial in South Carolina. There can be no doubt that this plan affords the only practical solution of this problem, and while its adoption by states may fail of the perfect success that would result from its adoption by the general government, because of inability to control the manufacture and wholesale traffic outside of state limits, yet state adoption will afford an object lesson, after fair trial, that will commend the plan to all true friends of the temperance reform.

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

E. D. V. F. of Pawtucket, R.I.: I would not be without The New Nation for three times the subscription price, as I deem it absolutely indispensable for my political peace of mind.

W. E. W. of Denver, Col: Colorado is sprinkled plentifully with nationalists, but we need more literature. The New Nation will do the work if it can only reach the masses. I am doing and will continue to do all in my power to reach the laboring people in this country with this kind of argument.

G. W. H. of Chicago: One thousand names to the government telegraph and telephone petition could be procured on the North Side in this locality if personal time permitted. The above 43 names I obtained in three hours, but one man declining to sign. Give us a public telegraph. It is a demand of the mass against a small class.

J. H. B. of Schuylerville, N.Y.: I inclose two papers with names on government telegraph and telephone petition. The times are ripe for a move of this kind. I have all the doctors and ministers, three of the four lawyers, the express agent, all the merchants and grocery men, also the head man in paper manufactory of this place. This village has a population of some 1800. If this thing were put to a vote of the people, it would be a clean sweep in this town. I am glad to see the work that is being done for the people as against the classes. I say let us have nationalism soon as may be.

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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

✓ A sign of the times is the action of both the democratic and republican parties of Massachusetts this year in borrowing two people's party planks for their platforms, namely, the plank declaring for an inheritance tax and that calling for the Swiss system of the initiative and referendum. This is good for the people's party, but we fear it will prove disastrous for the old parties, for saith not the scripture: "No man also seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment; else the new place that filled it taketh away from the old and the rent is made worse. And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine doth burst the bottles"?

✓ Representative Davis of Kansas has introduced a bill in the House establishing a national commission to protect railroad employees from overwork and under-pay and to

examine into the competency of employees for their positions. There are two lines of legislation which look toward railroad nationalization. One is the extension of government ownership over the plants of the roads, and the other is the extension of national control over the personnel of the employed force. It would be possible for the government largely to control the railroads, without touching the plants proper, merely by the strict regulation of the conditions and terms of employment on the part of the men who run the roads. Of course, what we want is both ownership and operation of the roads, but it is well to begin work at both ends of the problem. Mr. Davis' bill is therefore good nationalism as far as it goes.

An Abundant Currency Needful, but Nationalism the Only Way Out.

✓ An esteemed correspondent writes to ask how we make it out that an increased volume of the circulating medium would be in the long run beneficial to the mass of the community. Admitting that more money may mean higher wages, he argues that it will mean higher prices also and that while one existing class of debtors may be helped at the expense of their creditors by an increase of currency, in the end it will be all one to the people, whether they have more cheap money or less dear money.

It appears to us that in confining his speculations to the effect of the volume of money on wages and prices, our correspondent has missed a main point, if not the main point of the argument for a larger rather than a smaller volume of money. That point is the effect of an abundant volume of currency to quicken the movement of industry and commerce, and to prevent such disastrous stoppages of production and exchange as we have been and now are suffering from in the United States. Surely with this object lesson of the serious effects of a currency famine which we now are face to face with, it ought to require no argument to enforce the necessity of a currency too abundant to be cornered by a conspiracy of bankers and politicians.

Consider what is the effect of one of these sudden currency famines, such as we have just had. It is as if the

water were abruptly drawn off from a lake covered with busy shipping. All in a moment the various craft, steamers, ships, tugs, canal boats, sloops, schooners and what not, are let down in the mud, there to stick till the water comes back. During the late civil war the astonishing prosperity of the North, in spite of its terrific outlay, was due not to any direct effect of inflation, but to its indirect effect in so quickening exchanges of every sort that there was a demand for every ounce of productive energy in the country, and despite the fact that the fighting men were at the front, the total output of our industries was greater than ever in times of peace.

The chief advantages of a large volume of currency are then, not any direct effect it has on wages or prices, but first, the indirect effect it has, in proportion to its volume, to quicken exchanges, and thus bring the full productive force of the nation into play and second, the resistance its volume offers alike to the designs of wicked cornerers and to the effects of sudden popular alarms. France has a currency six times greater than ours in proportion to the business done and in that proportion is safer than we are from business panics resulting from or tending toward currency famines.

If we had a great bank like the bank of England, which makes a practice, as in the Baring's crisis and in previous crises, to meet sudden breaks in public confidence by enormous extension of credit, thus fairly holding up the business situation—if, we repeat, we had such a banking system, we might possibly get on with a less volume of currency. But we have no such system. Our banks are either unable or unwilling to do anything to relieve the public in currency famines, if indeed they are not justly chargeable with directly aggravating their effects. Such being the state of the case, our only hope of fairly stable business conditions, pending the advent of nationalism, is in such an abundant currency as shall resist the effects of panics, defy cornerers and discourage hoarders.

It is not often that we afflict our readers with a money article, and we only do so now for the sake of the nationalistic moral. The chief argument for a large volume of currency, we have shown to be its effect, by quickening exchanges, to develop and keep going the productive energy of the people. That is to say, with an abundant currency we see the competitive industrial system at its best. But how inadequate and how wasteful even at this best seems the productive efficiency of competition, as compared with that perfect gearing and interlocking of the entire industrial machine which national co-operation will bring. And on the other hand, even if the competitive system, as a system of production, could be perfected, of what use is it to increase wealth if it be not justly and equally shared by mankind?

Mr. Howells' Great Nationalistic Story.

We hope that nationalists will read and warmly recommend to their friends, whose souls they think worth saving, Mr. Howells' story, just finished in the *Cosmopolitan* magazine, entitled "A Traveller from Altruria." We have previously given some account of the plan of this work. Altruria is supposed to be a country, situated nobody knows just where, in which the principles of nationalism have for some generations been fully adopted as the basis of society.

The "Traveller" is visiting the United States on a tour of observation, and the conversations he has with his American host and other American acquaintances, naturally serve to set forth the contrasts between the competitive system and that in vogue in Altruria, contrasts which it scarcely need be said are not favorable to the ethics or institutions of our boasted "land of the free." The story closes with an address by "The Traveller from Altruria," in which he gives to his hearers a succinct account of the process by which the Altrurians, after suffering all the evils of the competitive system as known to us, delivered themselves from it and established in its place a national co-operative society with absolute economic equality as its corner stone. The picture given of the happiness enjoyed by the Altrurians under this order of things is true to the faith of nationalists and in no sense, we are sure, a too brilliant sketch of the promised land that lies just across Jordan.

It is surely a most significant sign of the present trend of thought in this country, and of the manner in which the hope of a near and radical social transformation is taking hold of the best minds among us, that the leading novelist of the times should have turned aside from the conventional types of polite fiction to give his countrymen this drastic arraignment of the way we live now, and this glowing exposition of a nobler, higher, better life which beckons us on.

We consider the appearance of "The Traveller from Altruria" one of the most notable events in the history thus far of the nationalistic movement in America.

A President who is in Danger of Impeachment.

The *New Nation* walks a ridge-pole in the sense of equally avoiding inclinations toward the democratic or republican side of the roof. Inclination either way means a broken neck for the third party. On account of this necessary impartiality, our word may weigh a little more than that of a republican organ, when it comes to judging a democratic administration. We say, therefore, that in our opinion, President Cleveland is assuming an arrogance of tone and of conduct that makes his trial for impeachment a not unlikely event within the next three years.

As to his arrogant tone in speaking of Congress and to Congress, it is that of the fiery little German emperor in scolding the Reichstag. But, of course, talk is largely a matter of taste and not to be resented like overt acts. In the latter category, Mr. Cleveland has furnished two distinct and adequate grounds of impeachment, on account of breach of his oath of office to carry out the laws.

One count relates to his open and admitted failure to buy four and a half million ounces of silver per month as required by law. The other count relates to his failure to take the first step to carry out the Geary Chinese law, which should have been enforced since July 1.

Mind well, these charges are not based upon any assumption of the righteousness of these laws. But they are laws, and the president is sworn to carry them out whether he likes them or not, and he has not done so. If this sort of thing is going to be tolerated, we might as well discontinue Congress for good and all and send to Russia for a czar.

We do not discuss the excuses which have been offered for not carrying out the laws we have named. They are of

so paltry and preposterous a character that their offering only adds insult to injury. It will be an ill day indeed for these United States when presidents sworn to perform the laws give us instead of performance the excuses of pettifogging lawyers.

We venture a prediction: If President Cleveland does not change his course, he will be impeached before he gets through his term of office, and the House of Representatives elected in 1894 will do it.

If the American public had wanted a Cæsar, they would have taken Grant. Having rejected Grant for that role, they are scarcely likely to accept Cleveland. We recommend the latter gentleman to abate his pretensions.

Plain Murder Cases.

There is no sort of mystery about the cause of the terrible succession of railroad disasters which we are having. They are plain murder cases. The railroads are attempting to handle a passenger traffic, not only as large as usual, but greatly swollen by the Fair business, with a force of employees not only reduced by wholesale discharges, but further demoralized by 10 and 20 per cent cut down of pay. Railroads are not run on charitable principles. They employ nobody who is not needed in the best of times, and when they discharge brakemen, section-hands, track-walkers and watchmen by wholesale, as they are doing now, it means murder. This winter is going to be a terrible time for those who travel by rail. Under a nationalized railroad system such a series of accidents as we have had this fall and summer would mean a sharp investigation and the overthrow of the administration in power, and for that reason the administration in power would take mighty good care the accidents did not occur.

Discouraging to Mugwump Reformers.

The meeting of the celebrated mugwump Cleveland democratic organization, the Massachusetts Reform club, at Boston, Saturday, October 7, was a discouraging experience for those who have hoped for reform within the lines of the old parties. The main event was the address of the vice-president, Moorfield Storey, who, speaking for the men who had backed Cleveland in the hope that he would do something for civil service reform, arraigned him for a disgraceful surrender to the spoilsmen. In the name of the club he apologized to Benjamin Harrison, for having formerly declared that Cleveland was a more honest and earnest civil service reformer than he, and would improve on his record. The especial occasion of this declaration was the presence at the club meeting of Josiah Quincy, Cleveland's first assistant secretary of the state and the accomplished headman of the consular department. In terms of bitter disappointment and reproach Mr. Storey reviewed Mr. Quincy's complete and cold-blooded repudiation of his former loudly professed civil service principles, since he had been in office.

Mr. Quincy in reply attempted no defense whatever, but confessed judgment. He said that public life had changed his views. Contact with political affairs had modified his theories, and he had become convinced that the consular service cannot be managed on a reform basis. No administration, he declared, can cut loose from Congressional influence as to appointments. There was constant Congressional

interference with the president as to the offices and it could no more be stopped than the blowing of the wind.

The public owes Mr. Quincy thanks for the honesty of his confession, but ye gods, what a confession it is from the lips of an alleged and supposed civil service reformer!

Many excellent persons have told us that we could never safely establish nationalism until the civil service had been purified. If this is so, is it not equally clear that the civil service can never be purified until the old parties are thrown down and out?

A Wrong Move.

We assume that it is ignorance of the situation upon the part of the executive committee of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial union, that led these officials to recommend to members a prominent life insurance company as being "founded on lines somewhat similar to those of the alliance, for mutual benefit, assistance and protection." God forbid that the alliance should be run upon such lines. The company in question, like others in New York, invests its money within 50 miles of New York city, and is in league with the national banks to exploit capital at the expense of the producer. It is a common thing for the insurance companies to erect bank buildings and charge enormous rent, with the understanding that the insurance company will in time keep a large deposit in said bank. Why do not the companies reduce their reserve funds and thus relieve the people of burdensome insurance rates? The public demands it. Our advice to the F. A. and I. U. is to withdraw its recommendation of the insurance ring, and to agitate in every state where it is strong in favor of a state insurance system at cost, thus at one stroke reducing premiums 60 per cent, obtaining a perfectly safe investment and breaking up an enormous fund in New York that plays a prominent part in the manipulation of capital in that state.

WILLIAM CLARK IN BOSTON.

Wm. Clarke, president of the Fabian society of London and one of the editors of the London Chronicle, delivered the first of a series of lectures at Wells Memorial hall, Boston, Sunday evening, to a crowded house. His subject was "Carlyle and Ruskin." Among other things he said: "Those who understand the economic crisis may be ready and eager to support any reform, however small, which is a genuine step forward; but they cannot support any effort to call back the past. They may help to build a new bridge across the gulf that separates it from the co-operative commonwealth, but they can never repair the old broken down structure which leads back to individualism. Instead, therefore, of attempting to undo the work which capitalists are unconsciously doing for the people, the real reformer will rather prepare the people, educated and organized as a true industrial democracy, to take up the threads when they fall from the weak hands of a useless possessory class." His lecture tomorrow night will be "Socialism in England." Nationalists should not miss it.

C. C. Post of Georgia will address the Second Nationalist club of Boston, Tuesday evening, at Arcade hall, 7 Park square. Mr. Post is the well known author of "Driven from Sea to Sea," and is notably well informed upon reform matters.

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

RAILROAD RATES UNDER PRIVATE AND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

The Railroad Issue in Nebraska. Politics in Many States.
Note and Comment.

The New Nation recently referred to certain statements of James L. Cowles of Farmington, Ct., as to the actual cost of railroad transportation. As the issue of government railroads is fast coming to the front we copy Mr. Cowles' statement:

"1. The proper basis for the determination of railway rates is the cost of transportation.

"2. Distance costs practically nothing in the transportation of freight or of passengers by railway, and therefore, should be disregarded in the determination of rates. The rate now charged for the shortest distance for any particular service is the rate that should be adopted for all distances, for that class of service.

"When once a train starts from Boston to San Francisco, there is not a man living that can tell the difference in the cost of running that train, whether a passenger leaves it, at the first station out of Boston, or goes through from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast.

"Taking a five-car train from New York to Chicago, the entire difference in cost, whether that train has no passengers or 340 passengers, is not over ten dollars.

"A passenger or a ton of freight is no more to a railroad train than a fly is to an elephant, and a trainload of passengers is no more of a burden to a passenger locomotive than a swarm of flies is to an elephant.

"Neither the freight nor the passenger equipment of the railroads of this country is used to a fourth part of their capacity, and consequently the people are required to pay at least twice and probably four times the rates that are necessary.

"The passenger business might be, at least, doubled, and probably increased fourfold without any increase of operating expenses.

"The freight business might at least be doubled without any increase of expense for haulage and with very little increased expense in any direction. Chauncey M. Dupew testified before the interstate commerce committee of the House of Representatives last winter, that while freight rates have been reduced one half, 'we can now carry 1000 tons as easily as we formerly could 200.'

"The ton-mile and passenger-mile basis of rates is fallacious, misleading and untrue, and it is disregarded, at will, by railway managers, in through traffic. (See testimony H. S. Haines, president American Railway association in Railway Review of Chicago, Oct. 17, 1891.)

"The mileage basis of rates is applied in local traffic, not because there is any equity in it, but simply because it enables the railway manager to take an unfair advantage of his local business. In some cases (as, for instance, on the New York Central) it actually throws the entire cost of hauling passenger trains upon local travelers.

"It does not cost \$400 to haul a trainload of 600 passengers from New York to Chicago, making the trip in 36 hours; and \$600, \$1 per trip, per passenger, would be ample charge

for such a train. It would far more than cover its fair share of all expenses, including a reasonable return for capital."

The above is in the nature of a challenge to railroad men. We are not in a position to express our opinion upon the matter, but print it in the hope that it will provoke an investigation of the actual cost of running trains and carrying passengers and freight and thus lead up to the advisability of a government railroad service upon the principles of the post office department in which the distance element is eliminated.

Massachusetts Notes.

A populist club has been organized at Mattapan.

Walter L. Ramsdell of Lynn has been nominated by the populists for the 1st Essex senatorial district.

A People's Party club has been organized at Provincetown as the result of the recent populist rally in that place.

The populists of Spencer held a good rally at the town hall Wednesday evening. Henry R. Legate was the speaker.

Waltham opened the ball last night with a well-attended populist meeting at Reynolds hall.

J. Ransom Bridge and H. R. Legate of Boston speak on populist issues in the Gloucester town hall on the 27th.

The Ashland populists held a public meeting on the 19th; H. R. Legate, orator. The new movement is growing rapidly at Ashland.

George H. Cary and W. L. Ramsdell will address a local trade organization at Knight of Labor hall, Lynn, this evening.

The following campaign committee for the 1st Essex senatorial district, has been chosen by the people's party: Lynn, ward 2, Clarkson Paul; ward 3, J. C. Clements; ward 4, Levi R. Pierce; ward 5, J. P. H. Thompson; Swampscott, Sidney Pierson; Nahant, Charles A. Johnson.

The North Carver meeting, which promises to be a large one, comes on the evening of the 20th, and the South Carver rally is on the 18th. George H. Cary, the populist candidate for governor, speaks at the latter place.

A People's Party club has been formed at Marlboro with John J. Powers for president and James F. Barry, secretary. The following nominations have been made by the populists of the 29th legislative district: John H. Murray of Marlboro and Frederick W. Millay of Hudson.

The Railroads Foreclose upon the Republican Party in Nebraska.

The Nebraska republicans bowed to the railroads at the Omaha convention, last week, and nominated a corporation agent for justice of the state supreme bench, thus shelving Chief Justice Maxwell, who handed down a minority opinion in the recent impeachment proceedings against high state officials for corruption in office. Such an out and out submission of the republican party to the railroads, will strengthen the populist ticket by driving thousands of honest republicans out of the party. The railroads own two

judges of the supreme bench, if one can judge from their decisions, and are bent upon capturing the chief justiceship. Editor Rosewater of the Omaha Bee, an old time republican, refuses to be reconciled. The defeat of Judge Maxwell by the railroad ring in the Nebraska republican convention leads him to say: "By turning down Maxwell the republican state convention has turned 10,000 republicans out of the fold and driven them into the populist camp."

Note and Comment.

The Texas Farmers' alliance has now the largest enrollment in its history.

Congressman Bryan of Nebraska is understood to be on the point of joining the people's party.

The New York city populists will hold an open air meeting in Union square this evening.

Gen. Thomas L. Rosser, a prominent Virginia democrat, has created a sensation by the announcement that he would stump the Old Dominion for the people's party.

The National Watchman, controlled by the populist members of Congress, offers for sale a few shares, par value \$5, in order that the paper may be enlarged to 16 pages.

A Texas paper declares that the Hogg faction of the democratic party is coming over to the people's party by the thousands every day, and things all point to a grand victory at the next election.

Every county in Virginia has a people's party organization. About 20 orators, including Congressman Simpson, are on the stump. All the incidents of the campaign thus far have been in favor of the new party.

When the county populists came together at Omaha, Neb., the other day, it appeared that the republicans had a fusion program under way, but this was overwhelmingly defeated and a full county ticket put in the field, including a woman for superintendent of schools, Mrs. Cecilia O'Neill.

The Boston Herald has made the discovery that the democracy in the South is in peril. It reasons that "some of the present support of silver on the part of senators from that section is probably influenced by fear of what the populists may do to them at home."

Tacoma (Wash.) Sun: The populists of Massachusetts have made a most excellent platform for their candidates to stand on. The only objection we have to it is that they placed the most important plank last — that demanding the initiative and referendum. But they might have done so in the light of the scriptural statement that the first shall be last and the last shall be first.

Detroit has a hot municipal election on hand. It is the purpose of the corporations to down Mayor Pingree, who favors municipal lighting and street railways. The private franchises for both services have expired and so long as Pingree remains at the helm, the corporations cannot secure a renewal of them. The people of Detroit have a grand opportunity to vote for themselves.

THE MASSACHUSETTS TICKET.

Governor, GEORGE H. CARY of Lynn.

Lieut. Governor, JOSEPH K. HARRIS of Haverhill.

Secretary of the Commonwealth, ISAAC W. SKINNER of Waltham.

Treasurer and Receiver-General, THOMAS A. WATSON of Braintree.

Auditor, MAURICE W. LANDERS of Pittsfield.

Attorney-General, CONRAD RENO of Boston.

Platform of the Massachusetts People's Party, adopted at Lynn, Sept. 6, 1893.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, adherents of the People's Party; in convention assembled, again pledge our support to the principles of the platform adopted at Omaha on July 4, 1892. We congratulate the party on the magnificent vote polled in the last presidential election, when Gen. James B. Weaver, its candidate, received the suffrages of more than a million of his fellow citizens, and we have every reason to believe that our cause will ultimately triumph at the ballot box.

We declare that the economic distress and oppressions which have culminated in the present business crisis are the result of the conquest of the business interests of the people and their means of livelihood by gigantic monopolies, financial and industrial, and we charge upon both the democratic and republican parties the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of the producing classes. We declare that the only way to deal with private monopolies is to monopolize them in the public interest through public control.

We emphasize the insufficiency of the circulating medium for the business needs of the country. We insist that the refusal of Congress, while repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, to give to silver any money function, plainly proves that both the old parties are determined to force upon us a single gold standard. The world's exchanges increase several times as fast as the supply of gold available for coinage. Thus, on a gold basis, the purchasing power of the dollar is increased, the debtor robbed and the creditor enriched by a vicious and arbitrary change in the contract, time obligations made contingent upon the luck of the miner and the machinations of speculators, and periodical panics precipitated in a land of plenty. We believe that the time has come to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation and to look to Washington and not London for stable conditions of commerce. If silver is to be permanently deprived of its money function, gold also should be demonetized; and, therefore, we call for a system of legal tender treasury notes, issued only by the government, to be irredeemable except as they are receivable for government dues and regulated in volume as the market price of commodities may indicate, so that the supply of money shall keep pace with the legitimate demands of business and demoralizing fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar cease forever. In default of such an issue of legal tender notes, we favor free coinage of silver as affording with gold a more honest money than gold alone.

We demand a postal bank system for deposit and exchange, in which 30 day notices would not apply nor depositor's checks be refused payment until confidence is restored. And we condemn the perpetuation and extension to private corporations of the power of issuing money, which is the proper function of the government.

As protection against monopoly is the right of every citizen, we call for the assumption by the government as soon as practicable of the ownership of the railroads, which as now conducted are little short of chartered conspiracies against the peace and prosperity of the people; and we especially urge that steps be taken to acquire coal mines that are at present exploited by combinations of capitalists, and that a federal system of mining and coal distribution

be immediately established.

We reiterate our demand that the government of the United States shall, at the earliest possible moment, begin to acquire the telegraph and telephone lines, or to build others, that we may have in connection with our post office system what is enjoyed by nearly every civilized nation.

We favor as the only cheap and absolutely safe system, state fire and life insurance at secure rates without profit.

We believe the solution of the liquor problem lies in the elimination of the element of profit, and therefore demand that the sale of liquor shall be exclusively carried on by the state at cost through salaried officials in such municipalities as shall apply for such agencies, and that the national government shall regulate the importation, manufacture and transportation of all intoxicants so as to protect the states in their exclusive management of the same.

We favor a graduated tax on inheritances and incomes.

We protest against the contract system practiced by municipalities in employing labor. Municipal employment should be direct and responsible. We demand that all public employees, national, state and municipal, be brought under a classified civil service with admissions and promotions for merit only and dismissals for cause after hearing.

We condemn the present management of industry because it fails to provide work for multitudes of willing hands, while at the same time overworking those who are employed. We therefore favor the reduction of the time of labor to an eight hour day, which will tend both to lighten the burdens of the workers and to increase the number of those finding employment.

We call attention to the condition of the unemployed, which, under pressure of business depression, is assuming the proportions of a great national tragedy. We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan to supply one another's need. As the first practical step to this end we urge an immediate census and registration of the unemployed. We are in favor of adding to our bureau of labor statistics, employment agencies and bureaus of information, affiliated with similar institutions in other states and centralized in the department of labor at Washington. In the selection of officers and engagements of employees, women should be given full proportion of positions.

We demand that convicts be employed exclusively upon such articles as can be used in our penal and charitable institutions, any surplus thereof to be distributed so as not to compete with free labor.

We favor full political suffrage for women on an equal basis with men.

We demand such laws as shall compel the wealthy holders of personal property to pay their share of the taxes. We commend a doomage law with sufficient penalties to procure sworn lists of such property, and its taxation by a uniform rate in all municipalities, with the distribution of the proceeds to all the cities and towns on a fair basis.

We congratulate the people of Massachusetts upon the amendments to the municipal lighting law, secured in the Legislature at the last session in the interest of towns desiring to acquire private plants, and we condemn the republican majority for its defeat of the amendment fixing the rate of compensation at which such plants should be acquired at not more than the duplication cost of an equivalent plant without compensation for the franchise.

We favor the municipalization of local public utilities such as the furnishing of gas, electricity, water, street railway transportation, etc.

We favor election laws which shall place upon equality all political parties or organizations in the selection of candidates and the placing of their names on the official ballot.

We demand of municipalities, states and the nation, the immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The Massachusetts Typographical union, at its recent meeting in Fall River, passed resolutions in favor of government telegraphs and railroads.

Miscellaneous.

Labor Tribune, Pittsburg, Pa.: Black Diamond, the organ of the coal operators of the northwest, is in favor of the government ownership of the railroads. So are we; so is the business community. Ask any mill-owner and he will tell you that the impositions of railroad managements are dire drawbacks to profitable mill operation. He will tell you that freight is moved as slow as in the canal days, and this is done to force shippers to ship by what is known as the "fast freight" lines, a device gotten up by railroad officials on the inside whereby to make big fortunes for themselves at the expense of stockholders.

Foreign.

A. T. Story in the New York Voice: It need hardly be said that the French are anything but satisfied with the dual system of ownership and management of their railroads. Many commissions have investigated the subject, stimulated by the desire for effective reform, and by the growing opinion in favor of state purchase. Had it not been for the death of Gambetta, who was a strong advocate of state ownership, the matter would probably have been settled ere this. The commission of which M. Waddington was chairman in 1881, laid it down as a fundamental principle of railroad control that "great public interests ought to be considered in preference to the convictions of a few railroad directors," but up to the present time his views have not been allowed to prevail. Despite the evils of the French system, however, state regulation, though not so good for the nation as state ownership, is better than the competitive system of the United States; at least it is free from the national waste and ruinous losses which that system involves.

That the great English coal miner's lockout will lead to some form of government management of the coal industry, becomes more apparent every day. Harold Frederick cables from London: "It seems to be more and more clear that in the end we shall find some big economic changes in England, dating from this upheaval. As the slowly-moving public gets further information as to the merits of the case, the lockout takes on the likeness of a shameful and bloodless gambling corner. Mine owners have been in the habit of selling three quarters of a year's future output by contract and saving a quarter for the open market. The city of Birmingham, for example, got its year's coal for its gas works at the lowest price in 20 years. Then the owners needed two things to recoup themselves upon the remaining quarter of their output. One was to cut down the annual wage outlay 25 per cent; the other to send house coal prices booming upward. A ten weeks' lockout served both purposes admirably. The incidental facts that millions of workers had been cruelly hurt on the one side and millions of consumers plundered on the other do not matter at all to these gentlemen; but I miss my guess if they do not turn out to matter a good deal to England at large."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

A. I. R. of Los Angeles: I prize The New Nation as the most important paper of the century.

J. S. G. of Buffalo sends in a fine list of over 200 names to the government telegraph and telephone petition.

S. A. P. of Woodland, Cal.: I pass my copy around among my friends and have some of your articles published in the local papers. It seems to me that much effective work might be done in this way, as many people never look at anything besides their little local paper.

If you wish to be able to favor government ownership of the railroads from the railroad employees' standpoint, you should read

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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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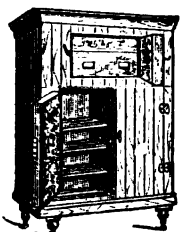
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

That international yacht race which has been going on at New York, what an object lesson it is to a sordid generation of the possibilities of honorable emulation as a motive to human effort!

It is very satisfactory to note that the French socialists are protesting strongly against the alliance between France and Russia and the fuss being made by way of cementing it, over the visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon. The French socialists declare that the interests of humanity at large should take precedence of particular national advantages, and that desirable as Russia's alliance might be to France in the event of war with Germany, it is an advantage too dearly bought by any sort of affiliation with the czar who personifies all that is opposed to the progress of the race, and in the religion of humanity answers to the Anti-Christ of the Christian system. All honor is due to the French

socialists who have taken this position, for it is a hard position for patriotic Frenchmen to assume. What a rebuke is here to the American people with their pro-Russian sympathies, and their fugitive-slave law agreement, just ratified, to render back to the czar his escaped victims!

It appears from a debate in the Senate that Attorney General Olney is not able from lack of funds to engage counsel to protect the government's interests in the Union Pacific railroad, so the matter goes over for the present. Olney had no trouble in visiting Massachusetts the other day to attend a meeting of the Boston & Maine directors, of which road he had long been an attorney. Olneyism is fast blossoming out into a national scandal. Its roots are so deep that nothing short of a government ownership can reach them.

If Kansas does not look to her laurels, Nebraska is likely to prove the banner populist state this fall. On the one hand, Congressman Bryan, the most popular democratic leader in the state, threatens to carry the free-silver wing of the democracy bodily over to the populists, since the indorsement of Cleveland's policy by the Nebraska state convention. On the other hand, the decent republicans of the state, headed by the Omaha Bee, are in revolt against the surrender of the republican convention to the railroad ring, and propose to support the populist ticket.

Reason to Thank God and Take Courage.

There are two distinct stages in the progress of nationalism thus far. From its inception in 1888 to the beginning of 1891, it was a propaganda chiefly literary in character, doing its work through the efforts of clubs, the circulation of tracts, letter-writing, communications in newspapers and periodicals, addresses before meetings, pulpit discussions and last but not least through the gratuitous advertising of newspapers which undertook to criticize its propositions with the invariable effect of making two nationalists where they discouraged one.

But while a prodigious lot of work was done in the way

of leavening the lump of public indifference during this period and by these efforts, thoughtful nationalists began to appreciate the desirability of giving a more practical definite and concrete form to the propaganda, if it were to retain its vigor.

At this time the people's party arose, and through hearty and spontaneous co-operation of nationalists East and West with this movement, nationalism entered upon its second stage and "got into politics." Since then its progress has been little less than astounding.

At the opening of 1891 the nationalist agitation; while amazingly widespread, had achieved nothing practical and was perhaps in danger eventually of becoming dissipated into a vague and foggy philanthropy. Today the nationalists are the advance guard and right wing of a great national party, which has inscribed their full immediate program upon its banners and taken their ideal of human brotherhood, based upon economic equality, for its guiding star. Nationalist principles and nationalist methods of social reform, which three years ago were heard of only in our club-rooms and seen only in the pages of one or two periodicals devoted to the cause, are now annually spread abroad in the resolutions of national, state and innumerable local conventions and advocated by a reform press two thousand strong. Nationalism has rooted itself in American politics too deep for any change or storm to shake its hold or check its growth.

Surely there is this review of the recent past abundant reason for nationalists, according to the good old prayer-meeting phrase, to "thank God and take courage."

In the future, as in the past, let us bear in mind that whatever influence we may deserve to exert in moulding the destinies of the country and the world will depend upon the fixedness of our purpose to compromise in no jot or tittle the ideal of absolute human equality to which we are pledged.

A Skirmish War Where a Battle Might Have Been Gained.

Failure is so commonly the issue of strikes that we take uncommon delight in noting that the immense and long-continued coal miners' strike in England seems to have resulted in the success of the men, who combined to resist a cut down of 25 per cent in wages. The mine-owners' federation is breaking up and the men are quite generally returning to work at the old terms, which is all they asked for. But they have paid a bitter price in want and suffering for their victory and are sure of its results only until the mine-owners find the situation favorable for another attempt to cut them down.

We admire the courage and fortitude of the strikers and think they did well to strike, as all workmen do when they are put upon; but after all how feeble and vain a weapon against capitalistic aggression is the strike as compared with a demand by the workers for public ownership and management of the industry affected! Workingmen! if you want to put your masters in a panic, demand state operation of their business and back it at the ballot box. Strikes they either crush or yield to for the moment only, waiting for a better opportunity to gain their ends. But nationalization of their business means the end of them and their oppressions forevermore.

If the British miners had put the zeal into a demand for

nationalization of the mines which they have put into their strike, they would have won a decisive battle in the progress of humanity, instead of merely beating in an unimportant skirmish, the result of which may be lost tomorrow.

When will workingmen learn this lesson? Whenever they do, it will be all over with capitalism.

The American Farmer must Choose Between Becoming a Nationalist or a Peasant.

Gov. Flower of New York, in a recent address before the Dutchess county fair in that state, undertook to tell the farmers how to make farming pay and to encourage them to believe that the present depressed state of agriculture in the United States and, it might be added, in Europe as well, was merely the farmers' own fault and might be overcome if they would only "take a brace" and a few hints about farming from politicians like himself. He closed by saying:

The urban population is increasing at a very rapid rate. Millions of people must be fed. Their tastes and wants are increasing every year. Their ability to satisfy these tastes and wants is increasing every year. Let us give up the old crops and methods that have been proved unprofitable and impoverishing and take up new crops whose production is profitable, and study new methods which science and the application of business principles to agriculture have shown to result in economy and a large margin of profit. Instead of a discouraging and profitless occupation, agriculture can be restored to its old-time splendor as an honorable and remunerative pursuit.

This is all wrong and utterly misleading. While undoubtedly there is a chance for a shrewd farmer here and there to make money in market gardening near big towns, and while there are a good many more who could improve their methods somewhat by putting on their thinking caps, it is not true that there is in general any future under any circumstances for small farming in this country or any other country. It is bound to go down.

There are a number of special and superficial reasons why farming in the United States has fallen into its present depressed condition, but there is one general and underlying reason and it is that whereas most other important sorts of business are now prosecuted and the product handled on a large scale by consolidated capital, farming still lingers in the stage of individual operation by small capitalists at enormous economic waste and general disadvantage. The old fashioned individualistic method of farming and marketing products, is an anachronism as compared with the methods growing common in conducting other sorts of business, and that is why the farmer within the past 25 years has fallen behind other capitalists (for technically he is a capitalist), and has become even worse off than many classes of wage-earners and proletarians.

However much cheaper he could borrow money it would prove but a palliation of his condition, and the same may be said as to the effect of reduced railroad rates for his wheat.

We agree with the western farmer in advocating a more abundant and a national currency, and in favoring nationalization of the railroads, but we favor these measures chiefly as steps in the direction of complete public ownership and national industrial co-operation, and not because we think they would, while undoubtedly helping the farmer, bring to him the salvation he hopes from them.

There is no salvation for any business nowadays save in syndication or nationalization. All industries conducted on a petty or isolated scale must go to the wall. The Ameri-

can farmer, within a generation, will be a tenant on his way to becoming a peasant, or else he will be an equal stockholder in the nationalized businesses of the people, conducted by the people and for the people equally, according to the plan of nationalism.

We earnestly hope that needful reforms may help to delay the ruin of the small farmer till the national co-operative system is ready to take in agriculture with the other branches of the nation's business, but no reforms can delay that ruin more than a little. No class of Americans has indeed so pressing a class reason to take up nationalism and boom it as the farmers. It is their only hope.

Hurrah for the Women!

The movement for women's equality with men, both political and industrial, while going forward very rapidly in this country, is causing a veritable panic in Great Britain. The British press is growing frantic in its appeals to the women to stop. The moss-backs do well to be alarmed. The existing forms of society, which we nationalists attack, are bound up with the suppression of women and not till women come to their rights will men come to theirs.

The British anti-woman press seeks to alarm the more conservative women by showing them just this, namely, that women's political and economic equality can only be secured by some form of socialism, whereby the physically and economically weak shall be made equal with the strong.

This is true, entirely true. The woman's rights woman who is not a nationalist and does not contemplate a wholly new industrial order is only half-baked, and does not know what she is talking about. If she is not ready for nationalism she had better lose no time in dropping women's rights, for she is playing with fire.

The London Spectator warns the women that if they insist on pushing into the economic field, the result will be to double the numbers of the working classes and either to drive men out of employment, or to reduce wages by half. Herbert Spencer, who seems destined to live long enough to take back every decent thing he ever said, is so alarmed over the prospect that he repudiates his former women's rights opinions entirely. Walter Besant, who is a tiresomely half-way sort of socialist, is also alarmed and suggests that all the men will emigrate from England, taking with them such women as do not believe in women's rights, and leave the women's rights women to run the country and do all the work.

As we have intimated, it is not at all surprising that persons who have no idea of what a socialistic organization of industry would accomplish, and what its advantages would be, should regard with terror the prospect of such an inundation of workers as women's economic advent promises. With so many unemployed men already, how should the women be provided for? If it is already necessary to discuss measures to keep out foreign workmen who come in by mere driplets, what shall we do with this sudden doubling from within our borders of the working-classes? Truly, we do not blame these good people and Spencérian philosophers in general for getting into quite a pickle over the prospect.

The nationalist has, however, a formula which finds no difficulty in dealing with any increase in the number of workers. According to his philosophy, "the more the mer-

rier" is a maxim that holds as good in the industrial as in the social world. So long as the product of industry is equally shared, there is no limit to the number of hands that can be employed or the mouths that can be fed.

Hurrah for the women! The present world-wide agitation for the equality of the sexes is one of the main forces that is making necessary and inevitable the radical economic reorganization of society for which we work and wait. It is fitting that in this greatest of all revolutions, men and women should move abreast.

"A System Without Government of Any Sort."

Emma Goldman, the anarchist speaker of New York, at her recent trial for alleged incendiary oratory, in the course of her cross-examination, gave the following definition of anarchism: "Anarchism is the establishment of a social system without government of any kind, with full liberty to all to enjoy life and cultivate their abilities."

It would be interesting to hear Miss Goldman explain how "a system" could be established or maintained "without government of any sort." According to Webster, a system is defined as "an assemblage of objects arranged in regular subordination or after some distinct method, usually logical or scientific; a complete exhibition of essential principles or facts arranged in a rational dependence or connection; a complete whole of objects related by some common law or principle." Webster merely agrees with all other authorities in stating that a principle of government and a fixed law of dependence and relation among the parts is the very essence and central idea of a "system" of any kind. To talk of a system "without government of any sort" is therefore a contradiction in terms.

We do not quote Miss Goldman's definition of anarchy to quibble at it, but because it illustrates the basic absurdity of the so-called philosophy of anarchy. The revolutionary anarchist with a bomb in his hands is at least a comprehensible person, but the so-called philosophic anarchist with his talk about "a system without any government," an order of things without any order, a social condition without conditions, is incomprehensible.

Even if this incomprehensible philosopher seeks to avoid flat contradiction in terms by repudiating the idea of desiring "a system" of any sort and avowing social chaos as his end, that will not help matters, for the most fortuitous assemblage of atoms presently tends to assume some orderly arrangement in obedience to molecular attractions, and the most certain thing to be predicted about a state of social chaos would be that it could not last long, but must soon give place to some sort of order.

So far as the ideal of anarchy is merely taken to express our impatience of bad government, unnecessary restraints and vexatious regulations, it is something that we all sympathize with. If, however, so-called anarchists go beyond this and talk about "a system without government of any sort," they will really have to invent a more elastic language to express themselves in than any now in use.

Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr. of New York, says that nothing but a "new social order" will stop panics. The present economic system he declares is a "dismal failure." Now will the distinguished gentleman permit his ballot to lock arms with his voice?

CONCERNING NATIONALISM.

THE INTERSTATE COMMISSION REPORT.

Dangerous Drift of Railroad. Labor and the People's Party in New York. The Campaign in Massachusetts. Note and Comment.

From the advanced sheets of the annual report of the interstate commerce commission it appears that the railroads of the country are doing business at the old stand. For the year ending June 30, 1892, the railroads killed 2654 employees and 376 passengers. They maimed 28,207 employees and 3227 passengers, making a grand total of 34,424 killed and wounded. It should be remembered that the ghastly record of this summer is not included in the report.

We hear much about injuries to passengers, but it seems that the employees suffer by far the most from railroad accidents.

Again, 60.6 per cent of the stock of the railroads paid no dividends, and 15.56 per cent of the funded debt paid no interest.

The number of railroad corporations are 1822. During the year nine were abandoned, and 35 consolidated with other corporations. We were told in the last report that 42 railroad corporations controlled nearly 50 per cent of the mileage of the country. The present report shows that 43 corporations operate 57.86 per cent of the mileage. Thus the noble work of consolidation goes merrily on and Uncle Sam will have little trouble when he steps in and buys the whole transportation system.

A decline in efficacy railroad service has not even been accompanied by lower rates, and the country knows well enough that the tone of our legislators has degenerated notably in consequence of the pressure of the railroad lobby. The New York Journal of Commerce, in reference to this point makes this remark: "If the moral character of the state Legislatures has deteriorated in the past 40 years, as there is too little room to doubt that it has, the decadence is partly due to the methods employed by railroad corporations for getting concessions, most of which they ought not to have had."

We would call attention to another tendency in railroad administration. It was for years understood that the vice-presidents were to be practical railroad men. Lucius Tuttle, for example, who recently resigned the vice-presidency of the New York, New Haven & Hartford road, has a fine reputation as a railroad man. Tuttle's successor, however, Judge John M. Hall of Willimantic, Ct., knows no more about railroad running than he does about watches. "Our directors see" says President Clark, "that the methods of managing the property must conform to its growth. Our experience is the same as that of other railroad systems; instead of having a technical railroad man as vice-president they have elected Judge Hall to that office. With so many

leases, disbursements, subsidiary corporations and contracts, there is an immense amount of purely corporate work to be attended to." Vice-president Hall now sings as he "railroads" the law for the benefit of corporation kings:

Never run an engine as an employee,
And you may draw a salary as a grand V. P.

Massachusetts Populists.

Alonzo J. Tyler of Peabody, has been nominated in the 5th senatorial district by the people's party.

The People's Party club of Danvers met in the town hall Saturday night and listened to a speech from H. R. Legate.

W. O. Dinnell of Danvers was nominated Saturday night for the Legislature from the 22d district.

Chas D. Nash of Whitman has been nominated by the populists for Senator in the 1st Plymouth district.

The populists of Braintree hold a rally in the town hall on the 31st; speaker, Henry R. Legate.

The Pittsfield populists hold a rally November 2. Henry R. Legate will speak.

Capt. Chas E. Bowers and W. L. Ramsdell addressed the Lynn populist club on the 13th.

Walter E Barton is the populist nominee for the Legislature in Spencer.

John Henry Rowndy of Marblehead has been nominated by the populists for the Legislature in the 16th Essex district.

There will be a debate on the silver question between E. M. White and Edward Atkinson at North End Union, 20 Parmenter street, Boston, on the evening of the 25th.

E. Gerry Brown addressed the populists of North Carver last night, and will speak in Lawrence town hall on the 24th, and in Malboro, November 3.

Candidate Cary spoke at South Carver Wednesday and at Beverly Thursday, and he will be at Haverhill on the 25th, and Spencer, November 1.

The people's party in Waltham has organized a club with I. W. Skinner as president and C. C. Davis as secretary. Permanent quarters will soon be opened and a banner hung out.

Even the Boston Herald admits that the people's party will poll a large vote in Lawrence this year. The populists meetings are largely attended and great enthusiasm exhibited.

The nomination papers of the people's party, containing over 1800 names, were presented to the secretary of state last week and accepted, so that the populist's candidates will be printed on the official ballot.

The populist nominations in Lawrence are now made up as follows: Senator, 6th Essex district, H. W. K. Eastman. Representatives, 4th Essex district, T. P. Kahill, John J. Murphy; 5th, Edwin F. Carr, Alexander Love.

The populists of Waltham opened the campaign on the 13th at Reynold's hall. The audience was large. Isaac W.

Skinner presided and made an opening address. He was followed by Henry R. Legate, who discussed political issues at some length.

C. C. Post of Georgia, one of the strongest leaders of the populists in the South, will address the citizens of Lawrence in the city hall on the 31st. He will speak in Laster's hall, Lynn, November 1. W. L. Ramsdell, candidate for the Senate, will also speak upon the latter occasion.

James F. Carey of Haverhill, populist candidate for the Senate, has challenged his democratic and republican opponents to debate the issues of the day. The Haverhill Gazette says: "The challenge is a fair one, and will afford ex-Senator Brickett an opportunity of meeting a man able and willing to give a reason for the faith that is in him."

New York Wage Workers Favor the People's Party.

The New York city trades and labor delegates met at 258 East 10th street this week. They promptly rejected overtures from Tammany and after a debate, the convention nominated delegates to the constitutional convention and accepted the offer of the populists placing these names on the people's party ticket. This action of the trades and labor delegates will have a very important bearing upon the New York city election. The convention adopted the following brief platform:

First — The repeal of the conspiracy laws.

Second — The introduction of the initiative and referendum into our system of law-making.

Third — That power be granted to the city to undertake on its own account the construction of a rapid transit system.

Note and Comment.

Tom Watson's stumping campaign is at an end for this season. He has delivered 87 speeches to about 125,000 people.

Nomination papers for the populist's ticket in Pennsylvania have been filed, and the new party will have a place on the official ballot.

Republicans, fearing with reason that the state of Washington will be carried by the populists, are urging the governor to call the Legislature together to elect a republican United State Senator.

The populists of Detroit, Mich., met in convention last week and nominated H. S. Pingree for mayor and Dr. Geo. H. Sherman for Congress. The platform adopted was a rousing nationalist document.

Republican leaders at Topeka cannot agree upon what issues to present to the people in the county and judiciary elections, and the central committee has directed the party speakers to confine themselves principally "to criticisms of the policy and methods of the populists and to make the point that the populists are in politics for the spoils and not from principle."

There is an amendment pending in the House of Representatives, which in effect pulls the teeth of the Geary Chinese exportation law. Bowers, republican from California, remarked in debate last week, that if this amendment passed, there would not be enough left in either party in California to make a grease spot. When pressed for particulars, he replied that the populists would receive an astonishing increase in the vote of California.

THE MASSACHUSETTS TICKET.

Governor, GEORGE H. CARY of Lynn.

Lieut-Governor, JOSEPH K. HARRIS of Haverhill.

Secretary of the Commonwealth, ISAAC W. SKINNER of Waltham.

Treasurer and Receiver-General, THOMAS A. WATSON of Braintree.

Auditor, MAURICE W. LANDERS of Pittsfield.

Attorney-General, CONRAD RENO of Boston.

Platform of the Massachusetts People's Party, adopted at Lynn, Sept. 6, 1893.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, adherents of the People's Party, in convention assembled, again pledge our support to the principles of the platform adopted at Omaha on July 4, 1892. We congratulate the party on the magnificent vote polled in the last presidential election, when Gen. James B. Weaver, its candidate, received the suffrages of more than a million of his fellow citizens, and we have every reason to believe that our cause will ultimately triumph at the ballot box.

We declare that the economic distress and oppressions which have culminated in the present business crisis are the result of the conquest of the business interests of the people and their means of livelihood by gigantic monopolies, financial and industrial, and we charge upon both the democratic and republican parties the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of the producing classes. We declare that the only way to deal with private monopolies is to monopolize them in the public interest through public control.

We emphasize the insufficiency of the circulating medium for the business needs of the country. We insist that the refusal of Congress, while repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, to give to silver any money function, plainly proves that both the old parties are determined to force upon us a single gold standard. The world's exchanges increase several times as fast as the supply of gold available for coinage. Thus, on a gold basis, the purchasing power of the dollar is increased, the debtor robbed and the creditor enriched by a vicious and arbitrary change in the contract, time obligations made contingent upon the luck of the miner and the machinations of speculators, and periodical panics precipitated in a land of plenty. We believe that the time has come to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation and to look to Washington and not London for stable conditions of commerce. If silver is to be permanently deprived of its money function, gold also should be demonetized; and, therefore, we call for a system of legal tender treasury notes, issued only by the government, to be irredeemable except as they are receivable for government dues and regulated in volume as the market price of commodities may indicate, so that the supply of money shall keep pace with the legitimate demands of business and demoralizing fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar cease forever. In default of such an issue of legal tender notes, we favor free coinage of silver as affording with gold a more honest money than gold alone.

We demand a postal bank system for deposit and exchange, in which 30 day notices would not apply nor depositor's checks be refused payment until confidence is restored. And we condemn the perpetuation and extension to private corporations of the power of issuing money, which is the proper function of the government.

As protection against monopoly is the right of every citizen, we call for the assumption by the government as soon as practicable of the ownership of the railroads, which as now conducted are little short of chartered conspiracies against the peace and prosperity of the people; and we especially urge that steps be taken to acquire coal mines that are at present exploited by combinations of capitalists, and that a federal system of mining and coal distribution

be immediately established.

We reiterate our demand that the government of the United States shall, at the earliest possible moment, begin to acquire the telegraph and telephone lines, or to build others, that we may have in connection with our post office system what is enjoyed by nearly every civilized nation.

We favor as the only cheap and absolutely safe system, state fire and life insurance at secure rates without profit.

We believe the solution of the liquor problem lies in the elimination of the element of profit, and therefore demand that the sale of liquor shall be exclusively carried on by the state at cost through salaried officials in such municipalities as shall apply for such agencies, and that the national government shall regulate the importation, manufacture and transportation of all intoxicants so as to protect the states in their exclusive management of the same.

We favor a graduated tax on inheritances and incomes.

We protest against the contract system practiced by municipalities in employing labor. Municipal employment should be direct and responsible. We demand that all public employees, national, state and municipal, be brought under a classified civil service with admissions and promotions for merit only and dismissals for cause after hearing.

We condemn the present management of industry because it fails to provide work for multitudes of willing hands, while at the same time overworking those who are employed. We therefore favor the reduction of the time of labor to an eight hour day, which will tend both to lighten the burdens of the workers and to increase the number of those finding employment.

We call attention to the condition of the unemployed, which, under pressure of business depression, is assuming the proportions of a great national tragedy. We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan to supply one another's need. As the first practical step to this end we urge an immediate census and registration of the unemployed. We are in favor of adding to our bureau of labor statistics, employment agencies and bureaus of information, affiliated with similar institutions in other states and centralized in the department of labor at Washington. In the selection of officers and engagements of employees, women should be given full proportion of positions.

We demand that convicts be employed exclusively upon such articles as can be used in our penal and charitable institutions, any surplus thereof to be distributed so as not to compete with free labor.

We favor full political suffrage for women on an equal basis with men.

We demand such laws as shall compel the wealthy holders of personal property to pay their share of the taxes. We commend a doomsday law with sufficient penalties to procure sworn lists of such property, and its taxation by a uniform rate in all municipalities, with the distribution of the proceeds to all the cities and towns on a fair basis.

We congratulate the people of Massachusetts upon the amendments to the municipal lighting law, secured in the Legislature at the last session in the interest of towns desiring to acquire private plants, and we condemn the republican majority for its defeat of the amendment fixing the rate of compensation at which such plants should be acquired at not more than the duplication cost of an equivalent plant without compensation for the franchise.

We favor the municipalization of local public utilities such as the furnishing of gas, electricity, water, street railway transportation, etc.

We favor election laws which shall place upon equality all political parties or organizations in the selection of candidates and the placing of their names on the official ballot.

We demand of municipalities, states and the nation, the immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum.

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The Boston Central Labor union last Sunday sat down on the proposed rapid transit program by resolving that it is "opposed to any plan that would cause the expenditure of public money without public control and operation of the same."

Wm. Clarke of London, delivered at Wells Memorial hall last Sunday, an address on "Socialism in England," which he said had spread even to the political economists, who were being forced to admit that the writers of the old school had erred in their economic generalizations based upon insular conditions. The most notable event of the day, the speaker said, was the stand taken at the trades union Congress at Belfast, that the wage-workers should not support candidates who did not favor the state ownership of the implements of production. The subject of next Sunday evening's lecture in the same hall, will be "The government of London."

Ohio.

A proposition for the city of Youngstown to issue bonds for \$100,000 to establish its own electric light plant is meeting with great favor, and the council has ordered that the question be submitted to a vote of the people in November.

Georgia.

Savannah will ask the Legislature for authority to erect and operate a municipal electric light plant. The plan is to operate an electric plant in connection with the water-works.

Miscellaneous.

Coming Nation, Greensburg, Ind.: Wheeling, W. Va. citizens pay only 75 cents per 1000 for gas. Greensburg citizens pay \$2.50. The citizens of Wheeling own the gas plant, while the citizens of Greensburg don't. It takes wealth to pay it, and as workers only produce wealth, the whole cost finally falls on the workers. Elect a city council that understands these problems and gas will be within the reach of all.

Foreign.

The 37 million dollars spent on irrigation and water-works in Australia, says the premier of Victoria, were all reproductive, and the 180 million dollars spent on state railways, despite the low passenger and freight rates, netted a profit of five million dollars last year! He also makes it plain that the recent panic in Australia was not due to the expenditures for socialistic institutions, but to the decline in the prices of products, particularly wool and wheat.

The advantages of direct municipal labor over private contract labor is being abundantly shown in London, where the county council recently invited tenders for reconstructing a main sewer in Lambeth. The lowest tender was £11,538 16s. 6d. The council decided to perform the work itself, and has just finished the job at a cost of \$4,957 4s. 11d. John Burns, who was a member of the sub-committee having charge of the work, says in general of direct labor: "In every instance where we have done our own work without the intervention of a contractor success has been achieved and that, too, remember, under difficulties which always arise when a public body takes a new departure."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

W. F. of New York city: Your little sheet affords me much pleasure, and contains more truth than all daily New York papers put together.

M. of New York city: I am sorry to see the missionary fund falling off. I would like to see your readers apply the good nationalistic doctrine "From each according to his ability" to themselves. I enclose \$5 to furnish 20 copies for three months to new readers.

C. W. of Philadelphia: In renewing my subscription I know of no better way of showing the high estimation in which The New Nation is held than by sending you the names of four of the leading educational institutions and libraries of this city, for which please find inclosed \$5.

A. N. D. of Brooklyn, N.Y.: I send \$1 to continue my subscription to the best paper in the United States. I am sorry that I cannot do more to help tide you over the hard times, but there is one thing to comfort us, that is that these times are opening many eyes to see the things which you saw so clearly before us, and which you are teaching us to see more and more clearly with every copy of your paper. I always read it twice over at least, and thank God in my heart for it meanwhile.

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It was not our intention to have our \$5.00 Coupon inserted in this paper but once, but by mistake it was printed in two numbers.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS:

There is an undefinable something in its plot, if plot it may be called, that appeals to every wage-worker, and every wage-worker in the land should read it. In "Looking Backward," Edward Bellamy has given the world a better impulse. "Phillp Meyer's Scheme" tells in its peculiar way, a story that might be termed an introduction to Bellamy's story. — Omaha World-Herald, Oct. 16, 1892.

The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

If so many men were not throwing their votes away on the people's party nowadays, neither of the old parties would have appropriated the populist plank favoring the referendum. The best way to reform a political party is to leave it.

Our advice to the Boston Herald is to go slow about backing its position up with the daily statement that an overwhelming majority of this country is demanding the unconditional repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman act. We cannot but recall a statement quite as wild which the Herald made July 9, 1892: "The favorite election wager is that Weaver will not get a single electoral vote. The odds are that he won't." He got 22.

In New Zealand, one of the notable features of the nationalization regime has been the adoption of the grouping

contract system, as a substitute for the private contract system. When a railroad is to be built, for example, the grading is given to a group of laborers large enough to do the work. This group appoints a committee to sign the contract with the government for them and the men elect their own bosses and perform the work on the basis of a pure democracy. Other portions of the work are put out to other groups. Sometimes a trade union in a body takes the contract, and even the physically weak members of the union receive the same wages as the strongest, while the superintendents or bosses receive no more than the weakest laborer. Our political economists must hustle to keep up with the procession or they will find the earth basted with "dreams."

Something for Our Readers to do.

As the year advances, the principles which The New Nation stands for are coming more and more sharply to the front, and our anxiety to restore the paper to its former size, 16 pages, is increased by the growing demand for particulars of the weekly story of the movement, as well as definite information concerning the practical outcome of experiments in public ownership. The coming winter promises to be the most memorable since the close of the war, both politically and industrially. We, therefore, call upon our subscribers to constitute themselves each a committee of one to secure one extra name to our mailing list. This will justify us in doubling the size of The New Nation at once, and will materially add to its influence as a medium for spreading the only reform that can effectually come between the nation and the despotism of private monopolies.

Is the Financial Controversy Drawing the Line Between the Masses and the Classes?

It is somewhat amusing to observe the anxiety with which the papers, which represent the gold party in the present Congressional struggle, are following the varying fortunes of the fight against silver. One would actually

suppose they were childish enough to fancy that the squeezing through of a repeal bill was going to end the struggle between contraction and expansion in favor of the former. Why bless your simple souls, the disposition of the Sherman purchase clause, whatever it may be, will merely mark the issue of a skirmish in a fight, which before it gets through, is very likely to revolutionize not only the politics but the industrial system of the country.

As for the Sherman bill, nobody cares particularly for that except as it was necessary to defend it from an attack made in the interest of the party of contraction. The real issue, broadly, is between the policy of contracting and that of expanding the currency, and whatever is done or left undone with the Sherman bill, this main issue will be pushed at the next Congress in a yet more radical form than ever before, and with more votes behind it. Yes, mind that—with more votes behind it. For please take notice, the contraction party is stronger in Congress than it ever will be again. There are no elements from which it can expect to gain strength. It will never elect any more senators to speak of west of the Mississippi, or south of Mason and Dixon's line. If those great sections of the country were inclined to oppose a gold standard and the contraction policy before the recent hard times and the extra session of Congress, they are surely now tenfold more bitter against it. The most the contraction and gold standard party can hope to do is to hold the East and North Central states, and this it will do with constantly increasing difficulty, as the people's party grows. Or, you can figure it out another way: No one running over the voting record of the House and Senate at this session will say that any of the repeal constituencies were misrepresented by their members, but on the other side, any one will admit that scores of southern and western men voted against the home sentiment. In view of these facts, must we not expect to see the next Congress very much more in favor of expansion than the present body? Mr. Cleveland has had a hard time forcing his gold cure down the throats of this Congress, but it has been child's play to the experience which awaits him with that which is to be elected in 1894, should he persist in the same policy.

In the face of such a situation and prospect, could there then be anything more fatuous than the confidence so many of the capitalist papers seem to cherish that if only repeal can be carried, there will be something like financial stability insured? There is indeed a stretch of wild waters before the ship of state.

Recognizing then as inevitable the prominence of radical, financial and currency issues in the period before us, what bearing will such a course of affairs have upon the progress of nationalism? Upon this most important subject, which we have before discussed, we have a few more words to say.

To rightly estimate the full significance of the present and daily clearer drawn division of the people into two opposing camps as to the currency issue of contraction or expansion, we should consider, not so much the technical points of the contrasted policies, in the light of financial science, as the character and composition of the opposing forces. In other words, it is well to inquire which side our kind of folks are mostly on and which side is most allied with institutions which we oppose, and most largely sup-

ported by the classes least inclined to our plan of radical reform. If we apply our minds to this view of the subject, we shall be startled to see how strongly the lines of battle suggest the impending irrepressible conflict between the masses and the classes, of which nationalism is to be the outcome.

On the one side are the forces of what we may, without invidious intent, describe as the money power, representing the interest and system of capitalism. No one certainly will question that the strength of the gold and contraction party in this struggle is in the moneyed cities, the moneyed states and among the moneyed classes, distinctively. On the other hand, the strength of the opposition to gold monometallism and scarce money, and of the demand for a larger basis of circulation, is almost wholly among the working population, the poorer classes. For a considerable time the agricultural workers and the agricultural states have borne the brunt of the fight against the gold basis and the contraction party. A very notable and significant development of the past year has been the extent to which the great workingmen's organizations have committed themselves in their platforms and petitions to the same cause.

The unanimity and emphasis with which the artisans have been rallying to the support of the farmers on this question since the last election is a sign of the times, all the more noticeable for the reason that it seems to a considerable extent the result of sympathy arising from animosity to capitalism. The eastern wage-earner of the cities has, as a rule, taken little interest heretofore in currency questions, and divers of the reasons which have influenced the mind of the western farmer on financial issues, have not hitherto especially appealed to the artisan. But the socialistic discussions of the last few years have wonderfully opened the wage-earner's eyes to the general relations of labor and capital. He sees that the forces which the farmers are fighting over this money issue are those which he and his fellow wage-earners are fighting over the wage issue, and he puts two and two together and concludes that it would be good generalship for him and the farmer to pool their issues.

If then we are forced to regard this growing division of the people on the question by the financial policy of the country as in a rough way a sort of preliminary lining up of sides for the coming decisive conflict of the people with capitalism, it takes on an interest quite apart from the merits of the particular policies that are the subject of dispute.

Great revolutions, we must remember, never develop logically. The conflicts with which they open are usually over points apparently not closely related to the underlying and final issue. The use of these preliminary collisions seems to be not in themselves settling anything, but in solidifying the forces that are to effect the later real work.

Let it not be said of us who watch for the morning, as it was said of others in old times: "Ye can discern the face of the sky, but ye cannot discern the signs of the times."

The War for Woman's Independence Must Become Socialistic.

The New Nation tenders its homage to the memory of Lucy Stone, the heroic pioneer in the war for woman's independence, who has just completed her noble work on earth. She has fought a good fight.

According to our view of this great question of woman's

independence, it has passed through its first distinct phase, and is now about to enter upon, indeed already is entering upon, its second and triumphant stage. The work of Lucy Stone and her worthy co-laborers, both those gone before and yet remaining with us, has been devoted to securing a place for women in the ranks of competitive industry. When we look back 50 years, we must render the tribute of astonishment to the greatness of the achievements that have been wrought in this line of effort. In almost every occupation of life, woman's right to a place is now recognized, and to us who can remember, the most startling evidence of the completeness of the change that has taken place is that the rising generation concedes as a matter of course, this position so long denied and sorely fought for.

But the war for woman's independence can never be brought to a triumphant conclusion so long as the competitive and individualistic system of industry prevails, for the reason that according to that standard, relative efficiency in direct industrial production, determines the economic relation of the contestants, and in this conflict men, as a sex, by reason of their greater physical strength, can always in the end beat women as a sex, even as some men beat other men.

This basic fact of superiority in strength and industrial efficiency, would give man the advantage, even though woman abandoned marriage and child-bearing and devoted herself wholly to economic production. If, however, she marries and becomes a mother, giving up direct wealth production, as most women do, she necessarily falls into an almost complete economic dependence upon her husband.

There is therefore no victorious solution of the woman question possible save the socialistic solution, that is to say, the establishment of a new industrial and economic system, which shall not base right upon might.

But just here let us point out very distinctly that not every socialistic solution, and especially not the socialistic solution as generally understood in Europe, would adequately guarantee woman's economic independence, for the economic formula of European socialism and of its American branch, the socialistic labor party, is "to every one according to his performance," which, while putting an end to capitalism, would leave the individual woman as compared with the individual man to feel the full weight of her inferior, physical strength and sex disabilities for economic purposes. Socialists of the European schools, while talking eloquently and doubtless most sincerely of their intention to equalize women with men, wholly fail to show how they are going to do it and, of course, must so fail so long as they retain their principle of economic provision according to specific physical performance. Nationalism alone of all forms of socialism, necessarily guarantees woman's economic equality with man by its fundamental principle, which makes maintenance dependent upon citizenship only and therefore equal for all.

The solution of the woman question must not, therefore, be merely socialistic, in that it must involve a new system of industry, but it must be distinctively a nationalistic solution in that it must involve a particular sort of new industrial system, namely, one based not on the specific performance of different individuals, but upon the equal relation of all individuals to the state. Men may or may not prefer

other forms of socialism; women must prefer nationalism if they wish to be indeed free.

The second phase upon which then, if we are correct, the woman's war for independence is now entering and must enter, is the socialistic phase, in which it is recognized that woman's equality with man, is to be secured not by her admission to the competitive struggle as his rival, proper and righteous as that is, but by the abolition of the competitive system in the interest of both sexes. Not by itself, on special lines, but as part and parcel of the great deliverance of humanity, is woman's emancipation to be achieved.

Those who realize this process of development and the necessity of broadening the issue to meet it, will succeed to the leadership of the cause of women, which henceforth must be blended with the cause of men.

NATIONALISM, TO BE SURE.

To the Editor of The New Nation:

Our clients know that we have advocated municipal ownership of gas and electric lighting plants, street railways, water works, etc., and the national ownership of the railroads, the express companies and telegraph lines. We have also predicted that the government would either control or own all the railroads in the United States within ten years. We recognize that this is not a popular notion; at least it has not been. But the more the problem is studied the more evident it becomes to thinking men that this is the only way out and the only solution of a very complicated question. Every now and then one sees items which show the drift of public opinion, and it is therefore with some surprise but much gratification that we see so able a defender of the competitive system as the Boston Herald make this very pertinent statement in its financial column quite recently. In speaking of the Chicago & Cook County Gas company the Herald says: "Put it down as a prophecy that the time is coming when municipalities will supply light as well as water to the inhabitants and that without partnership with capitalists. Purchasers of gas and like industrial securities may well bear this in mind." The gist of this whole matter is that the people can supply themselves with the necessities of life on a plan that will give them the profits of the business instead of having to pay largely in order that the capitalists may accumulate and retain all these profits. Without doubt it is probable that the author of the foregoing quotation would not admit that he was a nationalist. But this is nationalism, pure and simple, and I commend the remarks to your readers.

G. E. C. BUFFINGTON.

Boston, October, 1893.

The Pittsburg (Pa.) Dispatch quotes an Austrian political boss as saying private management of the railroads is better and cheaper than state management. This is not the opinion of the people of Austria-Hungary. Of course politicians favor private corporations. There is more in it for the bosses.

The franchise of the Electric Light company of Springfield, Mo., expires in a year from this time, and the city council of Springfield now proposes to build and operate their own electric light plant.

NATIONALISM IN POLITICS.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM IN LONDON.

What Public Ownership is Doing for London. Speech of William Clarke, President of the Fabian Society. Republicanism and Railroadism. The Campaign in Massachusetts. Note and Comment.

The lectures of William Clarke, president of the Fabian society of London, now being delivered at Wells Memorial hall, Boston, afford our people a notable opportunity to gain correct information concerning the nature and extent of the social revolution in progress in London. The movement in London to unify the governments of that vast community, Mr. Clarke asserted, was outside the old liberal and tory party lines. The London county council, established by the act of 1888, is composed of moderates and progressives. The progressives, which have an overwhelming majority of the 118 members of the council, stand squarely for municipal socialism. That body is even in advance of the city government of Paris, which is a very radical body. The progressives have matured a program for the public ownership and conduct of gas and electric lighting and means of transportation. They propose to put a graduated tax upon land. Disraeli once accepted as a government measure a bill to buy out the water companies for 150 million dollars, but was defeated and "floated out of power on water," as he afterward said. The county council now proposes, unless it can come to reasonable terms with the water companies, to establish a municipal plant. London is paying more money for worse lighting than any city in the world; while many cities, particularly in the North of London, are performing that service admirably at low rates.

The means of transit is also fast becoming a burning issue, and the progressives propose to buy the plants and let out the running of cars for a time. Eventually, transportation will be conducted also by the public.

It is proposed also to apply the zone system to the steam roads running into London. At present the third class passenger service alone pays for the running of trains, and the people are herded in ill-conditioned apartments, fitted only for cattle.

Still another branch of the council's policy is the clearing out of low rookeries and the erection of municipal tenement houses for working people; also the putting up of municipal lodging houses. This work is already under way. A feature of the progressive plan is the throwing open of school-houses in the evening, where various officials hold social receptions. Music is often furnished and the common people assemble with their families for an hour's enjoyment. The zone system of transit will enable workingmen to live out of town and in healthy domestic surroundings, to which they are now strangers. Mr. Clarke closed his lecture by saying that these reforms, now well under way, are kind-

ling what he terms a "civic patriotism." The city belongs to the people and they propose to run it for the benefit of all.

The Omaha Bee is daily burying its lance in the flank of the republican party, which it has worked so many years to establish. Hear its indictment: "Is Nebraska a free state? Does not the overthrow of republicanism by railroadism strike down the very pillars that uphold popular self-government? The founders of the republican party rebelled against the slave power and proclaimed obedience to the higher law. The loyal republicans of Nebraska must emulate their example this year and help to restore Nebraska to her place among the free states by overthrowing railroadism." The party strength at the last election in Nebraska was: Republican, 85,213; populist, 82,256; democratic, 4930.

Massachusetts Populists.

South Carver populists held a public meeting on the 26th.

Ransom Bridge and Henry R. Legate were the speakers at the people's party rally at Gloucester on the 27th.

P. O'Neill Larkin and Capt. Charles E. Bowers of Boston were the speakers at the Marblehead rally on the 26th.

Salem populists turned out in force on the 24th to listen to Ransom Bridge of Boston, in the town hall.

W. H. K. Eastman of Lawrence, populist candidate for Senator, has challenged his democratic and republican competitors.

If Haverhill does not make a fine showing for the people's party on election day, we will be sorely disappointed. George H. Cary spoke there on the 25th and received a warm reception.

Lee hall is getting too small for the people's party of Lynn. For several weeks there has been nothing but standing room at the Friday meetings for those who come late.

E. Gerry Brown spoke in East Bridgewater Thursday night, and in Liberty Hall, West Hanover, Friday night. Good audiences in both places.

The new party is assuming proportions in Amesbury. The meeting in Grand Army hall on the 21st was attended by about 300 voters. James F. Carey and T. T. Pomeroy of Haverhill were the speakers.

Saugus will much more than double its people's party vote this year. The meeting in the town hall Wednesday night was addressed by Dr. P. P. Field and Warner Johnson of Boston.

The new party is making rapid strides at Lawrence. The town hall was crowded Tuesday to hear E. Gerry Brown of Brockton. Great preparations are being made for the 31st, when C. C. Post of Georgia will speak.

Topsfield entered the list Wednesday night, and may now be considered a populist stronghold. Speeches were

delivered in the town hall by Mason A. Green of Boston and T. T. Pomeroy.

Populist headquarters at Waltham may be found at room 52, Methodist building, corner of Moody and Main streets. A transparency has been put up, and politically, No. 52 is about the most interesting quarter of the town about these days.

The people's party in Waltham is holding two meetings a week. Good work in the way of spreading literature is being done. It has been decided to continue the fight after November 7 and to contest the municipal election. There has never been such an interest in the people's party in the history of Waltham.

The voters of Ashland turned out in force to listen to Henry R. Legate's presentation of the populist's cause on the 19th. Chairman Hovenden made a short opening speech and if anything can be judged from the attention paid by the audience, Ashland will be heard from on the 7th of November.

The newly formed populist club at Mattapan has organized, with David Halliday for president, W. H. Cook first vice-president, W. H. Geshard second vice-president, A. O. Hawes, secretary and J. A. Brown, treasurer. The club numbers about 25, and meets Tuesday evenings. The new party starts off under very favorable auspices in Mattapan, and is supported by several prominent citizens.

John E. Russell, democratic candidate for governor, said in his Lawrence speech: "You had a populist meeting here lately, and many of you are interested in the opinions of that party. Let me say of them that they are entitled to great respect as men who sincerely wish to improve the condition of the people, not of a class, but of the mass. They are unselfish even in their mistakes. The party takes its rise and draws its strength from the distress of the farming population." The speaker then argued that the tariff was the cause of it all. They know better in the West.

Note and Comment.

Independent Press, Franklin, Neb.: Edward Bellamy, editor of The New Nation, predicts that at the next election three southern states at least, to wit, Georgia, Alabama and Texas, will be carried by the populists. The renowned author of Looking Backward is very conservative in his estimates and a prediction of this kind carries great weight with it.

The attempt of the populist officials to enforce prohibition in Topeka is complicating matters at Topeka, and the Topeka Advocate very wisely says: "The situation here affords ground for the very best of argument in favor of the populist policy that the manufacture and sale of liquor should be under the exclusive control of the government. Not until this theory is put in practice will the liquor question be solved. The prohibitory law will never solve it."

Rhode Island Democrat, Providence: The strikers of Olneyville can win the fight if they are true to principle, to themselves and to the heroic traditions of the state. They should make the Olneyville strike national. By so doing they can at once secure the financial aid of every friend of the people all over the country. How is this to be done? By declaring that labor proposes to take complete political

control of the state government, from governor down, through concentrating its vote at the ballot box in the coming elections.

A Populist Landslide in Lynn.

The democratic still hunt has had a very peculiar outcome as appears from a paragraph which we clip from the Lynn Daily Item of the 21st. It seems that the still hunt in Lynn has been carried on by the people's party men. Says the Item: "There are indisputable evidences of a landslide from the democratic to the people's party in this section, which is carrying along with it some men who have occupied high places in the local councils of the former. There is not much of a flourish of trumpets being made over the shifting of allegiance, but those who are ordinarily observant of the political horizon and come in contact with the masses clearly perceive the change that is being wrought. There is widespread dissatisfaction among the working classes with the attitude of President Cleveland, and they are losing no time in identifying themselves with a policy more in consonance with their views. Looking upon his administration for the past six months as portending what the remainder is likely to be, they have come to the conclusion that they do not care to be identified with it any longer and are pitching their tents in another camp."

Populist Meetings and Speakers in Massachusetts.

- Oct. 23. Rockland. E. Gerry Brown.
- Oct. 30. Pittsfield. George H. Cary, Henry R. Legate.
- Oct. 30. Waltham. P. O'Neill Larkin.
- Oct. 31. Braintree. Henry R. Legate.
- Oct. 31. Middleton. W. O. Dwinnell.
- Oct. 31. Lawrence. C. C. Post, Mason A. Green.
- Nov. 1. Georgetown. Henry R. Legate.
- Nov. 1. Spencer. George H. Cary.
- Nov. 1. Lynn (Lasters hall). C. C. Post, W. L. Ramsdell.
- Nov. 3. Haverhill (City hall). C. C. Post.
- Nov. 3. Marlboro. P. O'Neill Larkin, E. Gerry Brown.
- Nov. 6. Marlboro. C. C. Post, George H. Cary.

MASSACHUSETTS POPULISTS NOMINATIONS.

The State Ticket.

Governor, GEORGE H. CARY of Lynn.

Lieut-Governor, JOSEPH K. HARRIS of Haverhill.

Secretary of the Commonwealth, ISAAC W. SKINNER of Waltham.

Treasurer and Receiver-General, THOMAS A. WATSON of Braintree.

Auditor, MAURICE W. LANDERS of Pittsfield.

Attorney-General, CONRAD RENO of Boston.

Candidates to the General Court.

Senatorial: Essex county, — 1st district, Walter L. Ramsdell of Lynn; 2d, George A. Sanborn of Salem; 4th, James F. Carey of Haverhill; 5th, Alonzo W. Tyler of Peabody; 6th, Hiram W. K. Eastman of Lawrence.

Representatives: Essex county, — 2d, district, George W. Pettingill, Parkman F. Flanders of Haverhill; 3d, E. Elsworth Batchelder, James F. Kelly of Haverhill; 4th, Thomas P. Cahill, John J. Murphy of Lawrence; 5th, Edwin F. Carr, Alexander Love of Lawrence; 7th, Benjamin J. Balch of Topsfield; 12th, Nathaniel B. Haskell of Beverly; 14th, Thomas H. Condon of Salem; 16th, James Henry Rowndy of Marblehead; 17th, Arthur E. Watson of Swampscott; James A. Elliot of Lynn; 18th, John H. Clark

Benjamin F. Ford of Lynn; 19th, Edward D. Priest, George W. Horne of Lynn; 20th, Horace M. Eaton, James W. Gibbons of Lynn; 22d, Wilbert O. Dwinnell of Danvers. Middlesex county — 29th district, John H. Murray of Marlboro, Frederick W. Millay of Hudson. Worcester county — 6th district, Walter E. Barton of Spencer. Berkshire county — 4th district, James Mee, August Segill, Jr. of Pittsfield. Plymouth county — 5th district, John W. Eversen of Hanover; 6th, Arthur Coleman of Whitman.

Platform of the Massachusetts People's Party, adopted at Lynn, Sept. 6, 1898.

We, citizens of Massachusetts, adherents of the People's Party, in convention assembled, again pledge our support to the principles of the platform adopted at Omaha on July 4, 1892. We congratulate the party on the magnificent vote polled in the last presidential election, when Gen. James B. Weaver, its candidate, received the suffrages of more than a million of his fellow citizens, and we have every reason to believe that our cause will ultimately triumph at the ballot box.

We declare that the economic distress and oppressions which have culminated in the present business crisis are the result of the conquest of the business interests of the people and their means of livelihood by gigantic monopolies, financial and industrial, and we charge upon both the democratic and republican parties the responsibility for the present deplorable condition of the producing classes. We declare that the only way to deal with private monopolies is to monopolize them in the public interest through public control.

We emphasize the insufficiency of the circulating medium for the business needs of the country. We insist that the refusal of Congress, while repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, to give to silver any money function, plainly proves that both the old parties are determined to force upon us a single gold standard. The world's exchanges increase several times as fast as the supply of gold available for coinage. Thus, on a gold basis, the purchasing power of the dollar is increased, the debtor robbed and the creditor enriched by a vicious and arbitrary change in the contract, time obligations made contingent upon the luck of the miner and the machinations of speculators, and periodical panics precipitated in a land of plenty. We believe that the time has come to take the nation's money completely out of the realm of private speculation and to look to Washington and not London for stable conditions of commerce. If silver is to be permanently deprived of its money function, gold also should be demonetized; and, therefore, we call for a system of legal tender treasury notes, issued only by the government, to be irredeemable except as they are receivable for government dues and regulated in volume as the market price of commodities may indicate, so that the supply of money shall keep pace with the legitimate demands of business and demoralizing fluctuations in the purchasing power of the dollar cease forever. In default of such an issue of legal tender notes, we favor free coinage of silver as affording with gold a more honest money than gold alone.

We demand a postal bank system for deposit and exchange, in which 30 day notices would not apply nor depositor's checks be refused payment until confidence is restored. And we condemn the perpetuation and extension to private corporations of the power of issuing money, which is the proper function of the government.

As protection against monopoly is the right of every citizen, we call for the assumption by the government as soon as practicable of the ownership of the railroads, which as now conducted are little short of chartered conspiracies against the peace and prosperity of the people; and we especially urge that steps be taken to acquire coal mines that are at present exploited by combinations of capitalists, and that a federal system of mining and coal distribution

be immediately established.

We reiterate our demand that the government of the United States shall, at the earliest possible moment, begin to acquire the telegraph and telephone lines, or to build others, that we may have in connection with our post office system what is enjoyed by nearly every civilized nation.

We favor as the only cheap and absolutely safe system, state fire and life insurance at secure rates without profit.

We believe the solution of the liquor problem lies in the elimination of the element of profit, and therefore demand that the sale of liquor shall be exclusively carried on by the state at cost through salaried officials in such municipalities as shall apply for such agencies, and that the national government shall regulate the importation, manufacture and transportation of all intoxicants so as to protect the states in their exclusive management of the same.

We favor a graduated tax on inheritances and incomes.

We protest against the contract system practiced by municipalities in employing labor. Municipal employment should be direct and responsible. We demand that all public employees, national, state and municipal, be brought under a classified civil service with admissions and promotions for merit only and dismissals for cause after hearing.

We condemn the present management of industry because it fails to provide work for multitudes of willing hands, while at the same time overworking those who are employed. We therefore favor the reduction of the time of labor to an eight hour day, which will tend both to lighten the burdens of the workers and to increase the number of those finding employment.

We call attention to the condition of the unemployed, which, under pressure of business depression, is assuming the proportions of a great national tragedy. We declare it to be the proper and pressing duty of the state and municipalities to come to their aid, not by charity, nor by untimely and wasteful public works, but by organizing their labor according to their several trades and abilities, so that they may be able, on a co-operative plan to supply one another's need. As the first practical step to this end we urge an immediate census and registration of the unemployed. We are in favor of adding to our bureau of labor statistics, employment agencies and bureaus of information, affiliated with similar institutions in other states and centralized in the department of labor at Washington. In the selection of officers and engagements of employees, women should be given full proportion of positions.

We demand that convicts be employed exclusively upon such articles as can be used in our penal and charitable institutions, any surplus thereof to be distributed so as not to compete with free labor.

We favor full political suffrage for women on an equal basis with men.

We demand such laws as shall compel the wealthy holders of personal property to pay their share of the taxes. We commend a doomage law with sufficient penalties to procure sworn lists of such property, and its taxation by a uniform rate in all municipalities, with the distribution of the proceeds to all the cities and towns on a fair basis.

We congratulate the people of Massachusetts upon the amendments to the municipal lighting law, secured in the Legislature at the last session in the interest of towns desiring to acquire private plants, and we condemn the republican majority for its defeat of the amendment fixing the rate of compensation at which such plants should be acquired at not more than the duplication cost of an equivalent plant without compensation for the franchise.

We favor the municipalization of local public utilities such as the furnishing of gas, electricity, water, street railway transportation, etc.

We favor election laws which shall place upon equality all political parties or organizations in the selection of candidates and the placing of their names on the official ballot.

We demand of municipalities, states and the nation, the immediate adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

Mrs. I. S. R. C. of Lake Ann, Mich.: I send by this mail my copy of the telegraph and telephone petition with 75 names, including all the business men of the village, the editor of the local paper, two physicians, two lawyers, two ministers and the principal of the school. If I had had leisure to circulate the petition, no doubt I could have sent twice as many names from the village and vicinity. Only two of those asked declined to sign.

A. G. H. of Los Angeles Cal.: It requires no effort on my part to decide that The New Nation, with only eight pages, contains more economic nutriment and effective ammunition for reform warfare than any other periodical extent. I regretted exceedingly to see it cut down; but the same pressure that brought it down to its present size, has so intensified the needs and wants of the otherwise possible subscriber, that he is now driven to regard everything as a luxury to be dispensed with, which is not absolutely essential to his physical existence. I think if the great wavering army of undecided voters can have The New Nation for a finger-board, they will soon take the right road.

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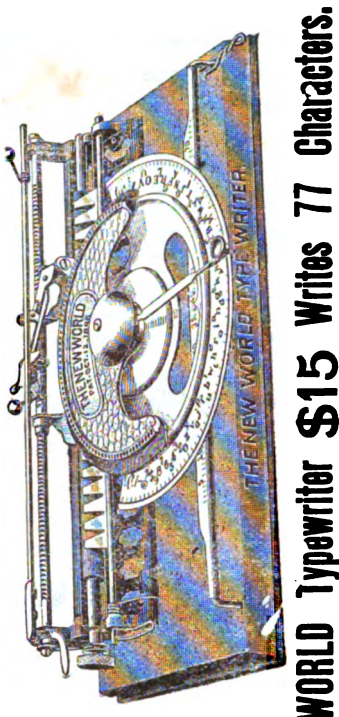
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The author, evidently a practical worker, propounds a novel project for surmounting the chief difficulties in the problem of capital and labor. The characters are typical employers and workmen. — Christian Herald, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1892.

This is a novel with a purpose, and its purpose is to show how the problem of capital and labor may be solved without the violence that commonly attend the great social and political revolutions. — Twentieth Century, Dec. 8 1892.

If men who work for wages were to combine on the lines suggested in this book, there would be an end to the conflict between labor and certain phases of capital. It is an ideal scheme of co-operation. — John Habberton in Godey's Magazine, Dec., 1892.

Mr Hedd has not solved the labor question; but he is a clear thinker and has done something in the direction of its solution. We have read the book and cheerfully commend it to the careful attention of every man who depends on the sweat of his brow for food and shelter. — N. Y. Herald, April 30, 1893.

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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

The foreign dispatches state that Dr. Miquel, German finance minister, commenting on the Sherman bill repeal, says that the silver coinage question will never be satisfactorily disposed of till silver mines are nationalized. Very true, but while we are about it, why not nationalize mines in general?

The introduction of a postal telegraph bill by Senator Butler of South Carolina, is quite opportune. In a few weeks petitions for both a government telegraph and telephone will begin to pour in upon Congress from all sections of the country. We again remind those of our friends who are circulating these petitions to forward them to this office as soon as convenient.

The little group of populist Senators and Representatives in Congress, by their course during the extra session, have deserved well of their constituents and the party. Their

dignity of attitude and uncompromising adherence to principle in the midst of demoralized and bargain-hunting cliques have extorted even the unwilling admiration of their opponents. They have done much to strengthen the party for the future by proving that its chosen agents can be trusted to perform the mandates laid upon them.

The Result of the Elections.

With the regularity of the seasons the election returns, so far as the people's party is concerned, are buried by the Associated Press. From the correspondents of The New Nation we are able to give the vote in 64 Massachusetts towns for George H. Cary on Tuesday, and we add the vote for Henry Winn last year for convenient comparison. The head of the ticket always suffers, and thus the average vote for the six candidates on the ticket will, we think, reach 7000, against about 3200 average vote last year.

Boston's small populist vote still remains the anomaly of the new party returns. As complaints are renewed this year that certain precincts return no people's party ballots where populists are known to have voted, we commend this matter to the state central committee. Three successive years of rank irregularities will not be submitted to in this commonwealth.

The returns in Massachusetts thus far received would indicate a populist gain of 200 per cent. This shows good substantial progress and will encourage the party of the people to pick their flints and renew the fight, which is to be done at once.

The story of the third party movement in Massachusetts is this in a nut-shell: They began the fight in 1891 with a record of 1749 for governor, raised it in 1892 to 1976; and in 1893 have probably reached 6000 for governor, with a thousand more on the average vote of the ticket.

As to the rest of the country, our readers will be com-

pelled also to wait. The populists have carried Nebraska by a good majority after a five years' fight. For a single campaign, the Virginia populists have done nobly. The latest returns show that the democratic majority is not one half what the Associated Press dispatches claimed at first. Kansas has performed its duty as usual in its county elections. No reliance can be placed upon the South Dakota dispatches, as we notice that in some cases they confound populist candidates with old party candidates.

The result all round is magnificent. To capture one state, put up a fine campaign in another so strong as to obliterate one of the old parties, score gains all round the line and treble the vote in Massachusetts is good enough for one campaign.

The Fate of the Silver Bill and the Future of the People's Party.

The bill unconditionally repealing the silver purchase clause of the Sherman law has at last been forced through both houses of Congress by the pressure of the administration and received Mr. Cleveland's signature. Just why he was so anxious to have Congress go through the formality of repealing the bill is not very plain, seeing that he and Mr. Carlisle have practically repealed it since July by refusing to buy any silver except at their own price, the result of which has naturally been that no silver to speak of has been offered or bought for a couple of months back. The passage of the repeal by Congress will therefore make no difference with the course of the government. It merely amounts to legally indorsing for the future the policy which the administration has been pursuing in defiance of the law since July. It is an indorsement, however, which means bankruptcy for the democratic party.

Nothing could be more false than to say that the repeal of the purchasing clause was demanded by the majority of the people. The majority by which it passed the Senate was but 11, while a dozen of the Senators voting for repeal misrepresented southern and northwestern and Pacific states, which on a popular vote would have overwhelmingly favored silver. In the House, subtract from the yea column the southern and far western members who are now trembling in fear of tar and feathers when they go home, and repeal could not have passed that body. We think that no one can seriously question that since the June panic, when possibly repeal was the sentiment of a majority of the people, there has been a steady and great drift of sentiment toward bi-metalism, not alone among the masses, but quite as much among students. The cry that the purchase clause was responsible for the panic, on the strength of which Cleveland called the extra session, has now been dropped, even by the advocates of the repeal policy, who after having assured us all summer that everything would be well if repeal were only adopted, now turn around and tell us that we must not expect any immediate improvement. The whole movement stands plainly revealed, in the hour of its triumph, as a deliberate plot for the contraction of the currency in the interest of a higher unit of value.

From a merely political point of view no course of events could have been more favorable to the future growth of the

people's party. That the mass of the people south of Mason and Dixon's line and west of the Mississippi are opposed to any contraction of the currency and favor a liberal and popular basis of money, has never been questioned by any one. Millions of these voters have hitherto been induced, year after year, to continue to give their support, just once more, to the republican and democratic parties and especially to the latter, on the assurance that, however it might appear to the contrary, they were not really contraction parties. There comes a crisis in the career of all liars when nobody believes them any more, and they have to suspend business. That crisis, if we mistake not, has been reached on the currency and money questions by the democratic and republican parties as vote seekers in the South and West.

Between this time and the Congressional election of 1894, Mr. Cleveland has got to convince the majority in these great sections that their rooted convictions on the money question are all wrong and that a gold standard and a dollar as dear and scarce as possible is what they want, or, failing this, prepare to face a democratic Waterloo as complete as that the republicans met last year.

As to the republicans, they cannot be the gainers from any revolt against the democracy on the money question, because they stand with Cleveland for the contraction policy. In the eastern and north central states, they will undoubtedly make gains from the democrats on the tariff issue, but in the far West and South, it will be in vain, after the deep resentments excited by the extra session, to attempt to divert the people from their vengeance by drawing even the rankest of mackerel across the trail.

There can then be no question where the votes of the former southern and western democrats, which the Cleveland policy has alienated, will go. The people's party, already well-known and strongly settled among them, a party weighted with no heritage of prejudice or animosity from the bitter past, a party of new aims and ideas, with its face set toward the future, will take over bodily all the elements the democracy loses on account of the money question. The people's party must henceforth stand as the nucleus to which all elements that are in any way opposed to money contraction must necessarily rally. They have nowhere else to go. In 1892 the people's party was the club which in the northwest dealt the final blow to republican supremacy, and in 1894 and 1896, in the South, it will likewise deal the death-blow to the democratic party.

We as nationalists have reason to be deeply interested and concerned in this prospect. As champions of a new order of things we cannot expect to find a hearing for our radical propositions, save as ancient political formations are broken up, as former national ideals are shattered and the people, feeling the old foundations moving beneath them, begin to inquire "what shall we do to be saved?" Such a time as this, pregnant with incalculable richness of opportunity is upon us.

Those persons utterly fail to realize the significance of the great uprising in the West and South against the financial policy of the republican and democratic parties, who do not recognize in it a revolt directed in purpose and in feeling against the aggressions of capital, and, as such, a movement of which the motive is far more important to us, as an

indication of its future course, than the particular device or tactics which it may for the time adopt.

This people's party, which is to be the hammer of God in breaking up the old parties, has already very largely adopted the program and ideals of nationalism, and by the whole logic of events must and will, year by year, become more completely the instrument of our great work. No doubt it will, meantime, pass through many modifications; it may change its name again and again; it will certainly adopt many new and more radical ideas and get rid of many temporary and unessential notions; but every analogy drawn from the history of parties compels us to recognize in the present people's party the nucleus around which will more and more rally the forces that are in the period just before us, to carry the democratic principle to its full development in the establishment of economic equality as the law of the land and the corner stone of the constitution.

Pacific Coast Farmers and Laborers Getting Together.

The California Farmers' alliance recently held a four days session at Fresno. Committees of the Federated trades of Sacramento and the labor council of San Francisco waited upon the alliance. After a conference, it was unanimously voted by the alliance that any proposition from the federated trades shall be submitted to the sub-alliances through the state officials of the alliance. The alliance voted to send five delegates to the American Federation of labor convention at San Francisco in January and the same number also to the convention of the Federated trades of the Pacific coast at Sacramento in February. The local labor organizations are rapidly accepting the terms of the agreement, which will put the wage workers and farmers of the coast in line together for the economic reforms of the day. The alliance at Fresno voted in favor of state insurance and incorporated in the resolutions an editorial of *The New Nation* upon that subject. The action of the alliance executive officials in recommending to members a private New York insurance company was disapproved of. If California does not adopt a state insurance policy within five years, we miss our guess. Light is breaking all along the Pacific coast.

Violent Diseases Have Short Courses.

The Kansas City Journal, commenting on the decline of immigration to this country since the panic and the reported fact that in one particular week there were more people left New York for Europe than arrived, says:

A falling off in immigration is perhaps not a bad thing in itself, but when it is caused by a depression of industry and the lack of employment for labor it makes a bad fingerboard.

So it does, but a very truthful one. The fact is, as thoughtful observers have long been pointing out, the condition of labor in this country has declined to such a point and the general opportunities of making a livelihood have been so diminished, that for several years past it has not been worth the while of any but the poorest and most degraded class of Europeans to come to us.

The immigration of these classes has been promoted to the utmost by capitalists and employers, for the express purpose of supplanting the higher priced American working men and women by a cheaper grade and reducing the

general standard of living. The result is that the mass of the American people has now become too poor to buy enough of the product of its own labor to keep production going, and we have a crisis. This makes the outlook for labor in America so much worse than before, that the Poles and Italians are going back home and even the Russian Jew doubts his ability to eke out a living among us.

And this, mind you, is America, that land flowing with milk and honey, whereof our fathers used to sing, not too exultantly, "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm."

Surely, never in the history of the world has capitalism given such a fearful illustration of its power, when operating without check, to blast and ruin a people, as the last 30 years of the economic history of the United States presents.

There is but one suggestion in the suddenness with which our republic has succumbed to capitalism that is in any way hopeful. This is the fact that in proportion to the violence of a sickness is the shortness of its course. From the necessity of the case, either a violent sickness presently saps the vital forces entirely, or the latter rally with an energy proportioned to the assault upon them and the disease is thrown off. Without straining the analogy, we may perhaps assume that so it will be with the republic in its present death-struggle. For our part, we fully believe that, within a dozen years, the last remnant of our former equality will have been destroyed, or that on the other hand, it will have been triumphantly reasserted and for all time refounded upon the unassailable rock of economic equality.

Which is the issue we expect to see, surely we need not say.

The Gas Issue Joined.

The statement of the president of the American Gas Lighting association, quoted elsewhere, is a tribute to the strength of the demand for municipal lighting in this country. That the tension is becoming sharp appears from the unusual number of private companies which have adopted the policy of abruptly cutting off gas and leaving whole communities in darkness. A libel suit has grown out of the fight of Mayor Pingree for municipal gas in Detroit. One citizen of Detroit is reported to have spoken of the mayor's speeches as "the weak ravings of a madman," who is "appealing to mob spirit on the line of confiscation." The recording of an eight million mortgage on the Chicago gas plant for the purpose of putting bonds on the New York market, has made a decided sensation among gas consumers in Chicago, and it is a question whether the public will not now force a reconsideration of the present plan of a quasi public plant, and demand municipal lighting pure and simple. We regret that the gas companies show a tendency to combine against the public by adopting arbitrary methods. If this policy continues, one would think that the "good will" on which they put a high figure when appraising their plants, would disappear. We see no evidence of a popular disposition to confiscate property; but nothing can be plainer, than that the consumers are bent upon making the business of lighting a public function.

The Rutland, Ct., board of trade is debating the wisdom of a municipal gas plant; cause high gas rates.

POPULISTS GAIN ALL ALONG THE LINE.

MASSACHUSETTS TREBLES ITS VOTE FOR THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

The Associated Press Dumb as an Oyster on Populist Returns. A Great Campaign in this State. Massachusetts News. Note and Comment.

The Western Union telegraph company, at the request of the Associated Press, sent out election blanks to its agents leaving off the people's party candidates in this state. This explains why we are not able to give this week the populist vote in full. The table below includes all the returns that we have been able to secure. We estimate the total vote for George H. Cary at 6000. Winn's vote last year was 1976. The average vote for the ticket will be about 7000.

The policy of the Associated Press to ignore the populists, makes the papers of Boston appear in a very ridiculous light in many instances. Thus, in Lynn the populist candidate polled 898 votes and the prohibitionist candidate about 250. Not a word of the big populist vote appears in the Associated Press tables, but the insignificant prohibition vote is given by wards. In some cases the Boston editors deliberately changed western dispatches so as to make a populist vote to appear as an old party vote. The course of the papers in Eastern Massachusetts this year was simply brutal, and will naturally react upon the old parties.

A feature of election in this state is the vote of populist candidates to the Legislature. It is too early to give the vote by districts, but some of the town returns are very significant.

There are 351 towns and cities in the state and we give below the populist vote in 64 towns.

POPULIST VOTE BY TOWNS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

	Cary, 1893.	Winn, 1892.
Abington	28	4
Amesbury	26	7
Andover	1	2
Ashland	32	5
Beverly	113	15
Boxford	4	0
Boston	346	310
Bradford	61	13
Brockton	69	23
Cambridge	54	37
Carver	31	11
Chelsea	24	18
Chicopee	26	13
Dalton	5	0
Danvers	93	94
Dedham	10	11

	Cary, 1893.	Winn, 1892.
Essex	46	6
Everett	21	13
Fall River	25	11
Georgetown	19	4
Gloucester	125	44
Groveland	21	8
Hamilton	3	1
Hanover	21	13
Haverhill	431	117
Hingham	5	3
Hudson	48	17
Ipswich	3	7
Lawrence	110	22
Lowell	32	20
Lynn	898	223
Lynnfield	30	0
Malden	29	36
Manchester	5	0
Marblehead	112	33
Medford	27	16
Merrimac	66	0
Methuen	11	3
Middleton	6	3
Nantucket	16	0
New Bedford	15	5
Newburyport	9	3
North Andover	16	4
Norwood	14	3
Peabody	61	13
Pittsfield	93	8
Plymouth	6	4
Quincy	47	28
Rockland	56	4
Rockport	16	1
Salem	89	19
Saugus	26	14
Scituate	8	6
Sharon	5	4
Somerville	36	24
Spencer	70	44
Swampscott	30	11
Taunton	28	13
Topsfield	11	0
Waltham	75	29
Wenham	1	0

	Cary, 1893.	Winn, 1892.
West Newbury . . .	1	3
Whitman	86	12
Yarmouth	4	0
Total, 64 towns . . .	3837	1410

Massachusetts Notes.

Cary's vote in Carver is 24 per cent of the total vote.

Gloucester: Walton, 362.

Tyler's vote for Senator in Lynn was 234.

Marblehead: Sanborn, for Senator, 117; Roundy, for Representative, 129.

Walter L. Ramsdell, candidate for Senator, polled 895 votes in Lynn and 943 in the district.

Walter E. Barton of Spencer received 94 votes in the 6th Worcester district.

F. W. Millay of Hudson received in Hudson 152, and John H. Murray of Malboro 48, for the Legislature.

Beverly gave 117 votes for George A. Sanborn for Senator, and 138 votes for A. B. Haskell for Representative.

In Salem, Sanborn's vote was 178 and Condon's 62, the latter for Representative.

In Swampscott Elliott polled 29 and Watson 49, for Representative.

Lynn returns: Representative, Elliott, 304; Watson, 288; Clarke, 188; Lord, 176; Horne, 248; Priest, 281; Eaton, 240; Gibboney, 229.

The vote for Representative in Haverhill was as follows: P. B. Flanders, 220; G. W. Pettingill, 219; E. E. Batchelder, 237; C. F. Kelley, 261.

In Lawrence, Eastman's vote for Senator was 312; Cahill, for Representative, 304; Murphy, for Representative, 162; Love, for Representative, 110; Carr, for Representative, 134.

Dwinnell's vote for Representative in Danvers was 171. Tyler's vote in Danvers for Senator was 122, and in Peabody 193.

Benjamin S. Balch of Topsfield, candidate for Representative, received 20 votes in Topsfield, 5 in Boxford and 34 in Groveland.

Charles D. Nash of Whitman polled 30 votes in Hanover for Senator and John W. Everson 37, for Representative. Rockland gave Nash 97 and Everson 120. Whitman gave Nash 129 and Coleman, for Representative, 147. Abington gave Nash 40, and Plymouth 19.

Maurice W. Landers, candidate for auditor, ran 65 ahead of his ticket in Pittsfield. James Mee and August Seelig, Jr. of Pittsfield, candidates for the Legislature, polled respectively 241 and 122 votes. The short campaign in Pitts-

field shows notable results. From 8 votes to 93 for the head of the ticket is good work for far off Berkshire.

Populists and the South.

The Springfield Republican has this to say about the southern situation: "The line of demarkation between the populists or Ocalaites and democrats has never been so sharply drawn in the South as it is to-day. This means that the solid South, the solid democratic mass which formerly included practically all the white voters in that section, no longer exists. Nominally the South is still solidly democratic, and presents an unbroken front to the republican opposition; really that solidity has departed. . . . Such a contest as that just ended in Virginia can not he'p but increase this possibility. Here was a populist candidate for governor who showed so strong a following as to seriously alarm the democrats and compel them to unusual exertions to defeat him. . . . What made the trouble was that this populist candidate received his principle support from seceders from the democratic party, and know one knew how large that secession would prove to be. May be the published returns of the vote on Tuesday will fail to show the full extent of that secession, for the making up of those returns was wholly in democratic hands. There is no more solidity in the white vote of South Carolina than in Virginia. Senator Wade Hampton is urging that the line be sharply drawn between Tillmanite and democrat, or between those former democrats who now stand on the Ocala platform and those who recite the Chicago shibboleth as their party creed. If Hampton's advice is followed and all Ocalaite are read out of the democratic party, the solidity of the South, so far as South Carolina is concerned, would be hopelessly gone, if it is not already so. . . . In Georgia the Atlanta Constitution is doing what it can to force the democrats of its state on a free silver platform or divide them. Either this is the explanation of its conduct, or the democrats of Georgia are already split into two factors, and the Constitution is the mouthpiece of one of them. This latter is the probable situation and indicates that the division of the solid South is realized in Georgia."

SHOULD THE STATE OR MUNICIPALITY PROVIDE WORK FOR ITS UNEMPLOYED?

In answer to the above question, Edward Bellamy says in the Boston Traveller of the 4th, that in his opinion the plank upon this subject in the Massachusetts people's party platform this year is the only scientific and complete solution of the problem of the unemployed. He continues: "The operation of the plan would be something as follows: Let us say there are 1000 or 10,000 unemployed able-bodied persons having a legal settlement in this state, who desire work. Out of this number a certain proportion can make shoes, others can spin or weave, others can make garments, others can build houses and do blacksmithing, and others can farm and take care of live-stock, while many more without trades are capable of common labor of any sort. Now, these men and women do not need any one to provide for them; they do not need charity from the state or anybody else. All they need, in order to be fed, clothed and sheltered is to be set to work to support one another. Stick a pin

here. The idea is that they are to support one another. They are to consume one another's products. State product is not to be sold or to go into the general market at all to compete with wage-produced goods or with private employers, but to be consumed wholly within the group of previously unemployed workers. Now, here is where the function of the state comes in.

"State workers need to be organized and provided with tools, in order to support one another, and they cannot organize themselves. This it is proper to expect the state to do, both for the welfare of an unfortunate class of citizens, and also for the protection of the public treasury from the burden of supporting them by alms, which must otherwise fall on it. It will be observed that this is not a question of charity; for the incapable, the almshouses would remain. It is merely the question of putting the able-bodied persons in a position to support themselves. The idea is to furnish the necessary machinery to utilize an existing power which otherwise will run to waste. The state would be at expense to provide the necessary farms, manufacturing plants and buildings and, for a time, until the products began to come in, it would have to keep the workers; but, after that, the system would be self-sustaining.

"In this brief space I can but mention a few points of the plan, viz.: In the first place, it contemplates a permanent establishment, for it is nonsense to regard the problem of the unemployed as anything but a permanent problem. This establishment would undoubtedly always be in operation, although the number dependent on it would increase and decrease according to the times. It would be an elastic system, and after it was in full adjustment a man or woman out of work could get work for a week, a month or a year, as he chose. The establishment would not need to be concentrated, but its different branches might be scattered. In each settlement there would be the farm or factory, the dwellings and the store. This store would be wholly stocked with products of the workers, although at first the state would have to furnish many deficiencies. The workers would from the first be guaranteed a decent and sufficient maintenance, nothing more. For this purpose they would be supplied with a sort of scrip, good only at the public store and for lodging at the public dwellings; the allowance for each worker would invariably be equal and the same. After the expense of the state superintendence and other outlays was provided for, the total product would be divided in the form of scrip among the workers, so that as the total product increased the rate of maintenance would increase, the system being one of co-operation under state superintendence and guarantee. The workers should be regarded as in no way objects of charity or wards of the state, but, while subject to strict working rules, should in all other respects be as independent as other citizens. While the state works would be intended, at the outset, to attract only the needy unemployed, it is probable that the advantages resulting from security of employment and the steady rise in rate of maintenance which would follow the increasing efficiency of the system, would suffice not only to retain all who once entered this co-operative service, but to raise the condition of labor generally by compelling private employers to bid against a fair and humane system of employment in order to obtain workers."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Massachusetts.

The public ownership sentiment in Spencer is naturally very strong. When the town bought out the local water company, the rate per faucet was \$8. Under public ownership the rate went down to \$5, and enough money is being placed to the credit of the sinking fund to retire the water bonds at maturity.

Braintree has now been running its electric light plant for one year, and the cost to the town has been \$52, 1200 candle arc light, moonlight schedule. This includes the depreciation of plant. During the year the town has been also putting in lights for domestic service, and the cost for the few months has been six tenths of a cent per incandescent light per hour, 16 candle power.

Ohio.

The combine of the pottery interests of Ohio and West Virginia is stated as an assured fact, which will bring all the sewer pipe manufacturing concerns of the Upper Ohio valley under one management. The central office will be at East Liverpool, O. The proposed combination of the Ohio valley potteries has been made necessary by the declaration of the Akron combine of sewer pipe manufacturers.

Miscellaneous.

President A. E. Boardman of the American Gas Light association, admits in his annual address at Chicago: "In the near future many of those within sound of my voice will be called upon to decide, as experts, upon the value of works which municipalities will attempt to confiscate under cover of law. Fortunately the law provides for an arbitration upon the price to be paid for private property taken, or condemned, for public use. Upon our proper understanding of what constitutes such works, and our ability to explain it to the lay members of the arbitration board, and our firmness in maintaining our convictions, depends the safety of investors in gas securities. The popular idea and the one that we will have to combat almost single-handed, is that the value of a gas works consists of the cost of the pipes, plus the labor of laying them, the present value of the real estate, cost of buildings, holders and machinery. In short, the amount of money it would require to construct a duplicate plant at the time the arbitration is made. Only that and nothing more."

Foreign.

The parish councils bill is quite likely to pass the British Parliament without serious opposition. This measure may almost be said to be the concession of municipal socialism to England. The New York Times correspondent in London notes the fact that under even the present law "the most astonishing and diversified experiments in state socialism have blossomed all over the country. Only the other day, for instance, the Cambridgeshire council opened a big poultry school at Whittlesey, where the entire rustic population of the county was invited to come and study gratis, under professional tuition, every phase and problem of profitable poultry raising. With some thousands of minor bodies giving similar powers of initiative and expenditure, we are likely to see things in England which no previous system of government has ever dreamed of in its philosophy."

Things Said About The Cause And Us.

M. M. H. of New Haven, Ct.: Wishing to aid you in the good work of circulating nationalistic doctrines, I herewith inclose \$5, to furnish copies for one year, to five new readers. Nationalism, it seems to me, is the necessary outcome of our present perverted social conditions, and as such must grow and thrive in spite of selfish opposition of capitalist and monopolist. Not until the down-trodden masses and wage-slaves obtain the rights due them as free and rational human beings, can nationalists and populists consider their object gained.

C. A. D. of Grand Rapids, Mich.: I consider myself something of a reformer, having read many works on political economy Looking Backward among them of course; but still I never heard of The New Nation till a friend handed me a few copies that were sent to him for perusal, and, of course, having never heard of your paper, I knew less about your petition to Congress for government telegraph; as a consequence you are out many signatures from our town, but I will make up by sending a few subscriptions. Your paper is bound to succeed because it is not abusive but sticks to facts.

H. D. L. of Winnetka, Ill.: Your paragraph to your readers in the last New Nation, only quickens the intuition I had already formed, to send you a list of new names. There are single sentences in every line of The New Nation which are worth ten times the cost of the entire subscription for a year. It is indispensable to me. Talking recently with one of our greatest literary men, whose constituency is world-wide, I found that he was a constant reader of The New Nation and of all the leading reform journals of Europe and America, and he held, as I did, that The New Nation was the best of them all. Your support ought to be such that you could not only restore The New Nation to its former size, but develop it into a daily. It is a strange thing that in "the people's America" there is nowhere a daily paper to give news and views for the commonalty as in done in London.

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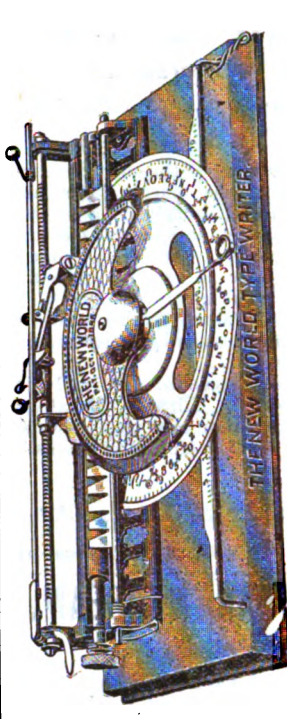
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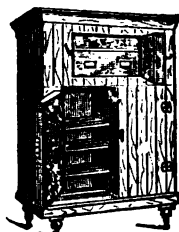
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The New Nation

Edward Bellamy—Editor

THE INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF A NATION, AS WELL AS ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM, OUGHT TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

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ECONOMIC EQUALITY.

The exercise of irresponsible power, by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and as inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respecting men as any form of political tyranny that was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham.

Boston Globe: "Almost every day now word of another populist vote cast in Massachusetts on election day is coming in." Which cannot be said of the democratic party, neighbor.

One of the results of the election worth special mention, is the re-election of Mayor Pingree of Detroit by an increased majority. His fight for municipal lighting and city ownership of the street railways, has attracted the attention of the country. Now let the good work of taking over the public utilities of Detroit proceed.

No little irritation has been caused in this community by the issue of a circular, signed by 17 local charity organizations, warning people against giving money to any new charity organization that may arise. The ground taken is

that the old organizations understand the business better than inexperienced persons. This is a sad phase of competition, and must kindle a new desire for a social system in which the demoralizing habit of alms-giving is removed root and branch.

Some Observations on the Ethics of Property.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, for whom The New Nation at all times cherishes much respect and admiration, has the following in his International Sunday School Lesson for November 19:

What is stealing? The antithesis of working. There are four ways by which a man may acquire property. First, it may be given to him. Second, he may produce it by his labor. Third, he may obtain it by reason of that general rise in values which is the result of civilization. Fourth, he may steal it. Any property he did not get in one of the other three ways he stole. The process of elimination will help to make clear the answer to the question, What is stealing?

This statement, upon examination, will be found less helpful than at first it might appear. As to Dr. Abbott's first way of acquiring an honest title to property, namely, having it given to him, that depends upon the way in which the donor himself acquired it. It is an old saying that "the receiver is as bad as the thief." The title to stolen property is not made good by passing through other hands. The first owner, if it were wrongly taken from him, may reclaim it in the hands of ultimate holders, as far as he can trace it.

The first definition of a just title to property does not therefore help us at all, but refers us back to the right of the first holder. The importance of this point will be seen in view of the fact that in all old and rich countries and more and more so in America, the bulk of wealth is inherited.

Nor does Dr. Abbott's second definition of property justly acquired, prove, upon examination, any more conclusive, namely, "what a man may produce by his labor." No word is more loosely used than this word "produce." Does Dr. Abbott mean what a man produces by his own labor, or that which he absorbs as profits out of the product of those compelled by economic pressure to labor for his enrichment? If

over, women, who form a large part of the unemployed, can not even offer to do this sort of work at all.

The result is that so long as the labor unions and philanthropists keep on calling for public works to employ the unemployed, they not only expose themselves to the criticism of economists and excite the alarm of the taxpayer, but they fail to represent the real needs of the unemployed themselves. It is a line of effort that is utterly hopeless, because it is entirely irrational.

The employment of labor upon unnecessary or premature public works is charity, and nothing else. Just in proportion as the public works are unnecessary or untimely they are as much charity as free soup-houses would be, and as a rule are a vastly more expensive form of charity than any other. In charity there is no industrial solution.

Is there then nothing the state can and ought to do to provide employment for the unemployed? Indeed there is. It is the duty of the state to provide employment for all its people at all times, and no function of the state is more simple and easy of discharge than this if it is properly undertaken, and it may be added that one of the first steps toward undertaking it properly is the relegation to the limbo of exploded superstitions of the public works idea in all its forms.

◀ The way to solve the unemployed problem is not to set them at work for the state, but to set them at work for one another:—The whole industrial system is simply a more or less blundering arrangement by which men work to supply one another's needs, whether of shoes, garments, house lots, potatoes or beefsteak, the several sorts of products being brought together and exchanged in the market. Now the unemployed problem results from the breakdown of this machinery of exchange. This breakdown is always partial, and periodically, as now, becomes general. Now how does common sense suggest that the state shall come to the relief of the several groups of workers who are made idle because the machinery which exchanged their goods has broken down? Evidently by supplying the place of the broken machine by an organization that shall perform the same function.

That is to say, the state should organize the various groups of unemployed workers, so that they may co-operatively supply one another's needs, the state performing the function of the broken-down market in bringing together and distributing the products.

We have stated the whole proposition when we add that the state-organized exchange would need to be kept distinct from the outside market, substantially completing within itself the circle of production and consumption.

There is no reason why the Legislature of Massachusetts should not organize such a system for the relief of the unemployed at the coming session, and by a suitable pressure from the people it could be compelled to do so.

Brethren, do not be deceived. Public works are no more a solution for the unemployed problem than are free soup-houses. Both may be necessary in emergencies as palliatives, but that is all either amounts to. The co-operative employment of the unemployed in mutual maintenance is the only solution of the unemployed problem, and it is as simple as it is conclusive.

A Case of Newspaper Morals.

We are able to state authoritatively that Senator Pepper, Congressman Simpson and other men identified with the populist movement, are not engaged in a project to form an exclusively free silver party on the "ruins" of the people's party, and we especially wish to say that Mr. Simpson knows nothing about the meeting at Kansas City, which the eastern papers described in such detail a fortnight ago. Mr. Simpson was not in Kansas City, and the whole thing was a newspaper "fake." The Boston Herald, which practically suppressed the people's party vote and then printed a column obituary of the new party, not only continues to print "fake" stories of populist disintegration, but down to the hour of going to press has not considered itself called upon to retract its monstrous editorial. It may be an ordeal even for the Herald to admit an error; but it will prove, we think, a greater ordeal not to atone for abusing the confidence of its readers by even at the eleventh hour frankly stating that the populist vote in Virginia was over 75,000; that the democratic party, in spite of the efforts of the colored democratic league, fell off some 80,000; that the populists carried Colorado and that in other parts of the country they showed unexpected strength. The Herald's silence can be distinctly heard all over the state. It is a plain case of newspaper morals. Meantime, the "ruins" of the people's party never seemed as inviting as now.

Lost — The Equilibrium of Trade.

A correspondent asks us to explain in detail what we mean by the statement that the equilibrium of trade is lost. We mean the equilibrium of trade on the theory of free competition. The argument of individualists is that the principle of individual initiative acts as a bulwark against high market prices and commercial conspiracies against the public. Free competition is the corner stone of the political economy of today. With the business world broken up into a mass of heterogeneous plans for making a living, where the conditions are practically equal and large private fortunes unknown, a species of equilibrium can be maintained for a time. Every person receives in wages or profit a return for his week's activities, sufficient to support himself and something more. So long as every person in the community can find something to do to afford him a living and the means to meet his financial obligations, this equilibrium may be roughly said to be maintained. As the principle of competition is essentially vicious, this equilibrium is at best but temporary. That is, competition can never put a people upon a plane of permanent prosperity. The ultimate outcome is misery and disaster.

Let us take the Boston of today as a case in point. This city is not suffering from cholera or other plague. The sun shines kindly and the sea bears ships to its harbors as usual. The tides and winds are normal, and so far as natural laws are concerned, Boston's Thanksgiving should have been a season of genuine rejoicing. As a matter of fact it was a day of widespread distress and solemn apprehension. Certain Boston preachers, to be sure, by some chemical process, extracted sunshine from the gloom and exhibited it, bottled, so to speak, before astonished congregations, but no ray of it hit the producer or small shop-keeper or average citizen. The public is beginning to realize that the equilibrium of

trade is lost, and is not in a Thanksgiving mood. Forty thousand persons in and about Boston, trained to work, and having families to care for, are not needed to meet the demands which the business world makes upon Boston. These idle men and women cease to a large extent to be purchasers. Small shop-keepers lose trade, and the unemployed become a charge in one way or another upon the community.

Then the war of competition grows bitter. The advertising pages of last Sunday's Boston papers tell a thrilling story of competition. One firm announces: "We have just closed out a manufacturer's whole stock of umbrellas, and offer them at one third their real value." The manufacturer probably sold at a great sacrifice, because, owing to the number of unemployed, sales of umbrellas had fallen off. Another Boston firm advertised that it had bought from assignees of a bankrupt jobbing house an entire stock of Christmas goods, which the firm offered "at less than after-Christmas prices." No small shop-keeper in toys and Christmas goods can compete against wholesale prices like these. Such a condition of things explains why a large percentage of failures is for sums less than \$3000. The result is obvious, — the growth of large stores, the managers of which keep a sharp eye upon bankrupt sales. A Boston firm advertised goods for sale in the following departments outside of their legitimate one of dry goods: Bicycles, millinery, a large line of groceries, standard medicines in sealed packages as they came from the manufacturer, musical instruments, coal-hods, pictures, corn-poppers, Shakespeare and standard authors, condensed milk, rocking horses, photographer's materials, china ware, skates, glass ware, mince meat, lamps, carpet sweepers, a lunch counter and so on through the long list.

Under one roof are goods retailed at jobber's prices and even below, which is an assault upon every Boston drug store, grocery store, book store, art store, china store, music store, photographer's gallery, etc. Naturally, failures are constantly reported among small dealers, which in turn replenish the stock of the large stores. Does our correspondent now understand what the loss of equilibrium in a business community means, and can he not predict that the time will soon come when the large stores will completely swallow up the small ones, and the failure of "free" competition be made plain even to the blindest?

The system of selfish competition, bound sooner or later to lose its equilibrium, is instilled into the minds of even boys during their schooling. In a certain business school in Massachusetts, the boys in the highest class are allowed an equal credit at the school bank, and they buy and sell stocks among themselves. If, at the end of the year, a boy's books show that he is not solvent, his diploma is withheld. As it is out of the question for a boy to make a point in a market deal without causing a loss to that extent on the part of some other boy, we should think that it would be a pretty difficult thing for all the boys in the senior class of such a school to secure dip'omas at the close of the year. Diplomas in the active school of life are even more difficult to secure.

Not Too Soon.

Speaking in all seriousness, we would give very little to be guaranteed that the overthrow of the capitalistic system

is near at hand, so entirely assured are we of that consummation. What we would like to be guaranteed, on the other hand, is that the revolution would not come too soon, that is to say, before the people know just what they want and all that they want. From the possibility of a revolution that, being premature, shall be superficial, may God defend us. It is this feeling that keeps us reiterating so constantly and to our readers, perhaps, so tediously, the fundamental principle of nationalism, the necessary and indispensable corner-stone of any new nation that shall last — economic equality. It will be a miserable fiasco of a revolution whose banner bears any words less great than those.

Why the Capitalistic System is a Bad Risk.

The Illinois state federation of labor, at its recent convention, declared:

That the government should see to it that all the large plants throughout the United States, now idle, should be reopened as quickly as possible. It is imperative the government should see to this, for it means quickly restored prosperity everywhere.

The Springfield Republican exclaims that this is rank nationalism, and the men who use such language should stand up and be counted with the nationalists. "Is the federation of labor ready to adopt this plan?" it asks.

To which, although not called on, we rise to reply that a somewhat close study, during several years past, of the course of sentiment among workingmen and the action of their organizations, prepares us to express the belief that the wage-earners of this country and especially the skilled workers, would be ready tomorrow to welcome and support any fairly digested plan for the governmental organization of industry, which should stand any reasonable prospect of adoption.

Persons whose occupations or tastes do not bring them into sympathetic touch with the wage-earning masses, simply have no conception of the sentiment of pretty equally mingled hostility and contempt with which they have come to regard the blundering brutality of the present capitalistic administration of industry.

The significant thing is not, however, the general disgust and enmity of the wage-earner toward the system of industrial government by private capitalists, but the fact that they are beginning to have a more and more clear idea of what they would like to see established in its place. Workingmen have hated their bondage before, but when their masters have demanded "What are you going to do about it?" they have been dumb. So long as they did not know what to do about it, it was safe to disregard their grumbling and even their threats. It is the fact that they are beginning to know what to do about it that makes the perpetuity of the capitalistic system in this country a mighty bad risk. Such a resolution as that of the Illinois federation, is a more formidable threat to capitalism than a dozen labor riots.

A Paris correspondent of the New York Tribune, in a long account of anarchist outbreaks in Europe, gives as one of the remedies for the "epidemic of diseased ideas" the following: "The poor must not be educated into a craving after luxury and ease and meanwhile be shut out from the teachings of conscience and duty and from the consolation of religious hope!"

NATIONALISM IN POLITICS.

POPULIST PRINCIPLES WILL STAND.

The One-Plank Idea will not Hold the Party. Experiments in Public Ownership. Note and Comment.

The old party schemers out in Kansas who "faked" up a meeting of populists to start a new party, have unwittingly done a great service to the people's party, by calling out the true sentiment at the bottom of the movement. The reform press and the stalwart men in the party show in their utterances a grasp and appreciation of the great conflict that is very significant. A reporter recently caught Gov. Lewelling and the latter said: "I am a nationalist myself. I might differ with Bellamy and Howells as to the details of the system, but they are at work on the right principles. The governments must themselves be the administrators. Out of the nationalist party some great party will yet arise — perhaps it will be called the national party. That is the name I was in favor of the populists adopting, and still think it would have been an appropriate name for the great party which is to stand for the rights of the people."

The National Watchman, printed at Washington by a company, of which Senator Peffer is president and Jerry Simpson treasurer, has this to say about the new silver party: "The people's party is a growth. It is the result of more than 20 years' agitation; and, however imperfect it may be considered by those who contended against it during all these years of contest, yet to those who have labored for its building up it possesses charms that will not be easily surrendered. Those who are agitating the formation of this one idea silver party are digging a pit for their own destruction and the future will disclose them to be the very worst enemies of free coinage. This agitation will do the people's party no harm; it will neither stop its onward march, nor the continuance of a persistent propaganda of the principles enunciated in its platform."

Nonconformist, Indianapolis, Ind.: Free silver coinage, it is true, is a part of the populist propaganda, but not the most important part nor the objective point. They propose to remain true to that principle as to all others, but decline to throw over the bulk of the cargo of their ship for the purpose of saving a remnant. There must be no mistake about this. No man or set of men is authorized to speak authoritatively for the people's party. They will speak in their own behalf and in their own way when the proper time comes.

The Associated Press man in Kansas, is now trying his hand on the public railway which the populists of the West

are now interested in. He declares that no one in the convention which met at Topeka on the 5th, knows any more about railroads than a mad bull knows of morning glories. Among the men identified with this enterprise is Eric Olson, an experienced railroad contractor of Sherburn, Minn. He is able to show that a road 1300 miles long, from Minnesota to the Gulf, can be built for 30 million. Railroad kings are not in the habit of getting out such figures. The convention adopted a plan for a railroad from the British possessions to the Gulf, passing through both Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas, with branches reaching into Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota. Provisional directors were chosen to secure charters and proceed with the organization. The plan is to make the road the enterprise of the state governments, through which it is to be run. We look upon such a road simply as an entering wedge, as in the end the general government will be the owner of all interstate lines.

"There is not a single objection" says the Topeka Advocate, "that has ever been urged, or that can be urged against the government ownership of all monopolies, that does not apply with equal force to the municipal ownership of water-works, gas and electric light plants, as well as to the United States postal and the public school systems which grow in favor with every year of observation of their advantages. With what show of consistency then can the Kansas City papers advocate the municipal ownership of the city water-works and oppose the further application of the same principle to other monopolies by which the people are subjected to equal or greater abuses?"

Nonconformist, Indianapolis, Ind.: The Western Union telegraph company is making much more telling arguments in favor of government ownership of all telegraphic communications than can possibly be made by any populist or nationalist. Edward Bellamy himself cannot give a better reason for taking them in than that they refuse to collect election returns for a party because the managers do not like its principles.

The state central committee of the people's party in Massachusetts, met at the Quincy house, Boston, on the 6th. There was a good attendance, and plans for a vigorous mid-winter campaign were adopted. The committee never met under more encouraging auspices. The following officers were elected: Chairman, Henry R. Legate; secretary, J. Ransom Bridge; treasurer, Thomas A. Watson.

An Easy Lesson in Political Economy.

There has been a phenomenally large passenger traffic this year in railroading, and a phenomenally small freight traffic. The loss in freight business is largely due to the fact that the farming population, representing 35 per cent of the whole population, as well as the wage workers are

becoming impoverished. Our wise men in competitive logic seem to forget that producers are also consumers, and that financial distress on farm and in mill leads to a marked decline in the amount of commodities that these producers buy. The *New York Times* in a recent financial review, written for the purpose of giving tips to speculators, says: "If the farmers and planters are too poor to buy much, the replenishing will be done not one dollar's worth beyond what the merchant and store-keeper consider imperative requirements. That means a continuance of small business." This is as true of the wage worker as of the farmer, and it follows that small business and general stagnation must continue until these producers again become purchasers. Is it not, therefore, the patriotic duty of our law makers to change economic conditions that are crushing the producers to the earth? It may serve the immediate purpose of present politicians to brand the western farmer and southern planter as fanatics for demanding government ownership of the railroads and telegraphs and the nationalization of the currency and to denounce also workingmen as anarchists because they strike for living wages; but we predict that within a twelve-month capital will be forced from selfish motives to make concessions to these very classes. If the latter, meantime, graduate from the stern school of privation by dictating terms in the shape of public ownership of the means of production, as the trade unionists of Great Britain recently demanded at Belfast, then the monopolists of the land will have been given their first lesson in political economy.

Gov. Penneyer of Oregon a Middle-of-the-Road Populist.

A citizen of Oregon recently asked Gov. Penneyer if he proposed to fight in the populist ranks, and the governor replied as follows: "Seven years ago in my first canvass I favored free coinage, the abolition of the national banking system and an income tax — all good populist doctrines. Three years ago, in a magazine article, I favored loans by the government direct to the people, instead of to national banks alone, and the establishment of government savings banks, and in all my messages to the Legislature I have favored control of corporations by a maximum rate law, as well as a change in the assessment laws of the state by which the rich could no longer evade taxation. Of course I am a populist, and as nine tenths of the people of Oregon favor the same doctrines, they are populists, and it is therefore quite reasonable to expect a sweeping populist victory in Oregon, if we only keep in the middle of the road."

Note and Comment.

The Kansas Reform Press association met at Topeka on the 7th.

The Pueblo (Col.) Star has blossomed out as a populist daily.

Ward 4, Quincy, keeps in line. The populist vote of about 45 in November, was raised to 100 for the city council on Tuesday.

How does the Boston Herald know that the people's party has declined in power? Can it be that the populist returns are in its waste basket? The figures, neighbor, the figures.

I. W. Skinner, populist candidate for mayor of Waltham,

polled 1,111 votes on the 5th, the majority against him being 642. This was a surprise to the old parties, as the democrats had ratified the republican ticket.

Gen. James G. Field of Virginia, advises those populist candidates for the Legislature who were counted out in the recent election, to carry the matter into the courts. The vote of whole precincts were thrown out in districts where the people's party was in a majority.

Secretary Carlisle before the New York chamber of commerce: "This is a great and powerful government, but there is one thing it cannot do — it cannot create money." After a free silver record of many years, Cleveland's treasurer comes out as a gold standard chieftain. To be sure Carlisle and the United States constitution do not agree, but all the worse for the constitution as matters go in Washington nowadays. Given the wish of Wall street on the one hand and the necessities of the western and southern producer on the other, and any man can tell where the administration stands.

PRIVATE FIRE INSURANCE BAD IN PRINCIPLE.

A subscriber of The New Nation, long in the business of fire insurance, writes to us as follows: "I have been in the work of insurance for 30 years, and have had under my supervision an average of three states, and I know that 50 per cent of losses are frauds, which would not happen under state supervision. Such claimants know that state officials and the people are against the companies, and hence the chances in courts are ten to one against the companies. Think of it, 150 millions a year burned up, — 150 million days' work destroyed! Then another 150 millions go for expenses for men who produce nothing, as I have not for 30 years. We are practically pensioners upon the public. I have thought of this for years, but considered myself a dreamer until I began to read your paper. Have often said if I were the czar of this country I would prohibit private fire insurance, as it destroys property and encourages fraud and perjury, and causes many deaths by such conflagrations. I said this once to an officer of the company, and he advised me to get out of the business; sound advice it was, but I couldn't let go just then. Whenever a company loses 60 per cent of its premiums it is going behind, as expenses and salaries exceed 40 per cent."

THE RECORDER FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

New York Recorder: Incidentally these trolley crimes in Brooklyn furnish another strong argument for direct municipal control, if not out-and-out ownership, of the transportation service of all large cities. If the city of Brooklyn directly controlled and regulated its trolley lines, does any one suppose that it would have taken all this time to get live-saving attachments put on to these cars? The public streets belong to the people. Their money paid for building them. Their money pays for maintaining them. Their control over every railroad track that runs through them should be direct and absolute. No more franchises should be granted to trolley companies except with reservations

that would keep in the hands of the people the power of immediate interference to stop such horrors as those now being witnessed every day in Brooklyn's public thoroughfares. The people of New York are stronger and richer and better able to build L roads than Mr. Gould, if they could only make up their minds to do it.

DIVERS AND SUNDRY THINGS.

James R. Sovereign, the new head of the Knights of Labor, advocates the nationalization of land and of all natural monopolies.

"The Psychic Factors of Civilization" is a new book by Lester F. Ward of the United States Geological Survey. Prof. Ward's "Dynamic Sociology" attracted much attention last year. Ginn & Co., Boston, are the publishers of "The Psychic Factors."

"The tendency of the times" said Miss Catherine H. Spence of Australia, at the Church of the Disciples, Boston, on Thanksgiving day, "is toward nationalization, and the right kind of work in three directions, social, industrial and political, would eventually bring us to a realization and acceptance of what was christian and democratic in society."

Gov. Tillman of South Carolina, in his message giving the results of the experiment of public conduct of the liquor traffic, goes into the merits of the system. He says among other things that under the system the local "whisky rings, which have been the curse of every municipality in the state, and have always controlled municipal elections, have been torn up root and branch, and the influence of the bar-keeper as a political manipulator is absolutely destroyed. The police, removed from the control of these debauching elements, will enforce the law against evil doing with more vigor; and a higher tone and greater purity in all governmental affairs must result."

Electricity is destined to kick the mule off the tow-path of the Erie canal, if the experiments at Pittsford, N.Y., in propelling canal boats, can be trusted. When New York state appropriated \$10,000 for experimenting upon the application of electricity to canal boats, the inventors all shook their heads. But now the Niagara Falls Power company has taken it up. The Erie Canal is open to the public. Why not furnish power to propel boats at cost through its waters? With the falls and the canal, nothing remains but a little sound sense to turn this commercial waterway into a grand bulwark of the people, rather than a temptation to speculators.

NOT EASILY AVOIDED.

"People say that you are a socialist. You know that the farmer in Herne's play is not very cordial to 'A Hazard of New Fortunes,' where however, there is no socialism," said a reporter to W. D. Howells the other day.

"I should not care to wear a label," Mr. Howell replied. "I do not study the question, the question studies me. In great cities one does not easily avoid it."

NATIONALISTIC DRIFT.

Items of Industrial, Political, Social and Commercial Intelligence indicating the approaching Breakup of the Present System and the Tendency through Business Combinations and Public Control of Industry toward Complete National Co-operation.

Pennsylvania.

The city of Philadelphia is very much agitated at the present hour on account of a resolution which has been submitted to councils for the purpose of offering the city gas works for sale to private parties. The following letter has been sent by the First Nationalist Club of Philadelphia to both branches of city councils, protesting against the proposed sale:

To the Members of Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen: Whereas it has been proposed to sell the gas works now belonging to this city to private individuals, the First Nationalist club of Philadelphia desires to offer its unqualified protest against the acceptance of this proposition which has been presented to your honorable bodies, because we strenuously oppose the re-establishment of an era of private enterprise in the manufacture of this commodity, and the sale of it to the citizens. This is a function which we believe should be exercised wholly by the municipality, and never surrendered to private individuals. In the annual addresses of our esteemed mayor of the years 1891 and 1892, which were sent to your honorable bodies, the purchase and complete control of that portion of the gas works not then owned by the city was urged upon you; it being argued at the same time that it was the undeniable prerogative of the city to absolutely own and control all the plants for the manufacture of gas. Moreover, since the tendencies of the age are toward an increase and extension of the public functions, in order to better protect the citizens against corporate greed, we believe that to deliver the gas works into the hands of private parties to be operated for private gain would be a marked step of retrogression. The history of this city has already been made eventful by the corrupt administration of the gas trust in former years, and it may safely be predicted that if we deliver the gas works, now in the possession of the city, to private individuals or corporations, we shall have the repetition of a corrupt scheme which will but add to the municipal evils from which we should long ago have been delivered.

J. J. TAYLOR, President.

DIANA HIRSHLER, Secretary.

Miscellaneous.

Keir Hardie's bill for the nationalization of the coal mines has passed its first reading in the English Commons. It provides for the issue of bonds of the value of their mines to the owners bearing interest at 2½ per cent; cost, 250 million dollars.

Mr. Lubin of Sacramento, Cal., recently appeared before the labor council of that city, to explain his plan of having the government transport farm products in this country at a uniform rate. His plan is to have all farm products transported by the government at a uniform rate—100 pounds to cost the same freightage 100 miles as 1000 miles, similar to our postal management. The reduction from present rates would, says Mr. Lubin, constitute a protection and remuneration to the farmer which would, in turn, be redistributed in the purchase by the farmer of an increased amount of labor products, thus creating higher wages and a steady demand for mechanics.

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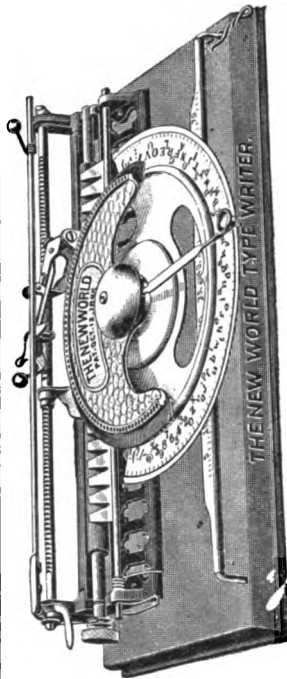
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